00037568

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016

RECOLLECTIONS

OF

ROYALTY,

FROM

THE DEATH OF WILLIAM RUFUS, IN 1100,

TO THAT OF THE

CARDINAL YORK,

THE LAST LINEAL DESCENDANT OF THE STUARTS, IN 1807.

BY CHARLES C. JONES, Esq.

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

"Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,
Omnia nos, itidem, depascimur aurea dicta."

Lucret.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

37568

ac

LONDON:

SAUNDERS AND OTLEY, CONDUIT-STREET.

1828.

God
942.03
Jon/Rec
37568
142.06
00037568

TO

LADY WILLIAMS WYNN,

THESE VOLUMES ARE,

WITH HER LADYSHIP'S PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY

INSCRIBED,

AS A SMALL BUT GRATEFUL TOKEN OF ESTEEM,

BY HER LADYSHIP'S

OBLIGED AND OBEDIENT HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

FROM numerous diaries, memoirs, histories of particular reigns, state papers, private MSS., and other scarce and authenticated sources of historical information, much new light has been thrown upon many hitherto mysterious, controversial, and confused affairs of state, during particular periods of English history. It is from these voluminous sources, the most distinguished writers on national manners, and from scarce and valuable works, to be met with only in rich and extensive libraries, that the Editor has collated and arranged the materials of which the following pages consist. The subjects he has selected for his purpose, are principally those which tend to illustrate, in any novel manner, the memorable and remarkable vicissitudes,

political and tragical, of Royalty; including contemporary Biography, with brief sketches of those eventful occurrences, in church and state, which have so portentously characterised particular reigns and dynasties. In addition to these, will be found many curious letters and entries, many of them bearing the impress of the times in which they were made, and all of them so intimately connected with their respective periods, that, from the great care and circumspection which have been devoted to the accuracy and authenticity of the select and varied details, they may not only be found productive of interesting information to the general and inquisitive reader, but they also may be referred to, as valuable data, by historians themselves.

C. C. J.

Middle Temple,
March 1828.

INTRODUCTION.

It has been very correctly remarked, that those who desire authentic information of the history of their country must not limit their reading exclusively to the pages of the general historian. The materials of which these Recollections and Illustrations are composed, will be found to throw much light upon the most interesting points of our national history, to unravel a number of political questions hitherto involved in great intricacy—and to exhibit pictures of early society, which, if not altogether new, will revive and corroborate that knowledge of past times, which deserves to be recorded in the memory of every one emulous of possessing facts, and of discriminating between what is doubtful and obscure, and what is certain and lucid; for, in order to remove conjecture, to verify facts, and

to form a clear conception of particular events, it is among the dispersed materials of history that the inquisitive reader must look for aid. By these means new light is thrown upon a variety of occurrences but imperfectly noticed by the general historian, and causes of action traced, which, without such assistance, would be impenetrable.

The imagination is powerfully excited and interested in all the minute circumstances related in the familiar style of memoirs, diaries, and correspondence; and forms from them a more accurate conception of the state of society, and of various political events, than could be expected from a mere perusal of history, which necessarily passes them over as unimportant: history indeed instructs, but these delight. The subjects, therefore, selected for our purpose, from these and other sources, bear generally the impress of their respective times; and, whilst many of them regard affairs in which the writers were actively engaged, all afford a closer and more familiar view of character, manners, and events, than it would be possible for the pen of the most accomplished compiler of regular history

to supply, if even implicit reliance might be placed upon it.

Courts have been frequently considered places of peculiar danger and temptation. In the opinion of some, the moment a man steps into the precincts of a court, he is to be forcibly carried away with his brother courtiers, to commit all manner of extravagance and wickedness, as if by a vortex, rolling round the centre of royalty, which involves them all in one common guilt. Indeed, an ancient poet has made a courtier say, that the palaces of kings and virtue are incompatible; and our unfortunate Raleigh seems, with probably more severity than justice, to have entertained an idea of this kind, as if immorality was not accidental merely, but absolutely essential, to the profession of a courtier: "I have lived," says he, in his speech from the scaffold, "a sinful life, in all sinful callings, having been a soldier, a captain, a sea-captain, and a *courtier*, which are all places of wickedness and vice." Could we, however, believe this opinion to be well grounded, nothing would more strongly tend to lower our notions of the divine institution of government; but it was certainly a similar idea to that of

the unfortunate Raleigh, which made the famous Richard Baxter, in the account of his own life, so feelingly represent it as "one of the greatest blessings, that in his youth he very narrowly escaped getting a place at court;" for, according to Raleigh, instead of being in the palace of a virtuous monarch, a courtier is rather to fancy himself in a kind of pandemonium, or upon that particular spot where some of the most wicked spirits in the land are frequently assembled to work unrighteousness; and where a man can no more preserve his innocence and integrity, than he could his person from infection in a pest-house. This is doubtless a hideous picture of courts as they were.

It is worthy, however, of observation, that we are not to look to the English historians for the best accounts of the public transactions of the earlier ages. Foreign writers must be applied to, as the most copious sources of information. To Froissart, Philip de Comines, and Monstrelet, recourse must be had for the fullest, the most interesting, and the most entertaining intelligence concerning the political events and revolutions of our own country.

There is no situation of human affairs, however disagreeable and calamitous, which is not converted by divine Providence to the production of some advantage. Even the civil wars had their use, at least in one respect, as they contributed to the declension of slavery. The contending parties, in order to carry on the purposes of their ambition, and to supply their armies with sufficient forces, were occasionally obliged to set their bondmen at liberty. Some little enlargement of mind, on this subject, began to prevail, and experience gradually convinced our ancestors, that agriculture and other services were better performed by hired labourers than by unwilling and refractory slaves.

The middle of the fifteenth century was a period of singular aspect and very peculiar interest. Kings were, then, only the most powerful lords of the countries over which they reigned with an unsteady sceptre and an incessant struggle. Chivalry was rather on the decline, or, perhaps, had become less brilliant to contemplate, in consequence of its original darkness having been partially removed by the in-

creasing light of human knowledge. What was before deemed heroic, now began to be considered brutal; and we ceased to shout for the victor who cut the throats of his thousands of unarmed prisoners, or who otherwise basely murdered them in cold blood. The division of power was the cause of hollow truces, and of endless wars. The uncertainty of life was great, and its waste prodigious. Few men, comparatively speaking, escaped violent death; while the hanging of nobles, and the assassination of princes, were among the most common occurrences of the time: in these respects, the kingdoms of Europe were then what the Turkish empire has been since. No station was exempt from transitions the most extreme; for change and uncertainty were the tenures of existence, from the Sovereign to the citizen.

The stirring age of our Henry the Sixth, Edward the Fourth, and Richard the Third; of Louis the Eleventh of France, and Charles the Eighth, his son; of Charles, the last Duke of Burgundy; and Mary, his daughter; of Ferdinand of Castile; not to mention the inferior, but not less able actors,

such as the constable of St. Paul, the Earl of Warwick, the Count de Charoloiz, &c. was full of excellent events: but though to the documents that contain the accounts of them, we yield so much of our credence as to admit that justice has been done them, we would still be cautious of pinning our faith unreservedly upon their statements.

As the convulsions of nature are produced in mountainous regions, and the fury of the tempest sweeps over the heights, so are eminent stations in society exposed to perils and wrecks, which, to a reflecting mind, ought to render them objects of anxiety and apprehension rather than of desire and pursuit. It is well observed, that Fortune never appears in a more extravagant humour than when she reduces monarchs to mendicants. Half a century ago, or thereabouts, it was not imagined that our own times would have to record many such instances. After having contemplated *Kings* raised into *Divinities*, we see them now depressed as *beggars*. Our own times, in two opposite senses, may be emphatically distinguished as the *age of Kings*.

In Voltaire's Candide, or the Optimist,

there is an admirable satirical stroke. Eight travellers meet in an obscure inn, and some of them with not sufficient money to pay for a scurvy dinner. In the course of conversation, they are discovered to be *eight Monarchs* in Europe, who had been deprived of their crowns! What added to this exquisite satire was, that there were eight living monarchs at that moment wanderers upon the earth!

Adelaide, the widow of Lothario, King of Italy, one of the most beautiful women of her age, was besieged in Pavia by Berenger, who resolved to constrain her to marry his son, after Pavia was taken: she escaped from her prison with her almoner. The Archbishop of Reggio had offered her an asylum; to reach which, she and her almoner travelled on foot through the country by night, concealing herself in the day-time among the corn, while the almoner begged for alms and food through the villages.

The Emperor, Henry the Fourth, after having been deposed and imprisoned by his son, Henry the Fifth, escaped from prison. Poor, vagrant, and without aid, he entreated

the Bishop of Spires to grant him a lay prebend in his church. "I have studied," said he, "and learned to sing, and may therefore be of some service to you." The request was denied, and he died miserably and obscurely, at Liege, after having drawn the attention of Europe to his victories and his grandeur!

Mary de Medicis, the widow of Henry the Great, mother of Louis the Thirteenth, mother-in-law of three Sovereigns, and Regent of France, frequently wanted the necessaries of life, and died at Cologne in the utmost misery. The intrigues of Richlieu compelled her to exile herself, and live an unhappy fugitive. Her petition exists, with this supplicatory opening: "*Supplie Marie Reine de France et de Navarre, disant, que depuis le 23 Fevrier elle aurait été arretée prisonniere au chateau de Compiegne, sans être ni accusée ni soupçonnée, &c.*"

Lilly, the astrologer, in his Life and Death of King Charles the First, presents us with a melancholy picture of this unfortunate monarch. He has also described the person of the old Queen-mother of France:—"

"In the month of August, 1641, I beheld the old Queen-mother of France, departing from London, in the company of Thomas Earl of Arundel. A sad spectacle of mortality it was, and produced tears from mine eyes, and many other beholders, to see an aged, lean, decrepit, poor Queen, ready for her grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no place of residence in this world left her but where the courtesy of her hard fortune assigned it. She had been the only stately and magnificent woman of Europe; wife to the greatest King that ever lived in France; mother unto one King, and unto two Queens."

In the year 1595, died at Paris, Antonio, King of Portugal: his body is interred at the Cordeliers, and his heart deposited at the Avë Maria. Nothing on earth could compel this prince to renounce his crown. He passed over to England, and Elizabeth assisted him with troops; but, at length, he died in France, in great poverty. This dethroned monarch was happy in one thing, which is indeed rare: in all his miseries he had a servant, who proved a tender and faithful friend, and

who only desired to participate in his misfortunes, and to soften his miseries; and, for the recompense of his services, all he wished was, to be buried at the feet of his dear master. This hero in loyalty, to whom the ancient Romans would have raised an altar, was Don Diego Bothei, one of the greatest Lords of the Court of Portugal, and who drew his origin from the Kings of Bohemia.

Hume furnishes us with an anecdote of singular royal distress. He informs us that the Queen of England, with her son Charles, had "a moderate pension assigned her; but it was so ill paid, and her credit ran so low, that one morning, when the Cardinal de Retz waited on her, she informed him, that her daughter, the Princess Henrietta, was obliged to lie a-bed for the want of a fire to warm her. To such a condition was reduced, in the midst of Paris, a Queen of England, and a daughter of Henry IV. of France!" We find another proof of her excessive poverty. Salmasius, after publishing his celebrated political book, in favour of Charles II. the *Defensio Regia*, was much blamed by a friend, for not having sent a copy to the widowed Queen of

Charles, who, he writes, though poor, would yet have paid the bearer.

The daughter of James the First, who married the Elector Palatine, in her attempts to get her husband crowned, was reduced to the utmost distress, and wandered frequently in disguise as a mere vagrant.

A strange anecdote is related of Charles the Seventh of France: our Henry the Fifth had shrunk his kingdom into the town of Bourges. It is said, that having told a shoemaker, after he had just tried on a pair of boots, that he had no money to pay for them, Crispin had such callous feeling, that he refused his Majesty the boots! "It is for this reason," says Comines, "I praise those princes who are on good terms with the lowest of their people; for they know not at what hour they may want them." Many monarchs, at this day, have probably experienced, more than once, the truth of the reflection of Comines.

It may be added here, that, in all conquered countries, some descendants of royalty have been found among the dregs of the populace. An Irish prince has been

discovered in the person of a miserable peasant; and in Mexico, its faithful historian, Clavigero, notices, that he has known a locksmith, who was a descendant of its ancient Kings; and a tailor, the representative of one of its noblest families.

Among other remarkable instances of royal infelicity, the following is deserving of record:—Lady Frances Brandon was the daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by his consort, Mary, daughter of King Henry the Seventh, and widow of the great and good Louis XII. King of France. Lady Frances married Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, created afterwards Duke of Suffolk, and by this nobleman she was the mother of Lady Jane, Lady Catherine, and Lady Mary Grey. After the violent death of the Duke, the Duchess Dowager, unmindful of her royal descent, married a private gentleman, Mr. Adrian Stokes; after which, history informs us, she was so piteously reduced, that she was obliged to lie in the porch of a church all night, for want of the means to procure herself a better lodging. The Duke, her first husband, with her daughter Lady Jane, and

her husband Lord Guildford Dudley, were executed on the same day. Her second daughter, Lady Catherine, was first married to Henry Lord Herbert, (son of William, Earl of Pembroke,) from whom she was divorced. She then married Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; but this last marriage being without the license of the arbitrary Elizabeth, they were both imprisoned in the Tower, in separate apartments.

Of Princesses, the victims to State policy, the unhappy fates of Elizabeth of France, daughter of Henry II. and of Catherine de Medicis, afford a sad and memorable example. Born at Fontainbleau, in April 15, 1545, the young Elizabeth was originally designed to be the bride of Edward the Fourth of England, and to ascend the English throne; but this contract was dissolved by the death of the youthful monarch. The princess was afterwards promised to Carlos, son of Philip II. of Spain, and heir to the Spanish empire. Before the completion of these nuptials, Philip, by the decease of Mary of England, became a widower, a circumstance which left him at

liberty to declare himself the rival of his son. Attracted by the beauty of the ill-fated Elizabeth, he scrupled not to dissolve the engagement of the lovers, and to solicit for himself the hand of the princess: his offers were accepted by the court of France, and the tears, the disgust, the reluctance of Elizabeth, were over-ruled by the solicitations and the influence of her mother. The marriage was celebrated by proxy, at the church of Notre Dame, but a few days previously to the death of Henry II. These nuptials were considered as cementing the peace between France and Spain, and to the bride was given the title of *Elizabeth de la Paix*. That an attachment had subsisted between Don Carlos and the Princess is generally believed, and it is certain the Prince never forgave his father for the injury done to him.

In the year 1566, at the celebrated meeting, at Bayonne, of the courts of Spain and France, which led to such tragical results, the young Queen was, by the Duke of Alva, escorted thither to meet her brother, Charles IX. and Catherine, her mother. It

was amidst the gaiety and festivities of this interview, that, in the dark counsel between Charles, his mother, and the Duke, the destruction of the Huguenots was resolved upon.

The fate of the Prince of Spain is involved in mystery and obscurity: it is certain that, whether by violent or natural means, he perished prematurely in the bloom of life. Philip, whose temper was gloomy, severe, and morose, was suspected to be jealous of the attachment of his son for the Queen; though no censure or imputation of guilt has ever been thrown upon the lovers. Elizabeth survived the Prince only ten weeks, and died in childbed at Madrid, Oct. 3, 1568. This tragical catastrophe was variously spoken of, and deeply lamented by the whole nation. Elizabeth was gentle and amiable in her character, and eminently lovely in her person. She left two daughters: the elder, who married the Archduke Albert, governed for many years the low countries; the younger espoused the Duke of Savoy.

Descending to more modern instances,

the example of a house so unfortunate as that of the Stuarts, stands unprecedented in history.

The first of the Scottish Kings, whose name was James, after having been eighteen years a prisoner in England, was assassinated with his wife, by his own subjects. James II. his son, was killed at the age of 29, in fighting against the English! James III. was thrown into prison by his people, and afterwards perished in a battle against the revolters. James IV. was defeated, and slain. Mary Stuart, his granddaughter, driven from her throne, became a fugitive in England, and, after having languished eighteen years in confinement, was condemned to die, by English judges, and beheaded.

Charles I. (grandson of Mary,) King of England and Scotland, sold by the Scotch, and adjudged to death by the English; perished on the public scaffold. James, his son, the seventh of the name in Scotland, and the second in England, was driven from his three kingdoms; and, to add to his misfortunes, even the legitimacy of his son was disputed.

The attempt of James the Second's son to ascend the throne of his ancestors, was productive only of the death of his friends, by the hands of the executioner: and we have seen Charles Edward in vain uniting the virtues of his ancestors, and the courage of King John Sobieski, his maternal uncle, performing exploits, and experiencing misfortunes the most incredible. If any thing can justify those who believe in an irresistible fatality, it is the continued misfortunes that persecuted the house of Stuart, for the space of 300 years.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

RECOLLECTIONS OF ROYALTY, &c.

Page

WILLIAM, SURNAMED RUFUS 1
His extension of the forest law 1
Encourages the rising spirit of chivalry 1
New Forest, Hampshire 2
——— celebrated oak at Stony Cross 2
Lord Delaware's stone erected, with an inscription, &c. 2
Seizure of vacant bishoprics and abbeys 3
Mortgages his dukedom 4
His death by Walter Tyrell 5
Other particulars relative to the death of Rufus .. 5
Flight of Sir Walter Tyrell 5
Descendants of Purkess 5
Characteristic anecdote of Rufus 8
HENRY I.—His titles and character 9
Hollingshed's account of the treatment of his Brother Robert 9
Expeditation of dogs 9
Death of Robert 10
RICHARD I.—Romantic incidents of his reign 10
His reign and character 11
His encouragement of chivalry 12
——— Origin of romances 14
His achievements 16
—— poetical genius 20
—— gallantry 20
Walter, Archdeacon of Canterbury, his pastime .. 21

Page

William de Clowne, an adept in hunting 21
Chaucer's description of the manners of the age.—
The game then hunted 22
Good living patronized..... 22
Luxury of the English..... 23
———, peacock, a favourite dish 23
———, the game of quintain..... 23
———, curious anecdote of Pope Julius III. by
Holingshed 24
King Richard—his critical situation when a prisoner of
Leopold, Duke of Austria, from an ancient
chronicle..... 25
The Minstrel, Blondel, effects his release 25
King John, his resignation of the crown of England to the
Pope 27
His situation after the year 1212 27
Accepts dishonourable terms 28
Reconciliation with the Pope—consequences of .. 30
Royal Children, murder of, in the Tower..... 32
Various opinions concerning, &c. 32
English History, Letters illustrative of..... 34
Thomas Cromwell and Wolsey 35
Owen Glendower's rebellion 35
Antipathy of the Welsh to Henry IV. 35
Temp. Henry V.—Letter from the Mayor and Burgesses of Caerlon to those of Monmouth, detailing the Defeat of Owen Glendower and
Hopkins ap Thomas, Master of Brut..... 36
Letters of this period, their singular mixture of
French and English..... 38
Sir Edward Mortimer's Coalition with Glendower 38
Negociation for the partition of the kingdom 40
Owen's territory and the Percies..... 40
The monk of Evesham 41
Date of Glendower's death..... 42

Page

Richard, Earl of Cambridge, his supplication to Henry V 43

——————— processes in early times .. . 43

Proceedings of parliament held at Leicester, from MSS. Cotton, &c. 43

Muster Roll of Hen. V. in his first voyage to France 43

Letter in behalf of the Lord Furnyval, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 45

Error of Giraldus Cambrensus corrected 45

Authority of Bede 45

Henry's compact with the Pope 46

——— landing in Ireland 46

Ireland the nearest mart for English slaves 48

Condition of the navy at this period 48

Largest ship of war at this time 49

Singular equipment of ships 49

Other large ships built by Hen. V. 50

Ships of the king, those of the commons, &c..... 50

Pay of the admiral, men, masters, and mariners.. 50

Tonnage of two carracks 50

Explanation of the word carrack 51

Apprehension and execution of Sir John Oldcastle, executed as a follower of Wickliffe's doctrines 51

Blunder of Lingard corrected 52

Barbarous execution, &c. 52

ROYAL LETTERS—Early epistolary correspondence 53

Letters previous to Hen. V. usually written in French or Latin 54

Earliest royal signature in this country 54

Letters from temp. Hen. V. to temp. Hen. VIII... 54

Escape of Bothwell (a Ramsay of Corstoun,) from Bell-the-Cat 55

Extracts from Bothwell's letters 55

Motions of Peter Warbeck, Perkyns, &c. &c. &c. 56

Page

Letters giving the reason of Henry VIII. refusing to join the Pope against the Turks 58

His letters to the king of France on the same subject, &c. &c. 58

HENRY, SURNAMED, MONMOUTH—his versatility of character, &c. the companion of Falstaff 58

Gives a judge a box on the ear 64

His committal to prison 64

— submission 64

— conduct when seated on the throne. His behaviour towards the accomplices of his youthful follies 64

Battle of Agincourt 64

———— consequences to Henry V. .. 67

Dilapidation of the times 67

Swiss soldier stabs the image of the Virgin 68

The blood said to have spurted out 68

Effigy of the soldier since annually burnt 68

HENRY VII.—Two extraordinary events recorded .. 69

Richard Simon, a priest; his design to disturb the government 69

False report of the Duke of York's escape.—Personated by Simnel 70

Simnel taken prisoner at the battle of Stoke.—He is made a scullion of in Henry's kitchen 71

Similar attempt of the Duchess of Burgundy with one Perkin Warbeck 71

Warbeck hanged 72

Walpole's opinion of him 72

Fruit during this reign 72

Mere accident prevented Henry VII. from equipping Columbus on his memorable voyage 72

Henry fits out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian 73

£14,000 expended in building a ship, called the Great Harry 73

Page

A FRAGMENT.—Historical particulars of the reign of King Henry VIII. Edward VI. Queen Mary, and part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth—(from the Mysteries of State and Government) 73

COURT OF HENRY VIII.—Membirs, letters, and other curious documents relative to 85

Revolution in manners, dress, and religion 86

Limitations on female dress 88

Materials of the dresses 88

Royal diversions and amusements 88

Tournaments 90

Tilting at the quintain 90

Running at the ring 90

Jousting, or fighting in single combat 90

The barriers, single combat with battle-axes, &c. 90

Henry's regard for the son of Sir Wm. Brandon, 92

Combat between Sir Thomas Knevet and Lord Neville 93

The crystal shield, the prize of valour 94

Pageant introduced in the hall at Richmond, &c. 95

Singular instance of clerical justice 96

——— Indignation of the people 97

——— Convocation of the clergy 98

——— Criminal dismissed, &c. 99

CATHARINE OF ARRAGON, divorce of 99

Her ascendancy for twenty years 100

Want of male issue 100

Decline of her health 100

Letter throwing considerable light on the union of Catharine with Henry 101

Probability of Catharine's pregnancy at this time, 101

Joint letter, another singular document 103

Letter from William Knight, divulging a scene between Henry VIII. and his secretary 105

Page

Catharine implores the protection of the Emperor, her nephew 108
Henry, when called, answers to his name 108
Catharine's appeal 108
Her departure 109
Wolsey waved his privileges as elder cardinal .. 109
Henry's unbounded confidence in Wolsey 109
False estimate of Henry's character 110
Wolsey's devotion to his sovereign 110
Henry's hopes frustrated 111
Cause, by the advice of Cranmer, referred to the judgment of the universities of Europe 111
Henry's marriage pronounced invalid by the convocations of York and Canterbury 111
The king declared supreme head of the church .. 112
Nuptials of Henry and Ann Boleyn privately celebrated 112
Catharine declared contumacious 112
LETTER.—Sir Thomas Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, upon the Christening of the Duke of Orleans, afterwards King Henry II. of France, illustrative of the manners of the age 113
Sir Thomas to Wolsey 117
Ann Boleyn delivered of a daughter (Sep. 7, 1533) on whom the name of Elizabeth was bestowed, 118
Catharine must submit to be treated as Princess Dowager of Wales 118
She refuses—persists in her pretensions—irritates the king, which induces him, contrary to his first purpose, to exclude her first daughter from the crown 119
Catharine retires to the castle of Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire 119
Death of Catharine, Jan. 8, 1535-6 119

Page

Henry affected to tears . . . 120
Catharine's injunctions relative to her funeral . . . 120
Esteem of Erasmus for Catharine . . . 121
Private life of Catharine . . . 121
Her devotion to literature, &c. . . . 121
Council of the Household of the Lady Mary to Cardinal Wolsey . . . 121
Cardinal Wolsey's orders for an establishment for the Duke of Richmond; he ordains a council hall for the Lady Mary . . . 122
HOUSEHOLD-BOOK OF LADY MARY, extracts from, in various years . . . 123
Particulars relative to the fall of Buckingham . . . 123
Roy alludes to Wolsey as his destroyer . . . 124
William Tyndale's rare tract, "Practice of Prelates," quoted . . . 125
Letter to Wolsey from Sir William Fitzwilliam . . . 126
Wolsey's answer . . . 126
Earl of Surrey's characteristic account of an important inroad into Scotland . . . 128
Description of the Duke of Albany, by the same, 130
Henry, Charles of Castile, and Francis I. . . . 130
Directions from Henry to Sir Thomas Boleyn, to sound the intention of Francis . . . 131
Letter from Sir Thomas Boleyn to Wolsey . . . 132
Letter from Sir T. Boleyn, a curious document of courtly intercourse . . . 133
LETTER from Dr. Simpson to Cardinal Wolsey, on the news of the battle of Pavia . . . 136
Moderation of Charles V. . . . 136
LETTER from Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Mr. Hawkins, ambassador at the Emperor's court, 143
JOHN DE PONTE, a poor Frenchman, to Secretary Cromwell—a curious story . . . 144
SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES, singular scenes during 146

Page
Documents, remarkable, from Ellis Price to Cromwell .. 148
Image of Darvell Gathern 150
Story of Friar Forest 150
Verses set up on his gallows 152
Letter from Lord Cromwell to the Earl of Chester .. 153
Gipsies described.. 155
Severe measures enacted against them 155
Enaction by William and Mary..... 155
Expelled from France 156
Indulgence to them in Scotland 156
Original Letters.
King Edward III. to William de la Zouche 157
——————— Progress after landing in France 157
—— Edward's army; description of the expedition 158
Letter in Robert de Avesbury's Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi Tertii, translated 164
Froissart's account of Edward's operations 166
Edward's arrival before the town of Caen 168
——————— capture of Chamberlain de Tankerville and constable 169
Stores found in the town..... 170
Letter from Robert Willoughby de Eresby, to his father-in-law, Henry Lord Fitz-Hugh 171
Complains of his property withheld from him—his services—death, &c. 173
Letter relative to the death of Mary Queen of Scots, by John Wolley, clerk of the council 176
Secretary Davison and Q. Elizabeth 177
Howard, Dr.—Extracts from his collection of letters .. 180
From many princes, great personages, and statesmen, &c..... 180
Henry Cuffe, secretary to the Earl of Essex, his speech at the place of execution 202
A Maid of Honour, letter from 203

Page
LETTER on the abduction of an heiress, in the reign of James I. 206
FURNITURE in the palace of King Henry VIII. a curious inventory of 211
HOUSEHOLD OF HENRY VIII. extracts relative to 218
METROPOLIS, curious facts relative to the state of—*Temp.* 2 *Eliz.* 224
Slang harbouring-houses, &c. 234
London apprentices 235
CLERICAL OBEDIENCE, a whimsical example of 237
LETTER from Sir Thomas Elyot, pleading for rewards for his long and laborious services 239
NICHOLAS WOTTON and RICHARD BERDE deputed to negotiate Henry the Eighth's marriage with Anne of Cleves 240
LETTER from the Princess Elizabeth to King Edward, illustrative of the style of that era 241
REPORT of the Commissioners sent by Edw. VI. to enforce the Protestant faith on Princess Mary 243
LETTER from Thomas Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, giving an account of the marriage of the Queen of Scots to Lord Darnley 244
ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF DAVID RIZZIO, by the Earl of Bedford, &c. 251
Remonstrance of Mary against her intended removal from Carlisle 259
TURKISH AMBASSADOR'S first visit to England, in a letter to Sir Thomas Hoby 262
Historical documents, &c. 267
Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Lord Burghley, for a loan of the robes from the royal wardrobes 268
Accident at Cambridge 268
Nostrums—Medicated slippers for the gout 269
Tincture of gold 269

Page

Earl of Shrewsbury's prescription—plasters in preferment 270
Medical science, temp. Hen. VIII..... 271
Letter from James to Elizabeth 272
Elizabeth's answer 276
Lord Leicester's observations thereon..... 277
Letters from James I. to Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham 278
His Sonnet to Prince Henry 280
DRESS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND. Temp. Hen. VII. and VIII. 283
Materials employed..... 283
Ornaments for the hair 283
ANNE BOLEYN, marriage and execution of..... 285
Proceedings of the court of Rome 286
Conduct of Henry, &c. 286
Anne Boleyn sent to the Tower 289
Her entreaties, manners, &c..... 290
Catholics interested in believing her criminal.... 291
Her trial, and her brothers 292
Her defence unassisted by counsel..... 292
The marriage pronounced null, &c. 293
Her observations to the lieutenant of the Tower.. 294
Beheaded by a French executioner..... 294
Artifice of the executioner 294
Henry's divorce ratified by the new parliament .. 296
SACRILEGIOUS MURDER and RANSOM 297
The effects of avarice 298
Character of the Duke of Gloucester, by Froissart 298
Barbarous state of chivalry at this period..... 300
John Philpot, a bold adventurer; his history 302
Penance done by Lord Strange and his wife 304
Mysterious death of Henry of Lancaster..... 305
DRESS, curious particulars relative to, at the commencement of the fifteenth century 309

Page

LADY JANE GREY.—Family descent..... 311
Marquis of Dorset raised to the dukedom of Suffolk..... 328
Statutes relative to the succession 332
Proclamation of Lady Jane Grey 342
The answer of the council..... 342
Three letters written in Lady Jane's name 346
Letter of the commissioners to the lords of the council..... 353
Mary's rapid efforts to dispossess her rival 360
Pedigree of Mary..... 360
Conduct of the Earl of Arundel..... 360
Lords Grey and Northumberland 361
Northumberland's cruelty and injustice 361
Mary proclaimed..... 362
Suffolk's arrest 362
——— committal to the Tower..... 362
Measures adopted for the arraignment of Lady Jane, and Lord Guildford Dudley; with his brothers, Lord Ambrose and Lord Henry Dudley 364
Committal to the Tower..... 364
Trial and condemnation 366
Queen's confessor, Feckenham, sent to Lady Jane to announce the awful tidings of death—her reply to Feckenham 366
A conference, dialogue-wise, held between Lady Jane Dudley and Feckenham 368
Conduct of Feckenham 373
Prayer composed by Lady Jane..... 374
Execution of Lady Jane and Lord Guildford 377
Lady Jane's speech on the scaffold..... 381
Facts respecting her interment 383
Remarks of Mr. Howard and other biographers 384
Productions attributed to her 385

Page

Observations of Fuller 385

An interesting circumstance connected with Lady Jane Grey 387

Death of Jane Grey, with observations, historical and illustrative, from various sources, letters, &c. 397

Court Fragments;

OR,

RECOLLECTIONS OF ROYALTY.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

RUFUS.

William (surnamed Rufus), the third son of the Conqueror, succeeded his father on the throne of England; but inherited neither his wisdom, nor his steady greatness. No marked alteration for the better in the general state of England, characterizes his reign, though the seeds of national improvement sown by the Conqueror were gradually but silently unfolding themselves. His extension of the forest law, indeed, to inflictions of the most cruel and disproportioned description, go far towards branding Rufus as a tyrant; but the charge is, in some measure, balanced by the encouragement which he afforded to the rising spirit of chivalry and knight-errantry; a system, which, in an age of comparative ignorance, rudeness, and precarious submission to law, had the most direct tendency to meliorate the manners of those who felt its influence; and

to inspire them with sentiments of *prowess, generosity, gallantry,* and *religion.*

The New Forest, Hampshire, which is a most extensive tract of land, (being not less than forty miles in circumference,) has been so denominated for nearly seven hundred years. It is situated on the south side of the county, and, anciently, contained many populous towns and villages, and thirty-six parish churches, all of which are said to have been destroyed by William the Conqueror, and his son William Rufus, to gratify their inordinate love of hunting.

A celebrated oak in this forest, also remarkable for its premature vegetation, formerly stood near Stony Cross, at a small distance north from Castle Malwood, and believed to be the very tree against which the arrow glanced that caused the death of William Rufus. Charles II. commanded this tree to be paled round, and in Leland's time, there was a chapel near the spot. At present, however, neither chapel nor tree remains. In the place of the latter, Lord Delaware, about sixty years ago, erected a triangular stone, about five feet high, surmounted by a ball, and having the following inscription:—

"Here stood the oak tree on which an arrow, shot by Sir Walter Tyrrel, at a stag, glanced and struck King William II., surnamed Rufus, on the breast; of which stroke he instantly died, on the 2d of August, 1100.

"King William II., surnamed Rufus, being slain, as before related, was laid in a cart belonging to one Purkess, and drawn

from hence to Winchester, and buried in the cathedral church of that city.

"That where an event so memorable had happened might not hereafter be unknown, this stone was set up by John, Lord Delaware, who had seen the tree growing in this place, anno 1745."

This stone stands in Minstead parish, near Malwood Castle Lodge.

Dr. Lingard asserts in his *History of England*, that Rufus was intentionally slain by Tyrrel, who, immediately afterwards, quitted this country, and made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; this act was attributed to remorse, and, consequently, construed into a proof of his guilt. But, as most historians agree that it was accidental, we will extract the opinions of our most popular writers upon the subject.

William II. surnamed Rufus, second son of the Conqueror, and King of England, was crowned at Westminster, in September, 1087. When he was firmly seated on the throne, he forgot his promise of relieving the English from oppression, and even enhanced the severity of the forest laws. The death of Lanfranc, whom he respected, left him at liberty to seize vacant bishoprics and abbeys, and to bestow church lands on his captains and favourites. In 1090, he visited Normandy, with hostile intentions respecting his brother, (who succeeded to the dukedom,) but a negociation took place, and they were reconciled. He returned to England, ac-

companied by his brother Robert, who commanded an army which was sent against Malcolm, King of Scotland. But a variance soon took place between the brothers, occasioned by the encroaching and treacherous disposition of William, and led him to excite the Norman barons to rebel against Robert. Whilst William was prosecuting hostile measures against his brother, he was recalled to England, in 1095, to suppress a conspiracy among the barons in the north, whom he speedily defeated, and severely punished. The spirit of crusading having, at this time, pervaded Europe, Robert was seized with the mania, and mortgaged his dukedom to William for 10,000 marks, to enable him to unite with the crusaders in 1096. William, having gone over to the continent to take possession of Normandy and Maine, was taken extremely ill, and, apprehending danger, resolved to repair the injury which he had done to the church, and to supply the vacancy of the archbishopric of Canterbury, which had been occasioned by the death of Lanfranc. Anselm was nominated, but the king and the primate soon disagreed; and, although a synod was assembled for the deposition of the archbishop, the king failed in the attempt. Anselm desired permission to leave the kingdom, and obtained leave, but his temporalities were seized, and the pope received him as a confessor in the cause of religion.

William's French acquisitions were the oc-

casion of trouble to him; for, whilst he was hunting in the New Forest, he was informed that the citadel of Maine was besieged; he therefore hastened to Dartmouth, and determined to embark without delay. As the weather was tempestuous, the mariners expressed some apprehension of danger; the king, however, was resolute and persevering, and asked them if they had ever heard of a king who was drowned? Having accomplished his object, he was applied to by the Duke of Guienne, who was under the influence of the passion for crusading, for the loan of a sum of money, as a mortgage on his rich provinces of Guienne and Poitou. William accepted the proposal; but, whilst he was preparing to carry over the money and to take possession of the provinces, he was accidentally killed in the New Forest. Having alighted from his horse after a chase, a stag sprung up near him; and a French gentleman, Walter Tyrrel, perceiving the animal, shot off an arrow, which, glancing from a tree, entered the king's breast, and penetrated to the heart. Tyrrel, who lived many years after, always declared he was not in the Forest any part of the day on which the king was killed. The king's body was found by the country people, and interred without ceremony at Winchester: this happened on August 2, 1100, when the king was in the 40th year of his age, and the 13th of his reign. Henry, the grandson of

the Conqueror, lost his life also in the same forest. While pursuing his game, he was caught by the hair of his head, which got entangled in the bough of a tree, and was there suspended till he died. "The incidents of his reign," says a biographer, "prove him to have possessed vigour and decision, courage and policy; but to have been violent, perfidious, and rapacious, and void of all sense of justice and honour." In his reign were erected the Tower, London-bridge, and Westminster-hall.

Other Particulars relative to the Death of Rufus.

Sir Walter Tyrrell, who is accused of killing the king, and who always denied the charge, is said to have deposed on oath, in the presence of Lugar, Abbot of St. Denis, that he never saw the king on the day of his death, nor entered that part of the forest in which he fell. Be that as it may, Tyrrell fled out of the kingdom; and the circumstance of his accusation and probable guilt has lately been more strongly and fully explained by a gentleman residing in the New Forest, and well conversant in its local history, who thus writes to the editor of a provincial journal:—"There is," he says, "in all good maps of Hampshire, and, amongst others, in Carey's new map, a ford marked in the river

Avon, called Tyrrell's Ford. The manor* in which this ford is situated is called Avon Tyrrell, because Sir Walter Tyrrell escaped by this ford from Hampshire into Dorsetshire, whence he fled to France; and the proprietor of this manor pays to the sheriff of Hampshire, to this day, a yearly fine of five pounds, imposed on it as a punishment on the then owner for having suffered Tyrrell thus to escape. This shows evidently that Tyrrell was pursued (wrongfully or not) as king Rufus's murderer; and that he was so long beset, that there was time to give orders to close all the passes of the New Forest against him; otherwise, no blame could have been attached to the owner of the manor in question, and Tyrrell would not have fled, and waited an opportunity to escape, if he had not known that he was pursued for a crime."

We are not aware that the above circumstance was ever made public except in the paper mentioned. In addition to what is here stated, the following remarks, which have their authenticity only to recommend them, may not be without their interest.

The descendants of the man (Purkess) who drew Rufus to Winchester, are now living in the immediate vicinity of Rufus's Stone; and the remains of the cart in which he was drawn there, were but very recently destroyed. Rufus's

* The property of the Hon. Anne Fane.

stirrup is now preserved in the king's house at Lyndhurst, and is shown to visitors as an article of curiosity; it is of iron, and was once gilt; its width at the bottom is ten inches and a half; depth seven inches and a half, and, measured all round, is two feet seven inches. It was formerly used as a test for ascertaining what dogs kept within the forest should suffer *expeditation**. If a dog could not be drawn through the stirrup, he was to undergo this operation, to disqualify him for the pursuit of deer.

An anecdote of Rufus, very characteristic of his vanity or extravagance, is given by the old metrical chronicler, Robert of Gloucester; and, divested of its original orthography, is as follows:

"As his chamberlain him brought, as he arose one day,
The morrow for to wear a pair of hose of sey;
He ask'd what they cost him? Three shillings the other said.
'Fy a dibles!' quoth the King. 'Who says so vile a deed?
A King wear any cloth, but what should cost him more;
Buy a pair of a mark, or you shall rue it sore!
A worse pair full enough the other sith him bought,
And said they cost a mark, and therefore so were brought.
"A bel Amy," quoth the King, "these are now well bought;"
In this manner serve thou me, or thou shalt serve me not."

HENRY THE FIRST.

Henry I. (the youngest son of the Conqueror) was a scholar and a statesman. The title of *Beau-*

* In the laws of the forest, to expeditate, signifies to cut out the ball of the dog's fore-feet, for the preservation of the king's

clerc evinces his claim to the former character; and that of the "*Lion of Justice*" marks his regard to those sacred obligations of law and equity, the public observance of which constitutes the surest bond of social happiness and order.

The worst action of Henry was the treatment of his brother Robert, imprisoning him, and, when he attempted to escape, putting out his eyes. Hollingshed's account of Robert's death is somewhat singular and affecting.

"It is sayde that, on a festival day, King Henrie put on a robe of scarlet, the cape whereof being strayte, hee rent it in striving to put it over hys heade; and perceyving it would not serve him, he layed it aside, and sayde, Let my brother Robert have this garment, who hath a sharper head than I have. The which when it was brought to Duke Robert, the rent place not being sewed up, he discovered it, and asked whether any man had worn it before. The messenger told the whole matter; how it happened. Hereupon Duke Robert tooke such a greefe, for the scornful mocke of his brother,

game: but the ball of the foot of a mastiff was not to be taken out, but the three claws of the fore-foot of the right side were to be cut off by the skin.—*Cromp. Jurisp.* 152. *Manwood, cap.* 16. This relates to every man's dog who lives near the forest; and was formerly done once in every three years: and if any person keeps a great dog, not expeditated, he forfeits to the king three shillings and four pence. *4th Institut.* 308.

that he waxed wearie of his life, and sayde, Nowe I perceyve I have lived too long, that my brother shall clothe me like his almes-man with his cast rent garments. And thus cursing the time of his nativity, refused from thenceforth to eate or drink, and so pined away, and was buried at Gloucester."

RICHARD THE FIRST.

"Richard, that robbed the lion of his heart."—SHAKSPEARE.

How very singular it would sound, now-a-days, were his Majesty, King George the Fourth, to say that he would sell London, if he could find a purchaser! Sell London! Sell the metropolis of the British Empire! How our worthy citizens would stare—what a dust it would stir up in the common-hall, were a King of England in the nineteenth century, so to express himself! Such, however, was the daringly despotic reply of our first Richard, when, after he had renounced, for the sum of ten thousand marks, the superiority of Scotland, gained by his father—after he had put to sale all the revenues and manors of the crown, all places of trust and profit, and even the seats in the courts of justice—his ministers ventured to remonstrate with him against the rapacity and oppression he was exercising. For

what, it may be asked, was he exercising such rapacity, and such oppression? Simply, that he might extort money from his unhappy subjects, in furtherance of his darling project for extricating the holy land from infidel domination. Well may we exclaim, *tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis!*

Pregnant as were the reign and character of Richard with romantic incident and high dramatic interest—essentially romantic as they were in their nature—it is surprising that, with a poet's eye, our Prince of Bards never selected them for one of his grand historical compositions. The reign and character of Richard might, indeed, furnish materials for fifty dramas: to the descriptive poet, to the dramatist, to the romance writer, they constitute a rich and inexhaustible mine. We look on the crusades, at the present day, with something of the same emotion which we feel when we talk of the Trojan war; and Cœur de Lion and Soliman no more excite our sympathies than Achilles and Hector: but between two and three centuries ago, at the name of the Red Cross and its holy warriors, the dying flame of enthusiasm quivered brightly in the heart of our ancestors; the name of Saracen had not ceased to be hateful to their ears, and the sepulchre was still a shrine and a temple;—there yet lingered a feeling of veneration, in the hearts of men, for the heroic deeds of their

fathers and the places that were doubly consecrated by holiness and valour.

It seems not improbable, that, in the time of Shakspeare, when all hopes of raising the standard of the Cross upon the towers of Jerusalem had long been relinquished, when the Knights Templars had been persecuted even to death, when the reformation had turned men's thoughts and feelings into a new channel, the achievements of Richard might beam through a dim and clouded sky, with a lustre more feeble than that which, to our less obscured vision, they now display. To us they are revealed in a shadowy splendour, not distinctly, but with a broad, bold, and imposing magnificence, seen through the mist of ages; the heroes of Richard and of Palestine are the true heroes of the romance; they walk abroad in the majesty of their might; they tread the earth like demi-gods, attracting, commanding, and extorting admiration.

The reign of Richard the First, a sovereign who has been dead upwards of six hundred and twenty years, may be considered as forming an epoch in English history. The crusades had a vast influence upon our literary taste, as well as upon our general manners. It is to Richard we are indebted for the rise of chivalry in England. It was he who established tilts and tournaments; and, under his auspices, our diversions assumed a military air, the genius of poetry

flourished, and the lovelier sex was exalted in universal admiration. How delightful was it, then, beneath the inspiring gaze of the fair—

> "Sternly to strike the quintin down;
> Or fiercely storm some turf-formed town;
> To rush with valour's doughty sway,
> Against a Babylon of clay;
> A Memphis shake with furious shock;
> Or raze some flower-built Antioch!"—GRATTAN.

It is true, as Dr. Percy has observed, that "our old romances of chivalry may be derived, in a lineal descent, from the ancient historical songs of the Gothic bards and Scalds;" that 'many of those songs are still preserved in the North, which exhibit all the seeds of chivalry before it became a solemn institution;" that "even the common arbitrary fictions of romance were most of them familiar to the ancient Scalds of the North, long before the time of the crusades;" and that "they believed the existence of giants and dwarfs,"—"had some notions of fairies"—"were strongly possessed of the belief of spells and enchantments, and were fond of inventing combats with dragons and monsters." Previously to the crusades, the leading subjects of our poets and romance writers, were the achievements of King Arthur, with his Knights of the Round Table; and of Charlemagne, with his twelve Peers. In the romances, however, which were produced during, and subsequently

to the wars of Palestine, new countries, new champions, and new conquests were introduced. "Legions of poets," from all countries of Europe, are said to have embarked in the holy enterprise of exterminating the infidels, and when they returned, they poured forth, in a full tide of song, the glowing history of their exploits, enriched with the beautiful scenery and the brilliant fictions of the East.

Richard, the second of our Plantagenet race, had lived long in Provence. Himself a poet, he invited to his court many of the French troubadours, or minstrels, whom he loaded with honours and rewards; and he became a munificent patron of literature, of chivalry, and of arms. It may be presumed that, in his selection of the "sons of song," the royal bard was not deficient in taste and judgment. Three only of his minstrels' names are on record: Blondell de Nesle; Fouquet, of Marseilles; and Anselme Faydett, of Avignon; but of these, the two latter had the high honour of being celebrated, and, occasionally, even imitated, by Dante and Petrarch. Faydett, a profuse and voluptuous writer, whose tongue, says Petrarch, was a shield, helmet, sword, and spear, is in Dante's "Paradise."—

That Richard, at once a favourite of the muse, the friend of poets, and a distinguished hero of the crusades, should become also a distinguished hero of romance, was quite an affair of course.

Accordingly we find his deeds recorded, embellished, and magnified to the supernatural, in a French metrical romance, entitled "*Richard Cœur de Lion,*" a rude English translation of which is still preserved in the libraries of the curious.

Richard is generally considered to have derived his surname from a superiority of animal courage; but, if the old romance alluded to be entitled to credit, he earned it nobly and literally, by plucking out the heart of a lion, to whose fury he had been exposed, by the Duke of Austria, for having slain his son with a blow of his fist! In the numerous descriptions afforded by the Romance, Richard is a most imposing personage. He is said to have carried with him to the Crusades, and to have afterwards presented to Tancred, King of Sicily, as an inestimable jewel, the wonder-working sword of King Arthur.—

"The gude sword CALIBURNE that Arthur luffed so well."

At times, he was accustomed to carry a shaft, or lance, fourteen feet in length; and, at other times,

"———————— an axe for the nones,
To break therewith the Sarrasyns' bones."

With this formidable axe, the head of which contained "twenty bounde (pounds) of stele,"

besides breaking the bones of the Saracens, he used to smite right through "dores, barres, and iron chaynes." In the service of chain-chopping, he employed his axe most successfully at the siege of Acre, a fortress before which 300,000 christians are said to have fallen.

Many of Richard's achievements, whether recorded by the historian or emblazoned by the poet, must be received *cum grano salis;* yet, that he proved a dreadful and terrific scourge to the infidels, there can be no doubt. There is an anecdote of his having been taken alarmingly ill, and that he longed for pork. No pork, however, could be obtained. The consequence was, that his attendants committed the "*pious fraud*" of roasting a fine plump young Saracen, and persuading the sick prince that it was a pig! Whether it was dished up in the high style of the ancient *Porcus Trojanus,* is not mentioned. At all events, Richard made a most delicious meal, rapidly recovered from his illness, and was ever after remarkably fond of the flesh of roasted Saracens! We have it on better authority, that so terrible was the remembrance of Richard's valour, in the crusades, that the Turks and Saracens used to quiet their froward children, only by repeating his name; and that, when they were riding, and their horses started at any unusual object, "ils disoient à leurs chevaux, en

les picquant de l'esperon, et *croit tu que ce soit le Roi Richard* ?*"

Richard is known to have transported an astonishing number of huge battering-rams, and other military engines, to the Holy Land; and it is stated, upon the authority of Du Cange, that he was killed by the French, whilst besieging the castle of Chaluz, from the shot of an arcubalist, a machine which he was accustomed to work skilfully with his own hands. The use of the arcubalist had, from the destructive nature of that machine, been interdicted by the pope in the year 1139; but it was revived by King Richard, and is thought to have been shewn by that warrior, to the French, during the crusades. The received opinion, however, and that which is narrated in all the Histories of England, is, that Richard received his death-wound from Bertram de Gourdon, an archer. Perhaps it may not be thought incurious to mention, that the Gourdons, of Assington-Hall, in the county of Suffolk, a family which came into England with the Conqueror, profess to derive their descent, collaterally, from the same stock as Bertram de Gourdon, who slew Richard Cœur de Lion.

"The intellectual qualities of Richard I. (as we have before hinted) were far from being contemptible; and had they been unfolded by edu-

* *Translation.* "They said to their horses, in giving them the spur, and, *dost thou think that it is King Richard?*"

cation, and nourished by leisure and study, would have thrown some lustre on the age in which he lived. Several pointed sayings and smart answers have been recorded of him, that shew quickness of perception and readiness of repartee. When he sold the earldom of Northumberland to the Bishop of Durham, he said with a laugh, 'Am not I cunning to make a young earl out of an old bishop?' To a Frenchman, who told him that he (Richard) had three daughters, whom he must part with—pride, avarice, and voluptuousness:—'Then,' said he, 'I give to the Knights Templars, my pride,—to the Carmelites, my avarice,—and to the Clergy, my voluptuousness.' And having taken a bishop prisoner in a skirmish, and put him into fetters, the prelates complained to the Pope, who desired Richard not to detain in prison his *dear son* in the faith. The king sent the pope the armour in which the bishop had been taken, with this message: 'We found him in this dress; see whether it be your son's coat or not.' The Pontiff was not behindhand in joke with Richard, but returned for answer, 'No, not my son's; but some imp of Mars, who may deliver him, if he can: I will not interfere.'

"We have before mentioned Richard's poetical taste, which always indicates a mind capable of greater things than the groveling pursuits of mere sense. Its productions must not be tried

by the modern gauge of literary merit; but they are not behind the standard of the poetical talent of the times in which he lived. One of these curious effusions is the following *sirvente,* which he composed during his captivity in Germany.

"'No prisoner can speak justly of his misfortune without grief; yet for his solace he may make a song. He may have friends, but how poor are their gifts! They should feel shame, that two winters are passed without my ransom.

"'My English, Norman, Gascon, Poitou Barons! I have had no companion so miserable, whose deliverance I would not have purchased. I will not reproach you; but—I am still a prisoner!

"'It is, indeed, true, that a dead man has neither relations nor friends; since to save some gold and silver, I am abandoned! I am suffering from my misfortunes; but I suffer more from the want of feeling in my subjects! How reproachful to them, if I should die in captivity.

"'I am not surprised that I should grieve. My feudal sovereign is ravaging my lands, although we swore to respect each other's possessions. But one thing consoles me,—I will not be slow in taking my revenge.

"'Chail and Pensaivin! my minstrels! my friends! I have loved you: I love you now. Sing, that my enemies will have little glory in

attacking me; that I have not shewn to them a heart false and perfidious: that they will act like real villains if they war against me while I am in prison!

" 'Lady Soir, heaven guard your sovereign merit! and her's whom I claim, and to whom I am a captive!

The only other poem of Richard's which has been preserved, is a *sirvente* against the Dauphin of Auvergne, and his cousin, whose alliance against the French king, Richard had solicited in vain. It is much in the same fashion.

The miscellaneous parts embrace accounts of orders of knighthood, tournaments, combats, crusades, and other distinguished features of the age; and we shall conclude this notice with a selection as miscellaneous as the author's own plan.

Speaking of the sports of the field, and the ardent pursuit by churchmen, we are told that

" Walter, Archdeacon of Canterbury, who was promoted to the see of Rochester in 1147, spent the whole of his time in *hunting*, to the utter neglect of all the high duties of his office. He lived to a very advanced age; and, when eighty years old, was as keen a sportsman as ever.

" Of the same character and habits was Reginald Brian, translated to the see of Worcester

in 1352. In an extant Manuscript epistle of his, addressed to the Bishop of St. David's, Reginald reminds the holy father of a promise which he had made, to send him six brace of excellent hunting dogs; the best (as the sportsman confesses) that he had ever seen. Of these Reginald says, he had been in daily anxious expectation; and he declares that his heart languished for their arrival. 'Let them come then (he intreats,) oh! reverend father, without delay: let my woods re-echo with the music of their cry, and the cheerful notes of the horn; and let the walls of my palace be decorated with the trophies of the chace.'

"William de Clowne, whom his biographer celebrates as the most amiable ecclesiastic that ever filled the abbot's throne of St. Mary's in Leicestershire, was a deep adept in all the mysteries of hunting. That his kennel might always be well supplied, he requested Richard II. to grant him a market or fair, for the sale and purchase of sporting dogs; a request which the king complied with, seeing the abbot *passionately* desired it. He was, continues his eulogist, the most famous and knowing sportsman after a hare in the kingdom; insomuch that the king himself, Prince Edward his son, and most of the grandees in the realm, allowed him annual pensions for his instructions in the art of hare hunting.

Chaucer, the admirable and faithful painter

of the manners of his age, has given us a very particular and amusing portrait of a sporting monastic of the fourteenth century; the original (probably) from which the abbot in Ivanhoe is copied.

Of the game then hunted,

"The wolf, wild boar, and roebuck, have long since disappeared. The particular periods when the two former became extinct in this country, cannot probably be ascertained. The history and fall of the roebuck are better known. He continued to be an inhabitant of England till within the last eighty years; and was not infrequently met with on the wastes, a small distance from Hexham, in Northumberland. As the breed, however, became gradually more scarce, it was sought for with greater eagerness; so that after enduring the united attacks of the dog and gun for a few seasons, it at length dwindled into one solitary animal, which about sixty years since is said to have been destroyed by —— Whitfield, esq. of Whitfield, in Northumberland."

Good living was as heartily patronized as hard exercise:

"In the thirteenth year of his reign, on his return from an excursion into Normandy, Rufus reared that spacious edifice, known by the name of Westminster Hall, which to this day boasts a superiority, with respect to size, over every other

room in Europe of a similar construction. This was the theatre of royal revelry, and here Rufus held a magnificent feast on the Whitsuntide after it was completed. Vast, however, as the fabric was, it did not equal the ideas of the extravagant monarch; for it being observed to him by one of his courtiers, that the building was too large for the purposes of its construction, the king answered, 'This halle is not begge enough by one half, and is but a bedchamber, in comparison of that I minde to make. Stowe adds, 'a diligent searcher might yet find out the foundation of the hall, which he hadde proposed to build, stretching from the river Thames even to the common highway.'

"The luxury of the English, as far as it regarded the table, during the succeeding reigns, from Rufus to the end of Henry III., seems to have increased to a pitch of extreme excess; for in the thirty-fourth year of this monarch, the legislature was under the necessity of exerting its controlling power; and on common occasions, more than two dishes of meat were forbidden to be produced at one meal. . . . . .

"It was about this period that the peacock became a favourite dish at the tables of the great, where it was served up with many solemnities. . . . . In the thirteenth century it was sufficiently esteemed, to be made the prize of the conqueror at the game of *quintain*. 'Et eodem tempore

juvenes Londinenses statuto pavone pro bravio, ad stadium quod *quinten* vulgariter dicitur, vires proprias et equorum cursus sunt experti.' Matt. Paris, edit. Watts, p. 744. This bird continued to be a dish in request till the end of the last century. Hollingshed has given us a curious anecdote of Pope Julius III., that disgrace to the Romish see, an egregious glutton and epicure, whose favourite dish was the peacock. 'At another time, he sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacocke upon his table, which he had not touched, 'Keepe,' said he, 'this cold peacocke for me against supper, and let me sup in the garden, for I shall have ghests.' So when supper came, and amongst the hot peacockes, he saw not this cold peacocke brought to his table, the Pope, after his wonted manner, most horribly blaspheming God, fell into an extreame rage, &c. Whereupon one of his Cardinals sitting by desired him, saieng, 'Let not your Holinesse, I pray you, be so moved with a matter of so small weight.' Then this Julius the Pope answering again, 'What,' said he, 'if God was so angry for one apple, that he cast our first parents out of Paradise for the same, why may not I, being his vicar, be angrye then for a peacocke, sithens a peacocke is a greater matter than an apple?'—*Hol. Chron.* p. 1128, a. 40."

THE SITUATION OF KING RICHARD, when a Prisoner of LEOPOLD, *Duke of Austria, singularly discovered;—related by* FAUCHET, *from an Ancient Chronicle.*

(From Mrs. Dobson's Literary History of the Troubadours.)

A MINSTREL, named Blondel, who owed his fortune to Richard, animated with tenderness towards his illustrious master, was resolved to go over the world till he had discovered the destiny of this prince. He had already traversed Europe, and was returning through Germany; when, talking one day at Lintz, in Austria, with an innkeeper, in order to make this discovery, he learnt that there was near the city, at the entrance of a forest, a strong and ancient castle, in which there was a prisoner, who was guarded with great care. A secret impulse persuaded Blondel, that the prisoner was Richard: he immediately went to the castle, the sight of which made him tremble: he got acquainted with a peasant, who went over there to carry provisions; questioned, and offered him a considerable sum to declare who it was that was shut up there; but the good man, though he readily told all he knew, was ignorant both of the name and quality of the prisoner. He could only inform him, that he was watched with the most exact attention, and was suffered no communication with any one but the keeper of the castle and his servants. He added, that the prisoner had

no other amusement, than looking over the country through a small grated window, which served also for the light that glimmered into his apartment.

He told him that this castle was a horrid abode; where the staircase and the apartments were black with age, and so dark, that at noon-day it was necessary to have a lighted flambeau to find the way along them.

Blondel listened with eager attention, and meditated several ways of coming at the prison, but all in vain. At last, when he found that, from the height and narrowness of the window, he could not get a sight of his dear master, for he firmly believed it was him, he bethought himself of a French song, the last couplet of which had been composed by Richard, and the first by himself. After he had sung, with a loud and harmonious voice, the first part, he suddenly stopped, and heard a voice which came from the castle-window,—"Continue and finish the song." Transported with joy, he was now assured it was the king, his master, who was confined in this dismal castle.

The Chronicle adds, that one of the keeper's servants falling sick, he hired himself to him, and thus made himself known to Richard: and informing his nobles, with all possible expedition, of the situation of their monarch, he was released from his confinement, on paying a large ransom.

Particulars connected with the RESIGNATION *of the Crown of* ENGLAND *to the* POPE *by* KING JOHN.

(From a Manuscript in the French National Library, by F. I. G. De La Porte Du Theil.)

THE manuscript, of which M. Du Thiel treats, is a collection of the state papers and other diplomatic concerns of Pope Innocent III. The particular matter relating to our present subject is the real object of the embassy of Robert de Gourçon to France.

"To understand properly," (says Monsieur Porte du Thiel,) the real view of the embassy of Robert, what reasons the Pope had for sending him, and what instructions were probably given him, it is necessary to state clearly what was at this era the situation of France and England. I shall not enlarge upon the state of things in general; it is known to every body. I shall only mention some particularities, neglected by modern historians, which serve to explain, in a better light, that grand denouement of affairs and cabals, through which King John was reduced to the necessity of putting himself entirely at the mercy of the Pope."

Situation of King John of England, after the Year 1212.

Innocent had dictated the terms and condi-

tions upon which he consented to restore his favour to King John, against whom he had been so virulent, and addressed them to his nuncios, Pandolph and Durand, Feb. 27, 1213.

John, passive under the influence of fear, accepted those terms and conditions, as severe as dishonourable, and by an act, dated 13th May, engaged to execute them faithfully. Upon the day after the morrow, by another act, equally solemn, he acknowledged himself to be a vassal and tributary of the Holy See, and assured the Pope of his eternal fidelity: upon the 24th of the same month, he recalled the exiled prelates, who had originally raised against him the tempest, to which he was compelled to submit.

Whilst this prince, worthy in so many respects of the infamy with which he voluntarily loaded his memory, resolved upon such sacrifices to reconcile himself with the Pope, he took the most regular measures to be avenged of the King of France.

From the middle of the preceding year 1212, he had negociated with Otho, that other memorable example of the power, creative and destructive, which Innocent exercised over the sovereigns of Europe; and had sent to that emperor, deposed and excommunicated, like himself, ambassadors, charged to bind strong the ties of interest, which, independently of relationship, united, for a long time, these unfortunate princes.

Otho, the implacable enemy of Philip, (King

of France) charmed with this overture, had engaged the Count de Boulogne, Renard de Dammartin, to adopt the party of the King of England. At his solicitation, the count had crossed the sea, had promised John to obey his orders, and publicly made homage to him, and had sworn not to make, without John's consent, any peace or truce with Philip, or Lewis the dauphin. He had given, as hostages, his wife and many of his vassal lords.

At the same time he had brought from Otho letters, in which that prince assured the King of England of his inclination to serve him with all his forces; he had further protested, that he had never received, as he had been accused, any embassies on the part of Philip, and repeated the oath of listening to no accommodation, without participation of the emperor.

These facts we learn by the letter which John himself wrote, May 4, 1212, to the Viscount de Thouars, to strengthen his attachment to his party.

The same day, John had also written to the Count de Flanders, to induce him to engage himself to him, with the Comte de Boulogne, and, with the view of further inducement, he had lent for a year three thousand marks to the Countess of Flanders.

Lastly, upon the same day also, he had signed his definitive treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Comte de Boulogne.

It appears also, by different acts, that, about the same time, he was assured of the Duke de Lembourg, de Valeran, son of that duke, and Counts de Bar, father and son, the Duke of Louvain, and many other lords. Lastly, March 29, 1213, he had received the homage and engagement of service, of the Count de Hollande.

The Certainty of his Reconciliation with the Pope facilitated the Means, not only of resisting the Attacks which France was preparing against him, but of transferring the War himself into the Bosom of that Country.

On the 25th of May, he wrote to the Earl of Flanders, pressing him to send more powerful succours than those which had already arrived; and the 26th of June following, he renewed the same assurance. In fact, four days before, he had ordered the Master of the Temple to remit to the ambassadors, whom he had sent to the earl, a sum of money, which the master had under his care, and which was reserved for the use of the earl.

At the same time the English King urged the King of Arragon to put in execution the projects for a campaign, which had been previously concerted with him.

The Pope, at the epoch when he named Robert de Gourçon legate of France, that is, to-

wards the end of April 1213, certainly was not ignorant of all these intentions and projects. It was not, then, without truth, nor, assuredly, without reason, that, in the letter in which he recommended Robert to Philip August, he mentioned the impending peril which menaced France. But was he equally sincere, or did he only use a language suitable to him, or a matter of course, when he added, in the same letter, that the interests of France were dearer to him than those of the Ecclesiastic See? In fact, if the interests of that so-valued kingdom were then in danger, who, other than he, was the occasion of it? Had he not himself, the year before, engaged, even commanded, Philip, under penalty of excommunication, to levy war against John? Had he not, under his apostolical authority, transferred to Philip all the rights of a prince, then the object of ecclesiastical persecution? Had not he assured him of the whole of those powers, whom the exhortations of the Holy See could rouse against an excommunicated and deposed king? Was it not then a kind of duplicity, by which he ordered Pandolph and Durand that, as soon as the rebel king submitted to the laws of the Vatican, all his enemies should be ordered to disarm, (principally Philip,) and respect John?

We are led to think, that even the personal choice of the legate, born a subject of the King

of England, was, on the side of the Pontiff, a consequence of his habitual partiality to England against France.

In fact, Robert did not cease to manage his business in such a manner, as to favour, in every thing, the affairs of the King of England, and thwart the views which could aggrandize the power of Philip.

*** [Here ends the account of M. de la Porte du Thiel, who has, certainly, elucidated an important fact in English history, not before clearly understood. He might have added, that the crafty Pope, by duping both the kings, though in a barefaced manner, succeeded in subjugating them both to the ecclesiastical yoke. Philip, however, does not seem to have been aware, that the Pope, seeing the consequences of his successful excommunications of Otho and John, treated the French King in a manner which he had no power to prevent or resent.]

MURDER OF THE ROYAL CHILDREN IN THE TOWER.

(From Rastell's Chronicle.)

"But of the maner of the dethe of this yonge kynge and of his brother, there were dyvers opinyons. But the most comyn opinyon was that they were smoldery'd between two fether beddes, and that in the doynge the yonger

brother escaped from under the ſether bedde, and crept under the beddestede; and there lay naked awhyle, tyll that they had smolderey'd the yonge kynge, so that he was surely dede. And afteryt, one of them toke his brother from under the beddestede, and helde his face doune to the grounde with his one hande, and with the other hande cut his throte hole a sonder with a dagger. It is a marvayle that any man coud have so harde a harte to do so cruell a dede; save only, that necessyte compelled them; for they were so charged by the duke the protectour, that if they shewed not to him the bodies of bothe those chyldren dede on the morrowe, after they were so commaunded, that they themselves should be put to dethe. Wherefore they that were commaunded to do it were compelled to fulfyll the protectours wyll. And after that the bodies of these two chylderne as the opynion ranne, were bothe closed in a gret hevy cheste, and by the means of one that was secrete with the protectour, theye were put in a shyppe goynge to Flanders; and when the shyppe was in the black depes, this man threw both those dede bodies, so closed in the cheste, over the hatches into the sea; and yet none of the maryners, nor none in the shyppe, save only the said man, wyst what thynge it was there so enclosed; which sayinge dyuers men conjectured to be trewe, because

that the bones of the said chylderne could never be found buryed nether in the Tower nor in no other place.

"Another opinyon there is that they which had the charge to put them to dethe, caused one to cry so sodayngly treason, treason, wherewith the chylderne being afeard, desyred to know what was best for them to do. And then he bade them hyde themselves in a grete cheste, that no man shulde fynde them, and if any body came into the chamber, they wolde say they were not there; and accordynge as they conselly'd them, they crepte bothe into the cheste, which anon after they locked. And then they buried that cheste under a steyce, which cheste was after caste into the blacke depes, as is before saydte."

LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE of ENGLISH HISTORY.

(MS. Cotton. Mus. Brit. Cleop. F. fol. 116, orig.)

THESE letters, independently of their historical worth, are curious as philological specimens: we have here the English language, from the era of Henry IV. to our own times; and where the correspondence happens to be scanty, the design is happily improved by the introduction of contemporary memoirs, which are next in

point of authenticity and interest to private communications*.

In these letters, it is clearly demonstrated, that Thomas Cromwell, the minister of Henry VIII. was neither an honest man, nor the grateful friend of Wolsey; which is not only the development of an important matter, but another strong proof of the delusions to which we have been taught to submit, under the name of histories, which will be best seen in the sequel.

The letters of the reign of Henry the Fourth relate, entirely, to Owen Glendower's rebellion. They are fourteen in number, and, with one exception, new to history: several of these are from constables of castles, and shew, not only the mode of keeping the fortresses of that time, but the nature of the warfare that was waged against them. The Welsh hated Henry the Fourth for his ill usage of Richard the Second. They had furnished Richard with troops in his contest with the nobles; and remained unshaken in their fidelity to him as long as they believed him to be alive.

Of the letters of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, there are two, more curious than the rest; one concerns the state of Ireland in 1417; the other from John Alcetre, at Bayonne, in 1419, details the progress made in building a ship of very extended dimensions, for the king. Henry

* Vide Ellis's Letters.

the Fifth was the first of our monarchs who saw the advantage of maintaining ships for the purposes of war, distinct from the merchant vessels.

Letter VIII. from "*The Mayor and Burgesses of Cairleon to those of Monmouth, upon the defeat of a part of Owen Glendower's army by the Lord of Carewe.*"

This letter is curious on two accounts. It acquaints us with the defeat of a portion of Glyndowr's forces by the Baron of Carewe,—a fact unknown to our historians; and it details a conference between Owen Glyndowr and one Hopkins ap Thomas, (whom he held to be "Master of Brut*") as to what should be his fate hereafter.

The following is the letter:—

"Gretyng to yow our gode frendes and worchipful burgeis of Monemouthe, we do yow to understonde of tydynges the weche we have

* *Master of the Brut* means skilled in the prophecies of Merlin, whose vaticinations form a part of the Brut of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Henry IV. and Glendower were both worked upon by ancient predictions; and each, it is probable, sought the type of the other in those numerous prophecies which our ancestors, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, were so fond of considering as in a state of progressive accomplishment. By the parties who met at the house of the Archdeacon of Bangor, Henry IV. was represented as the Moldewarpe accursed of God; while Glendowr, Sir Henry Percy, and Sir Edmund Mortimer, were represented as the dragon, the lion, and the wolf, which should divide the realm between them. "Such," says Hall, "was the deviation, and not divination, of that Mawmet Merlin." The sequel of Glendowr's history shews that Hopkin ap Thomas of Gower was not infallible as a seer.

yherd of Owein Glyndor, that is, to wete, of letter under seel, the wheche were y sende to us by the capteyne of the towne of Kadewelly; and in the lettres wer y wrete wordes that ther was a day of batell ytake by twyxt the worthy Baron of Carewe and Owein Glyndor; and we do yow to understonde that thys day of batell schuld have be do the xij. day of Jule; and the nyzt be fore that thys batell schulde be do, Oweyne wes y purpos to have yvordede yon to the Hull azeenward; and for he wold y wete wher his wey wer clere y nowe to passe, zyf he hede nede, to the Hull, he sende vii. c. of his meine (many) to serche the weyes, and thes vii. c. menne went to serche thys weyes, and ther thys vii. c. menne were y mette with the barons menne of Carew, and I slay up everychone that ther was nozt on that sc..... alyve; and ther words buth (be) y y do us to understonde that it is sothe with owte lesying. And fforthmor we do yow to understonde that Oweine the ..... es in the ton (of Kairm'then he sende after Hopkyn ap Thomas of Gower to come and speke with hym upon trewes; and when Hopkyn come to Owein, he piede (prayed) hym, in as meche as he huld hym Maister of Brut, that he schuld do him to understonde how and what maner hit schulde be falle of hym; and he told hym wittliche that he schold be take with inne a bref tyme; and the takyng schold be twene Kayrmerthen and Gower;

and the takyng schold be under a black baner: knowelichyd that thys blake baner schold dessesse hym, and nozt that he schold be take undir hym. No more con (can) we say to yow at thys tyme, but buth (be) glad and merry, and drede yow nozt for we hopethe to God that ze have no nede. And we do yow to understonde that al thys tydyngs buth sothe with oute doute.

"*Per* LE MAIRE *and* LES BURGEIS *de* KAIRLYON."

When Sir Edward Mortimer announces to his tenantry his coalition with Glendowr, which is written in French *, he sets out, very curiously,

* Some of the letters of this period are a singular mixture of French and English. E. g.—Richard Kyngeston, Archdeacon of Hereford, to Henry IV. It begins, "Notre tres redoute et Soverein Seigneur le Roy, Je me recommande humblement a votre hauteire comme votre petit creature et centinuel oratour;" and ends, "Escr. grant haste en haste a Hereford le viij^e^ jour de Juyle.

Votre petite creature RICHARD KYNGESTON,
Ercedeahne Hereford.

And the postscript is completely English, as a man in earnest might drop his best for his natural style: "And for Gode's love, my lyge Lord, thinketh en zour self and zour astat, or bemy (by my) trowthe all is lost elles; but and ze come zoure selfe with haste, all other wille folwine aftor. And at (qu note) on Fryday last, Kermerdyn town is taken and brent, and the castle zolden (yielded) be mo. Wygmor, and the castle Emelyn is y zoldin; and slayn of the toune of Kermerdyn mo than *l.* persones. Writen in ryght great haste on Sunday; and y cry zow mercy, and putte me in zoure hye grace that y write so schortly; for by my trowthe that y owe to zow, it is needful."

by expressing a doubt whether Richard II. is dead or alive.

"Tres chier et bien amez vous salue mielx souvent, et vous face a entendre que Oweyn Glydor ad moeue une querelle la quelle est tielle, qe si le Roy Richard soit en vie de luy restorer a sa couronne, et senour qe mon honore neuewe q'est droit heir al dit coronne serroit Roy d'Engleterre, et qe le dit Oweyn avoieit son droit in Gales *."

When speaking of the division of the kingdom, in this letter, Mortimer makes no allusion to the portion which was to fall to the Percies. Opinion certainly wavered at this time, as to Richard's positive fate, which, though conjectured, was not known. There can be no doubt that the proclamation of Henry IV. against the inventors of false reports, dated at Westminster, June 5, in this very year, was intended to satisfy those who continued uncertain. It states, that rumour had been hinted to the ears of the foolish, that King Richard, his last predecessor, was still alive in Scotland, and that he was coming with the Scots to invade the realm; whereas, in truth, the said Richard was *dead*

* *Transl.*—"Very dear and well beloved, I greet you much, and make known to you, that Owen Glendowr has raised a quarrel, of which the object is, if King Richard be alive to restore him to his crown, and if not, that my honoured nephew, who is the right heir to the said crown, shall be King of England, and that the said Owen will assert his right in Wales."

and *buried*: "quod Dominus Ricardus nuper Rex Angliæ, ultimus prædecessor noster, adhue vivit in Scotia, quodque in manu forti, ac vexillo protenso, veniet una cum Scotis in dictum regnum nostrum, ipsum, et nos, ac ligneos nostros protimis invasurus, cum *in rei veritate præfatus* RICARDUS, sit *mortuus* et *sepultus*."

As regards the omission of the Percies, it need only be observed that Sir Edmund Mortimer's letter is dated December 14th, and that the tripartite indenture of partition was not finally agreed upon till the middle of the next year.

The negotiation for the partition of the kingdom seems to have originated with Mortimer and Glendowr only. The battle of Shrewsbury was fought on July 21st, 1403. The manuscript chronicle whence these accounts are extracted, compiled by one of the chaplains of Henry V., gives the particulars of the final treaty, signed at the house of the Archdeacon of Bangor, more amply than can be found elsewhere. The Severn, the Trent and the Mersey, were to shut in Owen's territory; while the Percies were to have not only all that was North of Trent, but Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and even Norfolk. Sir Edmund Mortimer (not the nephew whom he speaks of in his letter) was to content himself with the remainder. The expectation declared in this treaty, that the contracting parties would turn out to be the persons

spoken of by Merlin, who were to divide the *greater Britain,* as it is called amongst them, corroborates the story told by Hall.

The genius of the extraordinary chieftain whose history is here illustrated, has been already mentioned as adapted more to rapine than to regular warfare. One instance only occurs, in these letters, in which he used military engines when besieging a fortress. The mischief which he did to Wales in the short period of fifteen years, was incalculable.

Previous to the revolt of the Percies, Henry the Fourth's own warfare against Owen Glyndower was remarkably unsuccessful; so much so, that his failure was ascribed to the art of witchcraft.

> "The King had neuer but tempest foule and raine,
> As long as he was ay in Wales grounde:
> Rockes and mystes, windes and stormes, certaine,
> All men trowed witches it made that stounde."

The Monk of Evesham, speaking of Henry's second expedition, says, that he could never find Glendowr; "Ipsum verum Glendowr nec *videt,* nec ubi esset *aliquid audivit.*" The tactics, however, which suited the savage fastnesses of Wales, were no longer either profitable or expedient when Henry was really to be met by a powerful combination in the field. Glendowr missed the critical moment. Had he united his forces to

those of Sir Henry Percy at the battle of Shrewsbury, there appears ground to believe that Henry the Fourth must have been defeated. Owen tried to repair the oversight by introducing French auxiliaries, who arrived sometime in 1405, and for a while upheld his cause; but, though successful, they found little to be gained by remaining in a ravaged country. They left him to drag his war out upon his own resources. The remainder of Glendowr's life was distinguished by few exploits. He maintained his resistance without being really formidable. At one time he certainly struck a panic into England. From the MS. of the Historia Aurea of John of Tinmouth, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, we learn that the following miserable hexameter was inscribed upon the wall at the end of the monks' choir of St. Alban's Abbey:

"Christe Dei, supplico tibi destrue Gleendor."

Glendowr's death is usually placed in 1415. At Corwen, the next stage beyond Llangollen on the road to Bangor Ferry, the head of Glendowr is still the sign of the principal inn; and its environs abound in traditions of the most marvellous kind relating to him. At Rug also, a mile from Corwen, the seat of Colonel Salusbury, his knife and dagger are shewn, preserved in one sheath. In other parts of Wales, particularly in the

South, nothing is either known or remembered of him beyond the facts established by history."

(From the same.)

When Richard, Earl of Cambridge, was condemned to death, he wrote a letter of strong supplication to Henry V., praying for mercy "for ye love of our Lady and of the blysfulle Holy Ghost;" on which subject we have a very interesting note. "Processes in early times, where the necessity of getting rid of a courtier was thought to exist, were short. Some were even more summary than that against the Earl of Cambridge. The Cottonian MS. Julius, F. VI. fol. 80, contains some proceedings in Parliament held at Leicester in the 2d of Henry V., concerning the reversing of the attainder of the Earl of Salisbury, who, by an oversight of the Commons, was not tried till after his execution." "There is," he adds, "a muster-roll of the army of Henry V., in this his first voyage to France, preserved among Rhymer's imprinted collections in the British Museum, which must have been taken at Southampton, as the Earl of Cambridge occurs in it, with a personal retinue of two knights, fifty-seven esquires, an hundred and sixty horse-archers. The Duke of Clarence brought in his retinue one earl, two bannerets, fourteen knights, two hundred and twenty two esquires, and seven hundred and

twenty horse-archers. The sum of the roll includes 2536 men at arms; 4128 horse-archers; 3771 foot-archers; 38 arblesters; 120 miners; 25 master gunners; 50 servitor gunners; a stuffer of bacinets; 12 armourers; 3 kings of arms; Mr. Nicholas Colnet, physician, who brought 3 archers; 20 surgeons; an immense retinue of labourers, artizans, fletchers, bowyers, wheelwrights, chaplains, and minstrels. The total of the fighting persons amounting to 10,731. These were the men who gained the field of Azincourt."

In these stormy and uncertain times, we observe the frequent practice of the remarkable custom of depositing valuables for safe-keeping in religious houses.

"The monasteries, even in times considerably earlier, were the safest places of deposit. Towards the close of the twelfth century the Jews of St. Edmondsbury placed the treasure in the abbey there, under the care of the Sacrist: Stowe tells us, that when Henry III. seized the wealth of Hubert De Burgh, Earl of Kent, in 1232, he found it placed, in deposit, with the master of the temple in Fleet-street. When Sir Sampson Foliot died, in 1284, it appeared that he had deposited his riches in the Abbey of Oseney, near Oxford. Sir John Falstaff also, in the reign of Henry VI., as we learn from the inventory of his wealth, out of £2643 of ready

money, kept more than £2000 in the Abbey of St. Benet Hulme. Nor were monasteries places of deposit for money only. From an entry in the chartulary of Garenden Abbey, in Leicestershire, we learn that that monastery was a depository for the title deeds of at least one of the neighbouring lords."

A letter of the date 1417, in behalf of the Lord Furnyval, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, introduces some matters relative to that kingdom. The exploits of Lord Furnyval are worthy of record. He maintained an able government on scanty means, his income, for that purpose, amounting to little more than two thousand six hundred pounds a year.

"The annals of Ireland in the earliest period of its history are obscure; nor are we acquainted with the details of its first connexion with England. Giraldus Cambrensus is wrong when he states, that till the time of Henry II. Ireland had remained free from foreign invasion. We have Bede's authority for its invasion by Egfrid, King of Northumberland, in 684: and though the charter which represents our Edgar as monarch of Ireland is usually considered spurious, yet other charters of unquestioned authenticity, of a date but little later, recognize its formule; and we have coins both of Ethelred the Second and Canute, minted at Dublin. That the conquest

of Ireland was long an object of ambition with the Kings of England, cannot be doubted; and it is remarkable that it should have been planned by Henry II., at the moment of his mounting the English throne. His compact with Pope Adrian the Fourth for the reduction of Ireland is still preserved in Rymer, in a Latin letter from the Pontiff. Like the formation of the Domesday survey, the receipt of this letter was considered as an epoch by the English. An original charter of John, Earl of Ewe, is extant, which concludes with these remarkable words: '*Hæc autem concessio facta est Wincestriam eo anno quo verbum factum est de Hibernia conquirenda.* Hanc vero cartulam magister Mobertus fecit anno LIIII. ab incarnato Domino.'—But Henry could take no advantage of his grant till 1172, when having procured two additional bulls from Pope Alexander III., one addressed to himself, the other to the Kings and Princes of Ireland, he entered upon the invasion, and then follows the submission of the Irish.

"Henry landed at Waterford, October 18th, 1172, whence he proceeded to Dublin, and received the homage of the chieftains. John, son of Henry the Second, when Lord of Ireland, established courts of law, the jurisdiction of which was to extend to the limits of the English pale: the territories so designated forming the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Lowth,

Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary. In what remained, which composed about two-thirds of the kingdom, the English influence was only nominal. On the intermediate history of Ireland, between the time of John and Henry the Fifth, we have no occasion to comment here. The wars of Edward III. slackened the activity of the English rule, and opened the way to those revolts which, by detaining Richard the Second in Ireland at a critical moment, proved his ruin. It may suffice to say, that Ireland, in the time of Henry the Fifth, was as wild in its country, and as rude in its inhabitants, as in the reign of Henry the Second. The English pale, as will be seen in the present letter, was little more than a garrison of territory. It may be curious to mention here, that a band of 1600 native Irish, armed with their own weapons of war, 'in mail with darts and skaynes,' under the Lord of Kilmaine, were with Henry the Fifth at the siege of Rouen. They kept the way which came from the forest at Lyons. Hall says, they 'did so their devoyre, that none were more praised nor did more damage to their enemies.'

* * *

"There is one fact in the history of Ireland, which has not often been adverted to by the English historians, and to which it may not be quite irrelevant to call the attention of the reader,

when speaking of the former condition of that country. It is, that at a period even earlier than the Norman conquest, Ireland was the greatest, as probably the nearest mart for English slaves. Malmesbury, in his life of Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, has given a minute account of this extraordinary traffic. For in those times, and long before, when any person had more children than he could maintain, or more domestic slaves than he chose to keep, he sold them to a merchant, who disposed of them in Ireland, Danemark, Italy, or elsewhere, as he found most profitable. The people of Bristol were the chief carriers in this trade, as far as it related to Ireland. Malmesbury says, that young women were frequently taken to Ireland in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better price. The Ecclesiastical Council of Armagh, held in 1171, passed a resolution to liberate English slaves.

Condition of the English Navy at this Period.

"The kings of England, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, had occasionally large fleets under their command, but they consisted of merchant ships only, gathered from the different ports of England, or hired from foreign countries; those of England on such emergencies being pressed, with their crews,

into the king's service. In 1304, the largest ship of war in England, according to Dr. Henry, had a crew of only forty men; and, in the fleet of Edward the Third, at the siege of Calais, in 1346, the complement of each ship, upon an average, must have been under twenty men*. Henry the Fifth was the first of our kings who established a permanent navy." There is a letter to him from John Alcetre, which details "minutely the progress of certain workmen at Bayonne in constructing a vessel of considerable size, which the king had ordered to be built. Bayonne was then the last town in the dutchy of Aquitaine. The mayor and corporation had contracted with the king for the completion of this vessel within a certain time; but the writer of the letter thinks it could not be ready, and that it would take even four or five years to finish. The ship, as the timbers had been laid down, was *a hundred and eighty-six feet in length.* From a passage in a rhyming pamphlet written in 1433, printed by Hakluyt, entitled 'The Libel of English Policie,' it appears that Henry V. built other large ships:—

* "The following was the equipment of the ship in which in 1406-7, Hen. IV. carried Phillipa, his sister, Queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, to her home. Two guns, forty pounds of powder, forty stones for guns, forty tampons, four touches, one mallet, two fire-pans, forty pavys, twenty-four bows, and forty sheaf of arrows. Rhym. Fœd. tom. viij. p. 447.

'And if I should conclude all by the King
Henrie the fifth, what was his purposing
When at Hampton *he made the great* DROMONS,
Which passed other great ships of all the Commons;
The *Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the Holy Ghost,*
And other moe which now be lost.'

The ships of the king and those of the commons are here distinguished; the ROYAL NAVY, from the vessels which were supplied by the seaports, or hired abroad. The entire list of Henry's own ships, in the fourth year of his reign, is preserved among the proceedings of his council. They consisted of three vessels of the greater size, three carracks, eight barges, and ten balingers or smaller barges. In a document of the antecedent year, among the same proceedings of council, we have the pay of the officers and sailors of the king's great ships, employed in keeping the narrow seas.

"The admiral received for a quarter of a year and thirty-nine days service, wages for fifty men at arms xij.^{d} per day each; and for a hundred and fifty bowmen, at vj.^{d} a day each; making a total of £812. 10.^{s} For the wages during the same time of four masters of respective ships, and two hundred and fifty mariners, the former at vj.^{d} a day, and the mariners at iij.^{d} he received £819. 5.^{s} The name of DROMONS given in the 'libel of English policie,' to the great ships of Henry V.th requires explanation. The term was

of a date much earlier than the fifteenth century, and seems to have been borrowed from the Saracens. It meant ships of the largest size and strongest construction. The famous ship which was taken by King Richard the First, near the port of Acon, and which contained no fewer than 1500 men, is so named by Matthew Paris."

It is also shown by another curious letter, "that the desire of Henry V.th to have vessels of a large size was not unnoticed by the Spaniards, who appear to have sent to him several, particularly two carracks, one of which is described as of a tonnage equal to *fourteen hundred*, and the other to *ten hundred* BOATS. The carrack is supposed to have obtained its name from its capacity for carriage. Du Cange says, 'CARICA, *Carica,* navigii species, navis oneraria, Gallis *vaisseau de chargé*, unde forte nomen.' "

Apprehension & Execution of Sir John Oldcastle.

Another letter in illustration of the era of Henry the Fifth, relates to the apprehension of Sir John Oldcastle, who was executed in 1418 as a follower of Wickliffe's doctrines. It states—

"We Jevan and Gruffuth, sons of Gruffuth ap Jevän ap Madoc ap Gwennoys, of Powys Londe, Gentilmen, Hoel ap Gruffuth ap David ap Madoc, and Dero ap Jevan ap Jorum ap Ada of the same Londe, zemen, tenauntz to Sir Ed-

ward Charletoun Knyght Lord of Powys, and tatheres of Sir John Oldcastell, that was myscreant and unboxome to the lawe of God, and traitour convicte to our gracious Soveraigne Lord and his Henry Kyng of England aftyr the conquest the V.th thonken oure said Soveraigne Lord in as lowely wyse, and with as hole hert as we in our semple mannere condeuyse, that hit hath liked him of his gracious goodnesse for to remembre his notarie proclamation made thorgh his Roialme by his hie commaundement of the Guerdon and reward by his hie discression appoynted to him that mizt haue that fortune and grace to ben takers of the said John Oldcastell, for the which guerdon and reward oure said Lord of Powys, by the graciouse governance and assent of our said Soveraigne Lord, hase compownyd with us and fynaly accorded, so that we and everych of us ben fully satisfied and agreond, after oure own desire and plaisir, in pleyn accomplissement and excusation of the Proclamation aforesaid; of the wych Guerdon and reward we hold us fynaly agrart and content for evermore."

This document settles a discrepancy, if it does not correct an error, in some of our historians. Lingard, in endeavouring to do so, falls into a blunder. He says, "In the rolls, the capture of Oldcastle seems to be attributed to Lord Powis; but Hearne has published a writ, dated Dec. 1,

in which it is expressly asserted that he was taken by Sir Edward Charlton." But the fact established by the foregoing letter is, that Sir Edward Charlton and Lord Powis were one and the same person. "Sir John Oldcastle's execution was attended with circumstances of unusual barbarity. He was burnt, suspended by a chain from a gallows. Till burning became a more frequent punishment for heretics, the mode appears to have varied. In one instance, in the reign of Henry IV., the sufferer was inclosed in a cask. Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry V., was present at the execution, and hearing the wretched moans of the victim in the barrel, ordered the fire to be drawn away, and the cask to be opened, offering the half-dead sufferer his life, and a daily allowance of threepence from the exchequer, if he would recant. The heretic refused. He was again enclosed in his cask, and consumed. Henry VIII. and Queen Mary chained their sufferers openly to a stake.

ROYAL LETTERS, CURIOUS HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, ETC. FROM AUTOGRAPHS, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, (MSS. COTTON.) ETC. LARGE BLACK LETTER.

Early Epistolary Correspondence.

It may not be uninteresting as a trait in the history of our country to know, that prior to the

reign of Henry the Fifth, specimens of English correspondence are rare.

Letters, previous to that time, were usually written in French or Latin; and were the productions chiefly of the great and the learned. The letters of learned men were verbose treatises, mostly on express subjects; those of the great, who employed scribes, from their formality frequently resembled legal instruments. We have nothing earlier than the fifteenth century which can be called a *familiar letter*. The material, too, upon which letters were written, up to the same period, was usually vellum; very few instances indeed occurring, of more ancient date, of letters written upon paper.

The reader who desires to see original specimens of the French and Latin letters of the earlier periods, will find plenty preserved in two or three of the Cottonian volumes. There is a French letter of Hugh le Despenser as early as 1319, giving orders for the defence of his castles; and several occur, in the same language, relating to the affairs of Edward the Third. There is a Latin letter of Richard the Second to Albert, Duke of Bavaria, complaining of the turbulence of his nobility; and another from Henry the Fourth to Tamerlane, congratulating him upon his victory over Bajazet.

It is not irrelevant to this part of our subject to mention, that the earliest Royal Signature known, of this country, is as yet unpublished.

It is the signature of King Richard the Second. It occurs once in the Cottonian library, affixed to a paper which concerns the surrender of Brest. It is "Le Roy R. E." There is another document remaining among the Records in the Tower, with a similar signature affixed.

Of the letters to which we here allude, the first is from the period of Henry V. (when epistolary correspondence in England may be said to have commenced) about A.D. 1418, to the year 1529, when the sceptre was swayed by the eighth of the same name. By these letters, the pains taken by the kings of England to keep the kingdom of Scotland in a state of ceaseless turmoil, treason, and rebellion, is made manifest in many instances. In the time of Henry VIII. we find a Lord Bothwell, a spy and agent of that politic monarch; and afterwards an Earl of Angus, a Prioress of Coldstream, and others, figure in the same infamous and detestable character. This Bothwell (a Ramsay of Corstoun, a favourite of James III. who escaped from *Bell-the-cat* and his associates at Lauder, and was two years afterwards raised to the peerage as Baron of Bothwell,) in 1496 did good service to his country's foe by the intelligence with which he supplied him. Henry was then extremely anxious about the motions of Peter Warbeck at the Scottish court; to which the following extracts from Bothwell's letters relate:—

"Sr, I onderstand, ye xxiii. day of August,

yar com a man out of Carlell to Perkin, and eftir Perkin bro^t him to ye kynge, I remanit to onderstand the mater. I was informit secretly yat yis man sould have commyn fra Randell of Dacre, broder to ye Lord Dacre, and fra the Sceltonis for Mekyll Scelton yat is her had ye convoyance of him.

" Sr, ondoutitly thir Northumbirlandmen commonys schrevitly* at days of meting, and at dayis secretly apoinctit betwixt yam and Scottsmen; and evere day throw yam yir† vagabunds escapis, cummin to Perkyn; and sundry w'tings‡ cummys; and now Newlinge and Hatfield yat was wonnt dwell with my Lord of Oxinfurd, and he tellis mony tydings.

" Sr, sen it is yat ye King of Scotts will in no wyse be inclinit to ye gud of peax nor amyte, without he had his mynd fulfillit efter our last commonyng with my lord of Duresme in Berwick, I trust verraly zour Graice sall have zour interet sa zour sudgetts her indevor yam well, for surly yis jornay ye king intends to mak, is contrar ye will of ye haill pepill, and yai ar not well appointit therfor, and will zour Grace send bot§ douxen‖ chyftaines¶ and men of authorite to neulle, I doût not with ye fok** yat ar her, zour Grace sall have the best day-werk of zour inemys y^t ony king of England had yis j c.†† zers.

* Shrewdly. † their. ‡ writings. § one. ‖ a dozen.
¶ chieftains. ** folk. †† hundred.

"Schir, I commend my servis humbly to zour Highness, and all this lang tyme I have remiant ondir respit and assurans within the realm of Scottland, and mast in ye court about ye king, geven* attendans and making labouris to do zour Grace the best servece I can, and has full oft tymes solest ye Kynges Highnes and all ye weill avisit lordes of his realm to lef ye favor and supports ya† give to yis fenyt boy, and stand in amyte and gud love and peax with zour Hightnes, to the quhilk ye king in his ansurs and worndes sayis alwayis he wald erest‡ sa he myt haue sic things includit as my lord of Duresme com for; an gyf yat be not, I onderstand without dout yis instant xv day of September the king, with all ye haill§ pepill of his realm he can mak, will be at Ellam Kyrk within x myll of the marchis of England, and Perkin and his compa-ny with hym; the quhilk are now in noum' xiij c. of all maner of aciones‖; and without question has now concludit to enter within yis zour realme ye xvij day of the sam monetht in the quarrell of yis said fenit boy, notwithstanding, it is agens the mynds of nerrest ye hall¶ noum' of his barrons' and peple, ba'** for the danger y' y' of†† myght follow, and for the inconvenience of ye ceasison‡‡; notwithstanding yis sempill wontfulness cannot be removit out of

* Giving. † they. ‡ first. § whole. ‖ nations ¶ whole.
** both. †† that thereof. ‡‡ season.

ye kyngs mynd for na persuasion nor mean, I trast verraly, that God will he be punyst be zour mean, for ye cruell of ye mourdir of his fadyr."

It is scarcely here worth while to pursue the notice of Perkin Warbeck any farther; but our readers will not fail to remark the direct charge of parricide made against King James in the concluding sentence.

Next to the letters which relate to Warbeck, those which give the reasons of Henry the Eighth for declining to join the Pope against the Turks, are of some importance, as a political *ruse* at this era: the last is believed to be the composition of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who schooled the still greater Wolsey in the arts of political intrigue; and is altogether a memorable document, and extremely characteristic of the king's cunning and duplicity. After reciting the Pope's *breve*, (an. 17 of the king) and especially shewing, "that he of his goade mynde, with the uttermoost of his goads, and his brothern the cardenalls in like wise with their goads, will do all that in theym is to withstonde the malice of the said Turke; and ferthermore in defence of the creisten feith, our said holie fayder the Pope, of his entire and blessed mynd, so that he may have assertane of the King of Spayne or the King of Fraunce in their personnes, will goo in his owen propre

person to oppresse the greate and moost cruell malice of the same Turke.

" Ferthermore the same our holy fader hath requyred and desired the king's grace, that, seing yf remedie be not had this wynter, the Turke is like nexte somer to be in the parties of Italie to the subversion of the cristen feith, to call the nobles of this land to gedders* without delay, and to understand their mynde in this behalf. And the Pope is Holynesse thinketh it right according, that the king in his person, with navy convenyent, yeve his assistance ayenst the Turke in his partie, and desireth the King's Grace to be certified spedely, when, in personne, with what navy, and into what place he will applie."

His Majesty's answer, on sundry points, as follows, is not only politically and historically curious, but its description of the time necessarily consumed in sea voyages and preparations for war, affords a singular idea of the era to which it belongs:—

" The contents of the premises considered, the King's Grace hath be, is, and allway wilbe as sorie as any cristen prince that the Turke shuld eny thing attempt ayenst the cristen religion, and willeth and desireth as moche as any cristen prince, that the same Turke may be so at this tyme withstand, rebuked, and punysshed, that

* Together.

he ne noon of his successours shall dare hereafter so temerously any thing attempt ayenst the cristen feith.

"And sorie the King's Highnesse is that he, seeing the distaunce of his reyme from those parties may not conveniently with his navy and power, in so holie a purpose, yeve assistence according to his mynde."

He commends the Pope for offering to put even his own sacred person in peril, and also the Kings of France and Spain, for promising to join in the enterprise, particularly as "the assistance of those ij princes may be yeven with lesse than half the charge of other princes may, being in further parties." But he adds, shewing his desire to keep safe at home out of the quarrel and free from the expense—

"And where the Pope's Holynesse desireth to know the King's mynde, with what navie, and at what time he will personally come to resist the said Turk's malice.

"The King's Grace sheweth that he hath as good zele and love to the deffence of the cristen feith as any prince being lyvyng: and, according to the tenour of the pope's brief, hath called the nobles of this land, as well spirituall as temporall, being of his counsel in this behalf, the which counsaillours, after long communicacion and greate reasonyng, thought that if the kynge shulde send any helpe or navie by ye see, it

shulde little prouffete, considering the feu distance of thos parties so to be besieged, troubled, or obsessed by the said Turke; and also the Englisshe maryners have not been accustomed to sail any further but to Pysses, which is not half the journey, for it is vj or vij monethes sailyng from Pises to those parties, where they might do the Turke any noyance; and so all the cost doon by see shulde litle or nothing proficte in this behalf.

"Item, the said counseillours say that the gallies comynge from Vennes towards England be commonly vij monethes sailyng, and some time more. Also they say if soo be the king shuld send from his royaume his navie by the see, the men being in the same shuld nede twise or thries vitailling, or they shuld come where they shuld applie, and yet then peradventure they shuld apply where no soccour coold be had. And also the said shippes might be soe troubled with concontrarie wyndes, so that they shuld not come to doo any goode in this greate cause: and also considering the great stormes and perilles of the see which commonly fortune and happe, and parteth shippes aud driveth them to several coasts, and twiseth them often times to perishe, and so there shuld be great cost and charges, albeit doon by the king, and yet noo noysaunce thereby doon to the said Turk.

"Yf ther shuld be any number of shippes

and men, and such as were according to the king's honour, sent for the said expedecion, considering the distance of this realme, and the nyghness of their roialmes, the king's costs and charges, albe it thei shuld be very large, shuld appere ferre lesse then the chrgies of the other princes being nerer thos parties, the which might with ferre lesse cost, send ten thousand men then the king's grace two thousand.

"Item, if the king shuld perpaire capitaignes and other men of warre, and apparaill, and habilyments, and necessaries, to the said shippes, it shuld be May, whatsoever diligence were doon on the king's partie, or they shuld be readie to saill; and it shuld be the last end of September, or the said shippes should pass the streits of Marrok (Morocco); and grete difficultie to fynde any maryners hable to take the rule and governance of the said shippes sailyng unto Jeoperdous and farr parties. The premisses considered, it is hard and almost not faisible to send any navy thedder for any profict by theym to be doon therein.

"The King's Highnesse greetly sorroweth, and more than he can expresse, that in so laudable and holy expedicion he cannot yeve the Popes Holynes so profectable assistence by the see as his mynd is, thinking that for warre to be made by the see, oonly oon prince heede ruler and governor of grete authorite, power, name,

dignite, police (policy), and wisdome, is to be adjoyned to the Pope's Holynesse in this behave, to which the prince, all other princes, after according and convenient rates in this behalve may be contributorie: and best it were to have not many rulers and governours; for where be many hedes and governours, oftentymes ther is moche distance, divisions, and debats.

"And yf it should please his cosyn the King of Fraunce, or his cousin and affyne (relation) the King of Spayne, to take the charge of so holy an expedicion, considering the commodities of ports, navies, and vitaill, which the said princes have plentie of, and the nereness of dyvers isles unto the said Turkes, there is no prince so convenient as oon of the said princes."

HENRY V. SURNAMED MONMOUTH.

(From Villaret's History of France.)

"HENRY, surnamed Monmouth, from his very infancy signalized his valour against the French: two victories, which he gained over them, excited his father's jealousy to such a degree, that, from that time, he removed him from all public affairs, and from the command of the army. The young prince, left to himself, without employment, conformed to his own active and fiery disposition. He gave himself up, without scru-

ple or discretion, to the greatest excesses: nothing was talked of but his debaucheries. He waylaid the receivers of his father's revenue, in order to rob them of their treasure: designed by nature for a conqueror, or a robber on the highway, he seemed to acknowledge no other rights but those which were given by force and courage. His outrages, and the abandoned extravagance in which he had lived, had lost him the esteem of the nation: a remarkable accident restored it to him. Having entered a court of justice, in order to support, by his presence, the cause of one of his favourites, who, nevertheless, was condemed, he gave the judge, on his tribunal, a box on the ear. The magistrate immediately ordered him to be committed to prison. The prince, coming to himself, obeyed without replying. This reparation of his fault, and his submission to the laws, did him great honour. After his father's death, he refused the homage which the nobles would have paid him before his coronation, by saying, that it was not right that they should oblige themselves to be faithful to him before he had engaged himself, by a solemn oath, to govern them equitably, and according to law. When he was settled on the throne, he sent for all who had been concerned with him in his disorders, and who had already depended on his favours: he publicly exhorted those accomplices of his youthful follies, to ac-

knowledge their faults, and reform their conduct: he made them presents, and forbade them ever again to appear before him. Thus,

> "Consideration, like an angel came,
> And whipp'd the offending Adam out of him;
> Leaving his body as a paradise,
> To envelope and contain celestial spirits."

"All the nation rejoiced at seeing on the throne a prince who gave at his accession such promising expectations, adorned with every accomplishment of both mind and body; a majestic stature, a noble figure, strength, address, incomparable valour, genius, activity: he proved himself the greatest politician in Europe. This last quality seems to exclude exact honesty, but princes then did not pretend to exact honesty.' From this luxuriant description of the quondam associate of the inimitable Falstaff, our immortal bard, in the play which bears his name, has spoken, when he says:—

> "Hear him but for reason in divinity,
> And, all-admiring, with an inward wish,
> You would desire the king were made a prelate:
> Hear him debate of commonwealth affairs,
> You would say, it hath been all in all his study:
> List his discourse of war, and you shall hear
> A fearful battle render'd you in music:
> Turn him to any cause of policy,
> The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,
> Familiar as his garter; that, when he speaks,
> The air, a charter'd libertine, is still,
> And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,
> To steal his sweet and honeyed sentences."

Some historians have celebrated his piety; an eulogium which is probably due to his regard for the ecclesiastics, to whom he abandoned the *Lollards*, or *Wickliffites*, many of whom were delivered to the flames. In the rest of his character, he was inclined to severity, which he contracted, perhaps, in the licentiousness of his youth; seldom pardoning, prodigal of human blood; daring in his projects, which he conducted with prudence, and pursued with an indefatigable ardour; an inflexible observer of military discipline; a warrior by choice, as well as by necessity, he was at once the best counsellor, the ablest general, and the most intrepid soldier in his kingdom. What an enemy for France in the state to which she was reduced!

> "Now all the youth of England are on fire,
> And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies;
> Now thrive the armourers, and honour's thought
> Reigns solely in the breast of every man:
> They sell the pasture now, to buy the horse:
> Following the mirror of all Christian kings,
> With winged heels, as English Mercuries.
> For now sits expectation in the air;
> And hides a sword, from hilt unto the point,
> With crowns imperial, crowns and coronets,
> Promis'd to Harry and his followers."

The battle of Agincourt, gained by the King of England, in 1415, was a grievous blow to France, who there lost her principal nobility, and the whole flower of her troops. From that

time Henry V. found no more resistance, no more opposition to his designs; he had only to march through the provinces. The terrified people fled before him, and all France saw herself on the brink of total ruin. Besides the calamities inseparable from such a destructive war, they saw, on every side from the borders of the ocean to the Pyrennees, gangs of miscreants, wandering without allegiance, who, in the general destruction, thought they had no less right than the regular troops to partake the spoils of the nation. They formed numerous bands, who cantoned themselves in the forest, and murdered and pillaged without distinction both friends and foes. The priests abandoned the altars, the religious deserted the monasteries, put on the warrior's armour, became soldiers, and in their turn were chiefs of *banditti*, murderers, robbers, incendiaries. Too deserving of the yoke which the English were preparing for them, the French without distinction, whether Royalists or partisans of the Dauphin, or of the Duke of Burgundy's faction, or attached to the house of Orleans, and to the Armagnacs, all united in gangs of robbers; highwaymen, equally exasperated against each other, seemed to have lost all sentiments of humanity, and to have conspired the utter destruction of the kingdom. "It might have been said," says our author, "that

our blind ancestors had determined to bury themselves under the ruins of their country."

The city of Paris was the chief scene of civil disorders. By turns a prey to the violence of the Armagnacs, and to the fury of the Duke of Burgundy, she groaned under the most dreadful desolation; she was deluged with the blood of her citizens, inhumanely massacred, or publicly executed. It was during these troubles that a (Swiss) soldier of the Duke of Burgundy's troop, coming out of a tavern where he had lost his money, stabbed several times with his dagger an image of the Virgin. Several spectators asserted that they saw the blood spurt out: nothing more was wanting to inflame the people: the soldier was seized and put to death. The statue was carried to St. Martin-in-the-fields, where it became an object of public veneration, under the name of Nôtre Dame de la Carolle. Another image was placed in the very spot were the crime had been committed, and to this very day the custom is continued of burning every year, on the third of July, the wicked effigy of a man armed with a poignard, in memory of that event.

The English pursued their conquests with rapidity. France was divided into four parties, who endeavoured to strengthen themselves, either by uniting together, or by relying on the

protection of the King of England, and by treating with him.

TWO EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS RECORDED IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VII.

Two rather extraordinary events are recorded in this reign, which strongly mark that credulity, fickleness, and propensity to change, which the common people of every age have been but too prone to manifest.

There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest, who possessed some subtlety, and still more boldness and temerity. This man had entertained a design of disturbing Henry's government, by raising up a pretender to the crown, and for that purpose he cast his eyes upon one Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, a baker's son, and who, being endued with understanding above his years and address above his condition, seemed well fitted to personate a prince of royal extraction. A report had been spread among the people, and received with great avidity, that Richard, Duke of York, and second son to Edward IV., had, by secret escape, saved himself from his uncle's severity, and lay somewhere concealed in England. Simon, taking advantage of this rumour, had at first instructed

his pupil to take the name, which he found so fondly cherished by the people. But hearing afterwards that Warwick had made his escape from the Tower, and observing that this news was attended with no less general satisfaction, he changed his plan of imposture, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince, at which he was equally expert. Simon chose Ireland, wherein to exhibit the first scene of his transactions, because that Ireland was zealously attached to the House of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had been their lieutenant, and was improvidently allowed by the king to remain in the same condition in which he found it; and all the counsellors and officers who had been appointed by his predecessor, remained in their authority.

No sooner did Simnel present himself to Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claim his protection, as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman, not suspecting so bold a fiction, lent attention to him, and began to consult some persons of rank with regard to this extraordinary incident, which favoured their natural propensity: they paid the pretended prince attendance, as their sovereign; lodged him in the Castle of Dublin; crowned him with a diadem, taken from the statue of the

Virgin, and publicly proclaimed him king, under the appellation of Edward VI.

This Simnel was afterwards taken prisoner at the battle of Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and was pardoned, being too contemptible to excite apprehension or resentment in Henry, who made him a scullion in his kitchen, whence he afterwards advanced him to the rank of falconer.

The other event, which we abridge from Hume, was as follows:—

"The Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, full of resentment for the successor of her family and its partizans, caused a similar attempt to be set on foot again, about six years afterwards, by taking under her protection one Perkin Warbeck, the son of John Osbeck and Catherine de la Jore. Warbeck was born in England, and spoke his native language very well. He was handsome, well-shaped, and had a noble air, which commanded respect; and thus he was imposed on the people to suppose him Richard, Duke of York, brother to Edward V., who had escaped the vengeance of Richard III., his uncle. Warbeck waited upon the Duchess, in Flanders, who first pretended not to know him, but afterwards patronized him, and declared publicly, that he was the true Duke of York, treated him as her nephew, and enabled him to make a descent in Kent, and another in Ireland. But Perkin, not

succeeding, went into Scotland, where he was received honourably by James IV., who gave him Catherine Gordon, daughter to the Earl of Huntley, one of his relations, in marriage; and took him twice into England, at the head of an army, but without success. After giving Henry much trouble, the King caused him to be hanged, after having attempted to escape out of the tower, wherein he had been imprisoned.

Walpole* seems clearly of opinion, that, though Simnel was an impostor, Warbeck was the real Duke of York; and he supports this opinion by so many strong arguments, that few, it is imagined, can read them without becoming a convert to the tenets of the historian.

Fruit, during the reign of Henry VII., appears to have been very scarce. In an original MS. signed by the King himself, and kept in the Remembrance Office, it appears, that apples were not less than one or two shillings a piece—that a red rose cost two shillings, &c.

It was by mere accident, that King Henry VII. had not the honour of equipping Columbus on his memorable voyage for the discovery of the western world. This eminent and immortal navigator, after having experienced many repulses to his projects, from the coasts of Portugal and

* Vide Historical Doubts.

Spain, sent his brother over to England to crave protection. Henry invited him to his court; but the brother, on his return, having been taken by pirates, was detained on his voyage; and Columbus, in the meanwhile, having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a fleet only of three ships, and happily executed his enterprize.

Henry, however, afterwards fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, dwelling in Bristol, and sent him westward, in the year 1498, who discovered the main land of America, towards the 16th degree of northern latitude. The king expended 14,000 pounds in building one ship, called the Great Harry, which was properly the first in the English navy.

The character, with other curious particulars of Henry VII., will be found in the following singular document, entitled:

History of the Reign of King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.—(A Fragment.)*

The books which are written do, in their kind, represent the faculties of the mind of man: Poesie, his imaginations; philosophy, his reason;

* This curious document is taken from "Mysteries of State and Government, in Letters of illustrious Persons, &c. in the Reigns of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, James, and Charles."

and history, his memory; of which three faculties, least exception is commonly taken to memory, because imagination is oftentimes idle, and reason litigious; so likewise history, of all writings, deserveth the least taxation, as that which holdeth least of the author, and most of the things themselves. Again, the use which it holdeth to man's life; if it be not the greatest, yet assuredly it is the freest of all accident or quality. For those that are conversant much in poets, as they attain to greater variety, so withal they become conceited; and those that are brought up in philosophy and sciences, do wax, (according as their nature is,) some of them too stiff and opinionative, and some others too perplexed and confused; whereas history possesseth the mind with conceits which are nearest allied unto action, and imprinteth them, so as it doth not alter the complexion of the mind, neither to irresolution, nor pertinacity. But this is true, that in no sort of writings there is a greater distance between the good and the bad, no, not between the most excellent poet and the vainest rhymer, nor between the deepest philosopher and the most frivolous schoolmen, than there is between good histories, and those that unworthily bear the same or the like title. In which regard, having purposed to write the history of England, from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. of that name, neer unto the present time when Queen

Elizabeth reigneth in good felicity; I am delivered of the excuse wherewith the best writers of histories are troubled in their poems, when they go about (without breaking the bounds of modesty) to give a reason, why they should write that again which others have written well, or at least tolerably, before. For those which I am to follow are such, as I may fear, rather the reproach of coming unto their number, than the opinion of presumption.—I hope to do better than they; but in the meantime it must be considered, that the best of the ancient histories were contrived out of divers particular commentaries, relations, and narrations, which it was not hard to digest with ornament, and thereof to compound one entire story. And as, at first, such writers had the ease of others labours, so, since, they have the whole commendation, in regard their former writings are for the most part lost, whereby their borrowings do not appear. But unto me the disadvantage is great, finding no public memories of any consideration or worth, that the supply must be out of the freshness of memory and tradition; and out of acts, instruments, and negociations of state themselves, together with the glances of foreign histories; which, though I do acknowledge to be the best originals and instructions, out of which to write an history, yet the travel must be much greater, than if there had been already digested any tole-

fable chronicle, as a single narration of the actions themselves, which should only have needed, out of the former helps, to be enriched with counsels and speeches, and notable particularities. And this was the reason, while I might not attempt to go higher to ancient times, because those helps and grounds did more and more fail; although, if I be not deceived, I may truly affirm, that there have no things passed ever in this nation, which have produced greater actions, nor more worthy to be delivered to the ages hereafter; for they be not the great wars and conquests, (which many times are works of fortune, and fall out in barbarous times,) the rehearsal whereof maketh the profitable and instructive history; but rather times refined in policies and industries, new and rare variety of accidents and alterations, equal and just encounters of state and state in forces, and of prince and prince in sufficiency, that bring upon the stage the best parts for observation.

Now, if you look into the general natures of the times, (which I have undertaken throughout Europe, whereof the times of this nation must needs participate,) you shall find more knowledge in the world, than was in the ages before; whereby the wits of men (which are the shops wherein all actions are forged) are more furnished and improved: then, if you restrain your consideration to the state of this monarchy,

first, there will occur unto you changes rare; and altogether unknown unto antiquity, in matters of religion, and the state ecclesiastical. Then to behold the several reigns of a king, that first, or next the first, became absolute in the sovereignty; of a king, in minority; of a queen, married to a foreigner; and, lastly, of a queen that hath governed without the help, either of a marriage, or of any mighty man of her blood, is no small variety in the affairs of a monarchy; but such as (perhaps) in four successions in any state, at any time, is hardly to be found.

Besides, there have not wanted examples, within the compass of the same times, neither of an usurpation, nor of rebellions under heads of greatness, nor of commotions nearly popular, nor of sundry desperate conspirators (an unwonted thing in hereditary monarchies), nor of foreign wars of all sorts, invasive, repulsive, of invasion open and declared, covert and underhand, by sea, by land, Scottish, French, Spanish succour, protections, new and extraordinary kinds of confederations with subjects: generally, without question, the state of this nation had never a longer reach to import the unusual affairs of *Europe*, as that which was in the former part of the time the counterpoise between *France* and *Spain*: and in the latter, the only encounter and opposition against *Spain*. Add hereunto, the new discoveries and navigations

abroad; the new provisions of laws and presidents of state at home, and the accidents memorable, both of state and court, and there will be no doubt, but the times which I have chosen are of all former times in this nation, the fittest to be registered, if it be not in this respect, that they be of too fresh a memory; which point, I know very well, will be a prejudice, as if this story were written in favour of the time present. But it shall suffice unto me, without betraying mine own name and memory, or the liberty of a history, to procure this commendation to the time with the posterity; namely, that a private man living in the same time, should not doubt to publish a history of the time, which should not carry any shew or taste at all of flattery; a point noted for an infallible demonstration of a good time.

King Henry VII. of that name, after he had lived about 52 years, and thereof reigned 23 and some months, deceased of a consumption the 22nd day of April, in the palace which he had built at *Richmond*, in the year of our redemption 1504. This king attained unto the crown, not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation; but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. His times were rather prosperous than calme; for he was assailed with many troubles, which he overcame happily; a matter that did not less

set forth his wisdom, than his fortune; and yet such a wisdom, as seemed rather a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers when they pressed him, than any deep foresight to prevent them afar off: jealous he was over the greatness of his nobility, as remembering how himself was set up. And much more did this humour increase in him, after he had conflicted with some such idols and counterfeits, as were *Lambert Symnell* and *Perkin Warbeck*. The strangeness of which dangers made him think nothing safe; whereby he was forced to descend to the employment of secret espials, and suborned conspirators, a necessary remedy against so darken and subtile practices, and not to be reprehended, except it were true, which some report, that he had intelligence with confessors for the revealing matters disclosed in confession; and yet if a man compare him with the king his concurrents in *France* and *Spain*, he shall find him more politick than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain; upon whom, nevertheless, he did handsomely bestow the envy of the death of *Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick*.

Great and devout reverence he bare to religion, as he that employed ecclesiastical men in most of his affairs and negociations, and as he that was brought hardly, and very late, to the abolishing of the privileges of sanctuaries, in

case of treason, and that not before he had obtained it by way of suite from Pope *Alexander*; which sanctuaries, nevertheless, had been the forges of most of his troubles. In his government he was led by none, scarcely by his laws; and yet he was a great observer of formality in all his proceedings, which, notwithstanding, was no impediment to the working of his will, and in the suppressing and punishment of the treasons which during the whole time of his reign were committed against him: he had a very strange kind of interchanging of very large and unexpected pardons, with severe executions; which, his discreet wisdom considered, could not be imputed to any inconstancy or inequality, but to a discretion, or at least to a principle that he had apprehended, that it was good, not obstinately to pursue one course, but to try both ways. In his wars, he seemed rather confident than enterprizing; by which also he was commonly not the poorer, but generally he did seem inclinable to live in peace, and made but offers of war to mend the conditions of peace, and in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects, he was ever ready to achieve those wars in person, sometimes reserving, but never retiring himself, but as ready to second. Of nature, he coveted to accumulate treasure, which the people (into whom there is infused, for the preservation of monarchies; a natural desire to discharge

their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers) did impute unto Cardinal *Morton*, and Sir *Reynold Bray*, who, as it afterward appeared, as counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so second his humour, or nevertheless they tempted it, and refrained it; whereas *Empson* and *Dudley*, that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise than following of his own humour, gave him way, and shaped him way to these extremities, wherewith himself was touched with remorse at his death, and with his successor disavowed. In expending of treasure, he never spared charge that his affairs required; and in his foundations, was magnificent enough, but his rewards were very limited; so that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory, than towards the desert of others. He chose commonly to employ cunning persons, as he that knew himself sufficient to make use of their utmost reaches without danger of being abused with himself.

[The remainder of this fragment is wanting.]

Edward (IV.) was a gay and voluptuous prince, and probably owed his crown to his handsomeness, his enormous debts, and passion for the fair sex. He had many Jane Shores. Honest Philip de Comines, his contemporary, says, "That what greatly contributed to his entering London, as soon as he appeared at its gates,

was the great debts this prince had contracted, which made his creditors gladly assist him; and the high favour in which he was held by the bourgeoises, into whose good graces he had frequently glided, and who gained over to him their husbands, who, I suppose, for the tranquillity of their lives, were glad to depose, or to raise monarchs. Many ladies and rich citizens' wives, of whom formerly he had had great privacies and familiar acquaintance, gained over to him their husbands and relations."

This is the description of his voluptuous life: we must recollect, that the writer had been an eye-witness, and was an honest man; while modern historians only view objects through the colouring medium of their imagination.

"He had been during the last twelve years more accustomed to his ease and pleasure than any other prince who lived in his time. He had nothing in his thoughts but *les dames*, and of them more than was *reasonable;* and hunting matches, good eating, and great care of his person. When he went in their seasons to these hunting matches, he always had carried with him great pavilions for *les dames*, and at the same time gave splendid entertainments; so that it is not surprising that his person was as jolly as any one I ever saw. He was then young, and as handsome as any man of his age, but he has since become enormously fat."

The following naïveté in the form of a conversazione, is related by old Philip to have passed between Edward and the King of France:—

"When the ceremony of the bath was concluded, our king, who was desirous of being friendly, began to say to the King of England, in a laughing way, that he must come to Paris, and be jovial amongst our ladies; and that he would give him the Cardinal de Bourbon for his confessor, who would very willingly absolve him of any *sin* which perchance he might commit. The King of England seemed well pleased at the invitation, and laughed heartily; for he knew that the said cardinal was *un fort bon compagnon*. When the king was returning, he spoke on the road to me; and said, that he did not like the King of England so much inclined to come to Paris. 'He is,' said he, 'a very *handsome* king; he likes the women too much. He may probably find one at Paris that may make him like to come too often, or stay too long. His predecessors have already been too much at Paris and in Normandy;' and that 'his company was not agreeable *this side of the sea*; but that beyond the sea, he wished to be *bon frère et amy*'."

The reader, perhaps, will not be displeased with the following historiette of Philip de Comines, given by D'Israeli, in his Curiosities of Literature, vol. i. p. 460:—

"I have called Philip de Comines 'honest,'" says he. "The old writers, from the simplicity of their style, usually receive this honourable epithet; but sometimes they deserve it as little as most modern memoir writers. No enemy is, indeed, so terrible as a man of genius. Comines' violent enmity to the Duke of Burgundy, which appears in these Memoires, has been traced by the minute researchers of anecdotes; and the cause is not honourable to the memoir writer, whose resentment was implacable. De Comines was born a subject of the Duke of Burgundy, and for seven years had been a favourite; but one day returning from hunting with the duke, then Count de Charolois, in familiar jocularity he sat himself down before the prince, ordering the prince to pull off his boots. The count laughed, and did this, but in return for Comines' princely amusement, dashed the boot in his face, and gave Comines a bloody nose. From that time, he was mortified in the court of Burgundy by the nickname of the *Booted Head.* Comines long felt a rankling wound in his mind; and after this family quarrel, for it was nothing more, he went over to the King of France, and wrote off his bile against the Duke of Burgundy, in those Memoirs, which give posterity a caricature likeness of that prince, whom he is ever censuring for presumption, obstinacy, pride, and cruelty. This Duke of Burgundy, however, it is

said, with many virtues, had but one great vice —the vice of sovereigns, that of ambition.

The impertinence of Comines had not been chastised with great severity; but the nickname was never forgiven: unfortunately for the duke, Comines was a man of genius. When we are versed in the history of the times, we often discover, that memoir writers have some secret poison in their hearts. Many, like Comines, have had the boot dashed on their nose. Personal rancour wonderfully enlivens the style of Lord Orford, and Cardinal de Retz' Memoirs are often dictated by its fiercest spirit; and then histories are composed from memoirs. Where is TRUTH? —Not always in histories and memoirs!

MEMOIRS, LETTERS, AND OTHER CURIOUS DOCUMENTS OF THE COURT OF HENRY VIII.

(MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus. &c. &c.)

BEFORE the period of Henry VIII. we can only catch glimpses of society, if society it could be called, where a despotic monarchy, and a turbulent feudal system, divided the country. Indeed as the records descend in time, and begin to develop more familiarly the manners of our ancestors, they give infinitely greater pleasure by their diversity and curious matter. But from the epoch of the reformation, when those acquire-

ments which the middle ages had been gradually making, were brought obviously into action, an entirely new tone was imparted to the relations between man and man.

It is true, nevertheless, that we see under the petticoat government of Elizabeth, and, even into a few years of the Stuart's line, the remains of the ancient order of things holding out stoutly against the innovations of novelty; but the progress of the latter were never effectually stopped; it gathered strength with every struggle; till finally, the rights of human beings were acknowledged in this land of rational liberty, the course of even justice became defined and certain; the poor man enjoyed the protection of the laws as well as the rich; and the highest advancement of every description was opened to talents of the humblest birth.

The most memorable traits in English history occurred in the reign of this Henry: the revolutions in dress, manners, and religion, though last, are not least among the occurrences by which the career of the capricious monarch is characterised. To the first of these two we will now advert, as a striking instance of the influence of the crown at all times in directing the morals of the people.

RESTRICTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF FEMALE DRESS, &c.

THE dress of females of rank at this period of our history was restrained by limitations of a nature somewhat similar to those which restricted the absurdities of male attire, and was less extravagant. The gown, composed of silk or velvet, was shortened or lengthened according to the rank of the wearer. The countess was obliged by the rules of etiquette to have a train both behind and before, which she hung upon her arm, or fastened upon her girdle; the baroness, and all under her degree, were prohibited from assuming that badge of distinction. The matron was distinguished from the unmarried woman, by the different mode of their head attire: the hood of the former had recently been superseded by a coif or close bonnet, of which the pictures of Holbein give a representation; while the youthful and the single, with characteristic simplicity, wore the hair braided with knots of ribbon.

The materials of the dresses at this period were costly; and were sometimes enriched by embroidery, and by the addition of precious stones. Such was the demand for cloths of gold and silver, for velvets and damasks, that three or four thousand pieces were in one year imported

from Italy. The number may appear trifling at the present day, when such materials of dress are not confined to any particular class or rank of persons, but may be worn by all who can afford to purchase them; but in those times of aristocratic pride, persons of inferior rank were obliged to adhere to a simple and serviceable garment, made of woollen or of hempen cloth, somewhat resembling the Saxon tunic; and from this picturesque mantle or gown, the frock of the waggoner, still in use in most of the counties in England, is supposed to have been derived.

Henry the Eighth placed so much importance upon dress, that during his reign the wardrobes of the nobility increased to many times their former value, while his own exceeded in costliness that of any preceding monarch. The manifest advantages resulting to trade, as well as a taste for ostentatious display, may have been the motive for the encouragement which this monarch bestowed upon those who, in this respect, did most honour to his court; and, in an age when the distinctions of mental superiority were less understood or acknowledged than at present, it is not surprising that external advantages should have been held in undue estimation.

Royal Diversions and Amusements.

To the frequent and alluring festivities with which the court was enlivened, may be also

attributed the increase of luxury in other respects among the nobility. The gay, the gallant, and the rich, had now a place of resort, where they could dissipate time, and display their attractions, accomplishments and wealth. The queen, in the early days of her marriage, although displaying the characteristic gravity of her nation, was far from evincing any repugnance to those diversions in which the king delighted. She gave, on the contrary, a sanction to them by her presence, which allowed the ladies of the court to enjoy, and in some measure to impart refinement to scenes, in which their fair descendants might deem it improper, and even revolting to enter. Let it, however, be remembered, before we condemn too hastily the masculine amusements of the women of the sixteenth century, that the qualities of self-possession, courage and fortitude, always commendable, and entirely compatible with feminine virtues, were indispensable in unsettled times; and were acquired and improved by familiarity with those diversions which presented the conflicts without the danger of war.

In splendour and importance, the tournament and the joust must have precedence, in enumerating the sports of this period. To these exercises Henry gave unremitting attention, and not to display proficiency in them, was almost to lose his favour; yet some discretion was also re-

quired to rival, but not to excel the king, whose ardent temper could not brook superiority in another; accordingly, how dexterous soever the combatants might be in feats of arms, victory was always reserved for royalty. Yet, as the king sometimes fought disguised, it is but fair to allow, that he was no mean adept in those pursuits for which his bodily powers and continual practice had qualified him.

Tournaments, a name which formerly applied to every military combat, consisted of three separate amusements: tilting at the quintain, running at the ring, and jousting or fighting in single combat.

The tournament, as a general term, was applied to conflicts in which many persons were engaged at once, divided into parties. The joust was sometimes practised independent of the tournament; and both these modes of combat were carried on either on horseback or on foot, according to circumstances.

The barriers, another species of contest in which Henry was skilled, was a battle with axes, in which those engaged were prevented from coming into close contact, by a barrier, breast high, placed between them.

These games had long been the recreation of the noble and the valorous, both in England and on the continent; and although they had repeatedly been prohibited by the church, on

account of the dangerous accidents and bitter contentions which had frequently converted the scene of mirth and enjoyment into a tragedy, long remembered by the sufferers, they continued to be idolized by those who, from their wealth, could partake of them in a style suitable to their rank, and by all who aspired to the distinction of superior skill and courage.

The risk of fatal consequences attending tournaments was, in the time of Henry, partly diminished; "formerly meaning nothing innate, but all in honour;" the combatants, nevertheless, fought with sharp swords and lances, as in battle; and, although the number of blows were regulated, and rules laid down to prevent bloodshed, the festivities were often disturbed by the death of one or more of the parties engaged. In process of time, it was found necessary to introduce arms of courtesy, consisting of lances without heads, and with round braces at the extremity, called rockets; the swords were blunted, and every precaution was adopted to prevent injurious consequences. In these combats, nevertheless, bruises were often severe and painful; and the heavy armour which the rules of the game required, proved occasionally detrimental to the warrior.

Henry had not always the good fortune to escape the dangers to which all who engaged in these sports were equally exposed; and he was sometimes alarmed for the result of the extreme

dudourlin combat which impelled his young courtiers to use too much violence in this mimic war: accordingly we often find him hastily closing the amusements of the day, when he perceived that the spirit of emulation began to border upon rancour and hatred. The weapons which the king usually employed, were rather different from those which were used in general, as he carried a battle-axe as well as a two-handed sword: but, doubtless, these were blunted, as well as the arms of his opponents.

In the splendid tournament which immediately succeeded the coronation of Henry, it was probably considered indecorous that he should take an active part so recently after the death of his father. He was, therefore, at this time merely a spectator, while the scene of amicable rivalship was performed. Among the most distinguished knights, Charles Brandon was pre-eminent, not only for his personal beauty and the elegance that attended every movement which the various evolutions of the game required, but for his courage, judgment, and skill, qualities which he displayed afterwards on more important occasions. This celebrated man, the son of Sir William Brandon, who, bearing the standard of Henry VIIth, was slain by Richard the Third, at Bosworth field, had been educated in habits of the strictest intimacy with the young king, and afterwards retained his affection and

regard. In the constancy of that regard which Henry professed for Brandon, it is agreeable to those who wish to view human nature under its most favourable aspect, to see an exception to the numerous circumstances which have justly affixed the reproach of caprice to the character of that monarch.—Brandon was, however, as cautious and politic in the court, as he was enterprising and courageous in the field; and while his military exploits secured his reputation for valour, he generally yielded the palm of victory to his sovereign in the mimic wars of the tournament. Three sons of the Howard family were also distinguished upon this occasion.

The achievements of Lord Thomas Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, will be unfolded hereafter: at this period of our narrative, he was regarded as one of the most promising warriors, and as one of the most dissolute men at the court of Henry. Sir Edward, and Sir Edmund Howard, the one famed for naval exploits, the other less remarkable, but not without celebrity for courage; Sir Thomas Knevet, master of the horse, and Lord Neville, brother to the Marquis of Dorset, filled up the lists of the combat on one side, and took the field.

The trumpets blew to the field the fresh, young gallants and noblemen, gorgeously apparelled, with curious devices of arts and of embroideries, as well in their coats as in trappers

for their horses; some in gold, some in silver, some in tinsel, and divers others in goldsmith's work, goodly to behold.' Such was the array in which the young knights came forth to combat, assuming the name and devices of the knights or scholars of Pallas, were clothed in garments of green velvet, carrying a crystal shield, on which was pourtrayed the goddess Minerva, and had the bases and barbs of their horses embroidered with roses and pomegranates of gold; those of Diana were decorated with the bramble bush, displayed in a similar manner. The prize of valour was the crystal shield. Between the lists, the spectators were amused with a pageant, representing a park enclosed with pales, containing fallow deer, and attended by foresters and huntsmen. The park being moved towards the place where the queen sat, the gates were opened, the deer were let out, pursued by greyhounds, killed and presented by Diana's champions to the queen and ladies. Thus were they included in the amusement, not only as observers, but as participators: nor were the populace without their share of enjoyments; streams of Rhenish wine and of claret, which flowed from the mouths of animals sculptured in stone and wood, were appropriated to their refreshment. Night closed on the joyous scene; but before its approach, the king, perceiving that the ardour of the combatants had become intemperate and dangerous,

wisely limited the number of strokes, and closed the tourney.

It was about this period that the tournament ceased to be merely a chivalric combat; and, united with the pageant, acquired more of the dramatic character. The pageant consisted of a temporary building, moved on biers, generally representing castles, rocks, mountains, palaces, gardens, or forests. The decoration of these ambulating scenes was attended with considerable expense, but was seldom conducted with taste or consistency. They generally contained figures, personating a curious medley of nymphs, savages, heathen gods, and Christian saints, giants and the nine worthies, who descended and danced among the spectators.

On the night of the Epiphany (1516) a pageant was introduced into the hall at Richmond, representing a hill studded with gold and precious stones, and having on its summit a tree of gold, from which hung roses and pomegranates. From the declivity of the hill descended a lady richly attired, who with the gentlemen, or, as they were then called, children of honour, danced a morris before the king.

On another occasion, in the presence of the court, an artificial forest was drawn in by a lion and an antelope, the hides of which were richly embroidered with golden ornaments; the animals were harnessed with chains of gold, and on

each sat a fair damsel in gay apparel. In the midst of the forest, which was thus introduced, appeared a gilded tower, at the gates of which stood a youth, holding in his hands a garland of roses, as the prize of valour in a tournament, which succeeded the pageant.

Singular instance of Clerical Justice.

When the change in religion began first to make its way, a citizen, named Richard Hume, having lost an infant by death in his house, was sued by the curate of the parish for the burying sheet of the child, which he claimed as a mortuary, or compensation for tithes left unpaid at the decease of any person. Hume refused to give up the shroud, and was cited to appear in the spiritual court; but having secured good counsel, he sued the curate in a præmunire for bringing him into a foreign court instead of the common law courts. Fitzjames, the Bishop of London, and Dr. Horsey, his chancellor, indignant at this refusal, accused Hume of heresy, and caused him to be imprisoned in the Lollard's tower. In this dungeon he was one morning found dead, hanging by a silken girdle, which being loose round his neck, induced a suspicion as to the cause of his death. On examination it was apparent his neck had been broken with an iron chain, the skin being marked by an instrument of that nature; and from various other

marks upon the body, it was too evident that his decease had not been the effect of his own hands.

Such, however, was the exercise of justice in the hands of the clergy, that the body was tried for heresy; and several articles from the preface of Wickliffe's Bible, which were found in his possession, were charged against him; and, to conclude the farce, the mangled remains of the poor man were adjudged to be burned in Smithfield.

To the disgrace of the church, the Bishops of Lincoln and Durham, and many Doctors of Divinity and of the Canon law, sat with the Bishop of London in this case, so that the sentence was considered as the unanimous act of the clergy. The indignation of the people was excessive, and the city was never afterwards well affected to the priests. The inquest, which sat on the body of Hume, pronounced him to be murdered; and the crime had been clearly traced to the Bishop Sumner, the bell-ringer, and to Dr. Horsey, the chancellor. Great efforts were made to stop the trial of these men, which was immediately commenced; but even the authority of Wolsey, which was exerted to that effect, availed nothing. A bill was first passed in the House of Commons, for restoring Hume's family to their goods and estate, which had the royal assent, and another was then introduced touch-

ing the murder, which occasioned violent contentions. The convocation of the clergy, perceiving the blow which was thus aimed at their privileges, summoned Dr. Standish before them. The temporal lords and judges thereupon appealed to the king to maintain his jurisdiction, and to defend Standish from his enemies. The king, in great perplexity, had recourse to Dr. Keysey, dean of his chapel, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter, whose opinion favoured the arguments of Dr. Standish, in agreeing to the propriety of clerks being convened before secular judges. After a long discussion on this topic, and a decision by the judges in favour of the two doctors, the cardinal publicly, and on his knees, entreated the king, at an assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal at Baynard's castle, to refer the matter to the pope: in this supplication he was seconded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Bishop of Winchester, and by the majority of the clergy; but Henry, supported by the opinion of the judges, replied in these terms:—'That the kings of England in times past had no superior save God alone; that he was resolved to maintain the rights of the crown as his predecessors had done; that the decrees of the spiritualty were not conformed to by many of its members; and that he was determined to preserve the same independence with regard to them as his progenitors had done.'

Nor did he condescend to reply to the reiterated instances of Warham, in favour of an appeal to the see of Rome. That prelate for some time concealed Horsey in his house, against the warrants which were issued on the decision of the judges; and, afterwards, the culprit was screened from punishment by the intercession of Wolsey, who represented to the king the certainty of a verdict being found against Horsey, and the danger of irritating the clergy by the execution of temporal justice upon one of their order. In consequence of this request, the attorney-general was commanded to allow Horsey's plea of not guilty, so that the criminal was dismissed; but, quitting London, he could never return thither, either 'for fear or shame.' Dr. Standish was also unjustly dismissed from the court of convocation.

DIVORCE OF CATHERINE OF ARRAGON, &c.

This accomplished princess was the youngest daughter of Ferdinand of Arragon, and Isabella of Castile. In the 18th year of her age (1501), she was espoused to Arthur, Prince of Wales, eldest son of Henry VII., with whom she lived only four months and nineteen days. After his decease, she was contracted to his brother (afterward Henry VIII.) who was scarcely twelve years of age. The prince, in his fifteenth year,

made a public protest against the marriage; but, yielding at length to the representations of his council, he consented to ratify the contract, and on his accession to the throne was (July 15th, 1505,) crowned with Catherine, by Dr. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Catherine, by her personal and mental qualifications, acquired and maintained a great ascendancy, for nearly 20 years, over the affections of the king. The want of male issue, however, proved a source of disquietude to Henry, and the more so from the disrespect shown towards his daughter by the courts of France and Spain. Her alliance had been declined by them on pretence of illegitimacy; for, notwithstanding the papal authority for the marriage of Henry with the widow of his brother, the prejudices of the times were against it: even the late king had proved his intention of annulling their espousals, by causing his son to enter a protest against them. The primate had been of the same opinion, as also several members of the privy council. The impression made upon the mind of Henry appears, however, not to have been powerful, till strengthened by considerations of a more personal nature.

As her health declined, and her beauty faded, the blameless conduct of the queen proved insufficient to maintain her influence over the heart of her husband. Of the offspring she had borne

him only one daughter survived, and Henry began to feel, or affected to feel, superstitious scruples on the subject. The succession was, he persuaded himself, liable to be disputed, from the objection made to the legitimacy of Mary, and the near neighbourhood of the King of Scotland, the next lineal heir.

The following letter*, although there is nothing in its contents to fix its date, notwithstanding all the investigations of historians, deserves to be inserted here, as throwing considerable light on some interesting circumstances connected with the union of Catherine of Arragon and Henry the Eighth. It was evidently written at one of those times when Henry hoped for a son from Catherine; and, from the address of "my Lord Cardinal," with which it begins, it could not have been written before 1515; in the summer of which year, says Hall, "a letter was brought to the Archbishop from Rome, certifying him how he was elected to be a cardinal, which, incontinent, shewed the same to the king, disabling himself in words, though his intent was otherwise; and so the king did encourage him, and willed him to take the order on him, and so called him MY LORD CARDINAL."

Queen Catherine, at this time, was probably pregnant with the Princess Mary: and here, perhaps, it may not be entirely irrelevant to

* See Ellis's Original Letters on English History.

37568

remark that, though our historians, generally speaking, name three children only as the issue of Henry and Catherine, yet one or two writers speak of more. Mason, in his Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, (p. 147,) says of Henry, "Katherinum in uxorem, anno 1509, tertio nonas Junij, palmam acciperet. Quid multis? Viginti annos cum illâ versatur, TRES FILIOS DUASQUE FILIAS, ex eadem procreat. Quorum tamen nullus diu vixit, si unicam mariam excepero:" and this is in some degree corroborated by Cardinal Pole, who (in his Apel. ad Car. V. Cæes. p. 162,) says, "LIBEROS PLURES ex ea suscepit. Si vero relequi decesserint, at unam reliquit."—But to the letter:—

"My Lord Cardinal,

"I recommand vnto you as hartely as I can, and I amme ryght glade to here of your good helthe, which I pray God may long contyny. So it is that I have resavyed your letters, to the whyche (by cause they aske long wrytyng) I haye made answer by my secretary. Som thyngs there be whyche be so secrete that they cause me at thys tyme to wrytte to you myselfe; the won is, that I trust the quene my wyffe be with chylde; the other is chefe cause why I am soo lothe to repayre to London Ward, by cause aboght thys tyme is partly off her dangerus tymes, and by cause off that I wolde remeve her

as lyttyll as I may now. My Lord, I wrytt thys unto (you) nott as a ensuryed thyng, but as a thing wherin I have grette hoppe and lyklyodes, and by cause I do well know that thys thyng wyll be comfortabyll to you to understand; therefor I do wrytt itt unto you at thys tyme. No more to you at this tyme, nisi quod Deus velit inceptum opus bene finiri. Written with the hand of youre lovynge prynce,

"HENRY R."

The following is also a singular document. It is a joint letter, A. D. 1527, of Queen Catherine and Henry, and is perhaps one of the most curious documents of the whole. The first part forms a note from the Queen, anxious for the coming of Campegius, steadfast in the hope that her cause would be affirmed, and kind and caressing to Wolsey. It is entirely in Catherine's hand-writing; but breaks off abruptly; Henry having consented to her importunity, and taken up the pen to finish it.

Here we have another added to the many proofs already known, that, whatever were Henry's scruples really, however blinded by lust, or determined to get rid of Catherine, his heart respected her.

"My Lord in my moste humblyst wys that my hart can thinke.....me that I am so bold to troubyl you with my sympyl. ..... .ytt do prosed from

her that is much desirus to kno.....I paersave be this berar that you do; the wiche I.....as I am most bonde to pray, for I do know the g..... you have taken for me bothe deey and nyght.....my part but all only in loveng you next unto the.....creatures leveng, and I do not dought but the.....shall manefestly declaer and aferme my wryte.....trust you do thynke the seme. My Lord I do assure y.....from you some neues of the legat, for I do hope and.....shall be very good, and I am seur that you deseyre.....and more and ytt were possibel as I knowe ytt ys not.....In a stedfast hope I make a nend of my lettar.....of her that is most bounde to be"

Here the queen's part ends, the rest is in the hand-writing of Henry the Eighth.

"The wrytter of thys Letter wolde nott cease tyll she had.....to sett to my hand, desyring yow thowght yt be short to t.....I ensure you ther is nother off us but that grettly desiry.....much more rejoyse to here that you have scapyd thys plage.....the fury theroff to be passyd, specyally with them that k.....as I trust you doo. The nott heryng off the Leg^s arywall.....us sumwhat to muse, nott withstanding we trust by you delyg..... (with the as ys ence of all myghty God) shortly to be easyd owght.....no more to you att thys tyme, but that I pray God send you .....and prosperyte as the wryter wolde. By your lovyng so.....Frende....HENR. .....

The most powerful argument against the cause of Catherine, was the beauty of her youthful and ill-fated rival, Ann Boleyn, who had been educated in every accomplishment at the French court, and was at this period newly introduced into that of England, as maid of honour to the queen. His scruples thus powerfully reinforced by his passions, Henry laid them before his confessor, his minister Cardinal Wolsey, and other ecclesiastics. The cardinal was too politic to oppose the inclinations of his master: the bishops, with the exception of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, proved no less complaisant, and the remaining hesitation of the monarch was removed. He speedily made application to Rome for a divorce, and regulated his conduct towards the queen accordingly: an encouraging answer arrived from Rome, and a dispensation was promised. It was the interest of Clement to favour the English king; but obstacles arose from another quarter. Catherine was protected in her claims by the emperor; and the politics of the pope, who depended upon the emperor, became embarrassed and fluctuating.

In the Original Letters already quoted, there is one from William Knight, which divulges a scene between Henry the Eighth and his secretary, truly characteristic of that determination which marked the whole of the king's conduct in the business of the divorce; and furnishes an

instance of so common perfidy. The character of the queen, be it known, was decided, her temper firm, her claims just: she resolved to maintain them. The imputations alleged against her marriage filled her with horror and indignation, and to the feelings of a wife those of a mother were added. In yielding up her own rights, those of her daughter must be involved: nor as a *woman*, could she be altogether insensible to the meditated triumph of a rival. Knight's letter is to the following purpose:

"So yt is that Frauncoise Philip, Spagniard, sewer unto the Quene, hath instantly laboured for licence to go into Spaigne, pretendyng cawse and colour of his goyng to be forasmoche as he saiyth he wolde viset his modre which is yeari sore syk. The Quene hath bothe refused to assent unto his goyng, and allso laboured unto the Kyngs Highnesse to empeshe the same. The Kyngs Highnesse knowyng grete colusion and dissymulacion betwene theym, doyth allso dissymule, faynyng that Philip his desyre ys made upon good grownde and consideracion, and easyli hath persuaded the Quene to be content with his going; and bicawse it was thowzt daungerous for hym to passe throwz Fraunce, or at this season by the Seeys, the Kyng hath sayde that in case Philip be taken by ennymyse his Highnesse will redempe him and pay his rawnesome. And this policie the Kyng useth to bring Philip in

more ferme confidence. But his pleasure ys, and also he desireth and prayeth your Grace to use suche policie as notwithstondyng any salve conduct that the saide Philip shall obteigne, other by your Graces meanes or any other, of the Frensh King, he may be let, empeshed, and deteigned in sum quarter of Fraunce; so that it be not in any wise knowen that the saide lett, arrest, or deprehension, shulde cum bi the King, by your Grace, or any of the Kings subjectes. The Kings Highnesse doith perceyve that the Quene is thoonly cawse of this manny's goyng into Spaigne, as he that is and hath bene allways prive unto the Queene his affaires and secretes. And whereas the saide Philip hath his passeport delivered, signed, and sealed, and hath shewed unto the Kyng that he entendyth to passe by Calys and by your Grace, and peraventure not havyng trust and confidence in any salve conduct to be grawnted in Fraunce doith but dissimule, entendyng to passe with the first that will contynue the passage by See. His Grace hertili desyreth yow in this case to advertise my Lorde of Worcettur, requyryng hym by all manyer of waiys to herkyn, espie, serche, [and] enquyre to what personages in the emperor's Courte Philip shall frequent and reasorte, and what he doyth and what he entendyth there. The Holigoste preserve your Grace." .....

Impelled by the most powerful and combined motives, Catherine implored the protection of the emperor, her nephew, and supplicated the papal court for justice. A commission had been granted by the pope for the trial of the king's marriage; and, after various pretences and delays, the court of the legate was opened in London, May 31st, 1529, in which both the king and queen were cited to appear.

Henry, when called upon, answered to his name; but Catherine rising, threw herself at his feet, and eloquently appealed to his justice and to his feelings: she reminded him, that, a stranger in the land, without protection, counsel, or aid, exposed to the malice of her enemies, she could appeal only to *him*, and in his hands alone, could her honour and happiness be safely deposited. That, during twenty years, she had, with fidelity and submission, practised all the duties of a devoted wife; and she referred it to his own heart whether she was not deserving of a better fate. A ceremony only, she protested, had made her the wife of his brother: the objections urged against the validity of her marriage, reflected, she further argued, on their parents, by whom it had been sanctioned. In their judgment, she confided, and would not submit her honour and her cause to a court, the dependence of which upon her adversaries, was but too evident.

Having thus delivered her sentiments, she arose, bowed to the king, and quitted the court, which she never again would enter.

After Catherine's departure, her virtues were openly acknowledged by Henry, who insisted only on his own scruples, doubtless exaggerated to himself: he laboured to acquit his minister, and requested a sentence conformable to justice and to truth. Catherine was once more cited to appear, and, on her refusal, declared contumacious. The cause was then entered upon; but the trial was protracted till the 23d of July.

Wolsey, who, to save appearances, had waved his privilege as elder cardinal, and permitted the business to be conducted by the legate, presumed to remonstrate with Catherine on the subject. "Of these measures," she replied indignantly, "I can accuse none but you, my Lord of York; because I could not away with your monstrous pride, excessive riot, whoredom, and intolerable oppression; and therefore do I now suffer. And because my nephew, the emperor, did not satisfy your insatiable ambition, to advance you to the papacy, you determined to be avenged on him and his friends; and you have performed your promise; you have been the plotter of war against him, and you have raised against me this storm."

Henry's confidence in Wolsey seems to have been unbounded, and the abilities and zeal exerted in his service by that distinguished

minister to have fully merited his utmost favours. In one point many of our historians have made a false estimate of Henry's character. They have represented him in the earlier portion of his reign, as little better than a voluptuary, absorbed in the pleasures and the splendour of his court, while the cardinal really held the reigns of government. But it will be found that Wolsey only occupied the first place in the royal favour. Henry saw his talent for business, and constantly flattered him with thanks; but in every thing governed for himself. Wolsey neither framed a bill for parliament, nor a despatch for a foreign court, which was not submitted to Henry; and never acted even in domestic politics till he had taken the pleasure of his sovereign. In a letter of Sir Thomas More, in the Cottonian library, dated at Abingdon, apparently in 1523, reporting the king's opinions and directions respecting the war of the low countries, he says: "After that his grace *had red and reformyd the mynut of this present lettre,* he commanded me to wryte unto your grace on his behalfe, that it might lyke you to take the payne to devise a good round lettre unto my lady Margaret in your own name."

This by no means corresponds with the servile and vindictive opinion with which Wolsey would seem to have influenced the judgment of Henry, either as related to his general conduct or in the particular instance of his wishing to

disembarrass himself of Catherine by means of the agitated divorce.

While Henry was expecting an immediate conclusion to the business, the court was, on a frivolous pretence, again prorogued, and an evocation, which arrived a few days after from Rome, frustrated the hopes of the king. In this unlooked-for blow Wolsey foresaw his ruin: Henry, like many others, was, where his own interests were concerned, accustomed to judge of measures only by the events. Anne Boleyn also imputed to the ministers the failure of his hopes; and the opposing factions combined to assure his fall, which was rapid and decisive.

The cause, by the advice of Cranmer, was referred to the judgment of the universities of Europe, which it was presumed that Rome would not resist. A verdict was given in conformity to the wishes of the king by several of the universities on the Continent, but Oxford and Cambridge still hesitated. Alarmed by the progress of Lutheranism, they feared to weather the sanction of the church; but measures were ultimately adopted to remove their scruples.

Fortified by these authorities, application was once more, in a style somewhat peremptory, made to the court of Rome. The king's marriage was, in the meantime, pronounced invalid by the convocations of York and Canterbury.

but the pope, whom the power of the emperor still kept in awe, cited the parties to Rome. Henry treated the citation as an insult, and refused submission. His answer was carried to the pope by the father of Anne Boleyn, who declined on this occasion the honour offered to him of saluting the toe of his holiness. Thus was the first step laid for the success of the reformation in England.

The king, in a subsequent parliament and convocation, was declared supreme head of the church, and measures were taken for the humiliation of Rome. The nuptials of Henry with Anne Boleyn were privately celebrated, and, on the pregnancy of Anne, made public. Catherine was still treated by the King, who, by every persuasive argument besought her to relinquish her claims, with esteem and respect. Unable to bend her from her purpose, he signified his wish that she should retire, and requested her to select a residence from amongst the royal palaces. She made choice of Ampthill, near Dunstable, where Cranmer, raised to the primacy, examined the validity of the marriage. She refused to answer either in person or by proxy, and was once more declared contumacious. The cause, however, proceeded, and, on the production of the opinions of the universities, sentence was pronounced by the primate, and the marriage of the

king with Catherine annulled. A subsequent sentence ratified his nuptials with Anne, who was soon after publicly crowned.

The following letter will further serve to illustrate the manners of the age:

"*Sir Thomas Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey upon the Christening of the Duke of Orleans, afterwards King Henry the Second of France, June 7th*, 1519.

["In a letter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, dated Poissy, April 9th, 1519, he says, he enquired of Francis the First when the christening of his son should be, who answered 'after Easter,' because the child had a disease in his eyes: 'and he sayeth, all his children have, shortly after they be borne; sayeng also y^t^ was my lady his mother's mynd, that the chyld shuld bee clene hole of any dysease afore the crystenyng; whos advyse he seyd he should folow therein *.

"In a succeeding letter, Sir Thomas Boleyn gives an account of a solempne procession at Court on April 15th, 'where went in the same the king, the lady his mother, with all the lor and ladys of the court. The cause of this cession was, for to honnour the holy cr or coorde that our Lord was bounde to me pyller with, and many other relyques, which wer sent

* MS. Cotton. Calig. D. VII. fol. 108.

to the quene here from an abbey in Poytow, and from dyvers other places, now when she was delyuered of chyld *.]

" Pleasith yt youre Grace to understand that the first day of this moneth I wrote my last lettres to your Grace; and on Sonday last past about x. of the clocke at nyght, the kings yong sonne whos title is Henry of Seynt Germayn Duke of Orleans, was crystened, the Duke of Alaunson was the second godfather, and the duchesse of Denamours the god mother. And bicause York, this berar, was there present, who can shewe your Grace all the maner and order of the crystenying, I leve to wryte to your Grace of the same; saving that according as your Grace hath here a fore tyme wryten to me I presented to the quene here in the name of the kings highnesse the salt, the cuppe, and layar of gold, which was very much praysed; and also the quene and my lady gave to the kings highnesse for the same their loving and harty thanks. And after all was doon the king came to me and sayd he thanked the king's highnesse of the great honnor that he had doon hym in crystenyng of his chyld, sayeng that when so ever yt shall fortune the kings highnesse to have a prince he shal be glad to doo for hym in lyke maner, and that he is mynded after his said sonne shall come

* MS. Cotton. Calig. D. VII. fol. 108.

to age and be able to.....he purposyth to send hym to the kings grace into Englande, to doo hym service.

" And the hundreth pounde that your Grace sent to gyve in reward, is bistowed as folowith. First the Noryce, oon hundreth crownes; to iiij. rockers of the yong Dukes chamber, ij. hundreth crownes; to iij. gentlewomen of the quenes pryve chamber, called femmes de Ret....a hundreth and fyfty crownes; and at the offrying xx nobils, which amounteth in all to the some of oone hundreth pounds sterling and xv. crownes over. All which money was paid and delyvered by the hands of York this berar and Richmount, which can shewe your Grace well inough thereof.

" Furthermore. as this berar can shewe your Grace, there hath been with me at my lodging the kings porters, the T.....and officers of armys which with importune manner asked reward, saying that the Duke of Urbyn at the crystenyng of the Dolphyn rewarded them, and wyth the best answer that I could make them nothying given they went away miscontent. Nevertheless it is....by honorabull folks here that the gyftes to the quene, and the money that is gyven in rewardes was sufficiently honorable, and largely inough for the kings honnor.

" I have also laid out xj^{li} xij^{s} in sendyng dyvers tymes myn own folks and other that I have hired to your Grace in to England, and to

Calais, with lettres in post and otherwise, the which xj^{li} xij^{s} and xv. crownes that I have layd out now more than hundreth poundes that your Grace sent me by York to gyve in reward, is owing me. And forasmoch as the last money that your Grace sent me for a hnndreth dayes ended the xxviijth day of May last past I besech your Grace both to send me such dyett money as shall best please your Grace, and that the said xj^{li} xij^{s} and xv. crownes that is owing me may be also delivered to my prest, which shall attend upon your Grace for yt."

Ambassadors are not so easily paid in modern times; but we have little to say to that matter, and would rather draw the attention of our readers to some of the most curious traits which the letters develop of the character of Henry VIII, who is told by one of his representatives *, speaking of the imperial crown, at which he aimed,

——"Oon of the cheffe points in the election off th'emperor is that he which shal be electyd must be off Germanie, subgiet to [the] empire; wheras your Grace is not, nor never sithen the Christen faith the Kings of Englond were subgiet to th'empire. But the crown of Englond is an empire of hitselff, mych bettyr then now the empire of Rome: for which cause your Grace werith a close crown."

* Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards Bishop of Durham.

The following will display a little of the interference of this close-crowned King, with the closet concerns of his subjects. Sir Thomas More writes to Wolsey—

"Hit may lyke your good Grace to be advertised that the kings highnes this nyght going to his souper called me to hym secretely, and commaunded me to wryte unto your Grace that where as hit hath pleased our Lord to call to his mercy Mr. Myrfyn late Aldreman of London, his Grace very greatly desireth for the speciall favor which he bereth toward Sir William Tyler, that the same Sir William shold have the widoo of the said late Aldreman in mariage. For the furtheraunce wherof his highnes considering your Grace's well approved wisedome and dexteritie in th' acheving and bringing to good passe his vertuouse and honorable appetites, commaunded me with diligence to advertise your Grace that his highnes in moost hartie wise requyreth your Grace that hit may lyke you, at the contemplation of this his affectuouse request, by your high wisedome to devise, put in ure, and pursue the moost effectuall meanys by which his Grace's desire may in this mater best be brought abowt and goodly take effecte; wherein his highnes saith that your Grace shall do him a right speciall pleasure, and bynd the said Sir William duryng his life to pray for your good Grace. Thus mych hath his Grace in this

byhalfe commanded me to write to yours; whom both our Lord long preserve in honor and helth together. At Esthamstede." .....

....." His highnes hath also commanded me to write un to your Grace that ther is an hospitall in Sowthwarke whereof his highnes is enformed that the maister is olde, blynd, and feble, and albeit that the hospitall is in the gifte of the Bishoppe of Wynchestre, yit his Grace is enformed that your Grace may as legate geve the maister in this case a coadjutor, which if your Grace conveniently may, than his highnes very hartely requireth your Grace that it may lyke you to appoint for his coadjutor his Grace's chappeleyn Mr. Stanley, which to desire of your Grace he saith that ij. things move him; the one that he wold the man were provided for, being a gentleman borne, and his Grace's chappeleyn; the tother is that his Grace being therby ridde and discharged of hym, myght, as he shortly wold, have a bettre lerned man in his place."

To return, however, to the subject of the present narrative, Anne Boleyn, now Queen of England, brought forth, Sept. 7, 1533, a daughter, on whom the name of Elizabeth was bestowed. Of this event Catherine received intelligence from Lord Mountgoy, with an intimation that henceforth she must submit to be treated as Princess Dowager of Wales. But she refused obedience, and still persisting in her pretensions,

irritated the king, and induced him, contrary to his first purpose, to exclude her daughter from the succession, and appoint the crown to descend on the issue of Anne.

Catherine retired to the castle of Kembatton, in Huntingdonshire, where she devoted herself to the observance of an austere piety. Under a plain dress she wore the habit of St. Francis. She fasted, confessed, rose to midnight prayers, and received a weekly communion. Six hours every morning she appropriated to prayer, and two hours after dinner to perusing the lives of the Saints; after which she retired to the chapel, where she remained till night. But these pitiable severities and voluntary humiliations rendered her not less tenacious of her worldly honours. She would accept no services from those who refused her the title of queen: the pope had judged her marriage valid, and she declared she would prefer death to the indignity of ceding her right. Her health, never vigorous, soon yielded to the austerities of her life; she requested to come nearer London for a milder air, but her request was refused and a proposal made of removing her to Fotheringay, which she positively rejected.

December, 1535, Catherine's dissolution seemed to be fast approaching. On learning her situation, the king sent the emperor's ambassador to visit and console her in his name.

Shortly before her decease, she dictated to one of her women a letter to Henry; in which she assures him of unabated affection, counsels him to care for the salvation of his soul, and expresses her full forgiveness. She concludes with recommending to him her daughter and her faithful attendants. Henry was affected to tears by the simple pathos of this epistle, and a pang of remorse touched his heart. Catherine expired at Kimbolton, January the 8th, 1535-6, in the fifty-second year of her age. She directed her remains to be privately interred in a convent of observant friars, who had suffered in her cause: five hundred masses were to be performed for her soul, and a pilgrimage undertaken to our Lady of Walsingham by a person who, on his way, was to distribute to the poor twenty nobles. She bequeathed considerable legacies to her servants, and desired that her robes might be converted into ornaments for the church in which she was buried. With the exception of the disposal of her body, her injunctions were scrupulously performed by the king. Her corpse was interred in the Abbey church of Peterborough, with the honours due to her birth. From respect to her memory, the abbey church was not only spared by Henry at the general dissolution of religious houses, but converted into a cathedral.

Erasmus expressed for Catherine high esteem,

and dedicated to her "Christian Matrimony." He also addressed to her, in her afflictions, a consolatory letter, directing her hopes and views in another world.

Catherine was devoted to literature and the patroness of learned men. Erasmus and Ludovicus Vives were more particularly distinguished by her. The latter drew up, at her command, instructions for the assistance of her daughter in the Latin language. He also dedicated to her other works. He was appointed Latin tutor to the Lady Mary. Catherine, by foreign authors, is reported to have composed "Meditations upon the Psalms," and "The Lamentations of a Sinner." These productions are, however, by others, attributed to Catherine Parr. Several letters addressed by Catherine to her husband, are to be found in Burnet's History of the Reformation.

The following are no less curious than singular documents:—

"*The Council for the Household of the Lady Mary to Cardinal Wolsey* *.

"Please it youre Grace for the great repaire of straungers supposed unto the Pryncesse ho-

* In this letter the reader is reminded of the long train of sports and merriment which formerly made Christmas so cheerful to our ancestors.

It was in 1525, in the 17th year of Henry the Eighth, that

norable householde this solempne fest of Cristmas, we humbly beseche the same to let us knowe youre gracious pleasure concernyng aswell a ship of silver for the almes disshe requysite for her high estate, and spice plats, as also for trumpetts and a rebek to be sent, and whither we shall appoynte any Lord of Mysrule for the said honorable householde, provide for enterluds, disgysyngs, or pleyes, in the said fest, or for banket on twelf nyght. And in likewise whither the Pryncesse shall sende any newe yeres gifts to the Kinge, the Quene, your Grace, and the Frensshe Quene, and of the value and devise of the same. Besechyng youre Grace also to pardon oure busy and importunate suts to the same in suche behalf made. Thus oure right syngler goode lorde we pray the holy Trynyte have you in his holy preservacion. At Teoxbury the xxvij day of November. Youre humble orators.

JOHN EXON.
JEILEZ GREVILE.
PETER BURNELL.
JOHN SALTER.
G. BROMLEY.
THOMAS AUDELEY.

To the most reverent Father in God the Lord Cardinall his good Grace.

Cardinal Wolsey, at the same time that he established a household for the young Duke of Richmond, "ordained a council," says Hall, "and stablished another household for the Lady Mary, then being *Princess of the Realm.*" The circumstance of

CURIOUS EXTRACTS *from the Household Book of Lady Mary, in various Years, from the 28th to the 36th of Henry VIII. Royal MSS. Brit. Mus.*

" Item, geven to George Mountejoye drawing my Ladye's Grace to his Valentine, xl^{s}.

" Item, geven amongs the yeomen of the King's guard bringing a Leke to my Lady's Grace on Saynt David's day, xv^{s}.

" Item, geven to Heywood playeng an enterlude with his children before my Lady's Grace, xl^{s}.

" Item, payed for a yerde and a halfe of damaske for Jane the fole, vij^{s}.

" Item, for shaving of Jane fooles hedde, iiij^{d}.

" Payed for a frountlet loste in a wager to my Lady Margaret, iiij^{li}.

" Item, payed for a brekefast loste at bolling by my Lady Mary's Grace, x^{s}."

The first open breach between Cardinal Wolsey and the Duke of Buckingham.

The Interview of the Cloth of Gold " is usually represented as occasioning the first open breach

the council's inquiring what they were to do, seems to fix the date of the letter at once, to the very year in which the household was established.

No record is preserved of the answer which was returned to this letter; but that the Cardinal allowed the sports of Christmas to be played, is more than probable.—*Ellis's Letters.* "

between Wolsey and the Duke of Buckingham: but the following extract from a letter of Sir William Fitzwilliam to Wolsey, sufficiently explains to us that Buckingham's haughty demeanour had long been offensive even to his Sovereign: and that, in some degree, his weakness and his pride had wrought his own ruin. Of royal descent, high constable of England by hereditary right, possessed of extensive domains, great in his alliances, and surrounded by numerous retainers, he enjoyed a popularity, the feared consequences of which, as will be seen in an extract from the Cardinal's letter in return, induced Francis the First to offer Henry his assistance in case the punishment of Buckingham should cause rebellion.

"Roy, at the back of the title-page of his 'Rede me and be nott wrothe,' alludes in strong terms to Wolsey as the Duke's destroyer:

'Of the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde,
Borne up betwene two angels of Sathan,
The sixe bloudy axes in a bare felde
Sheweth the cruelty of the red Man,
Which hath devoured *the beautiful* SWAN*;
Mortal enmy unto the whyte Lion:
Carter of Yorcke, the vyle butchers sonne.'

As regards the fall of Buckingham; his conviction was principally owing to the disclosures

"* The Duke of Buckingham took the Swan for his badge as heir of blood to Humphrey de Bohun."

of his confessor: and the practice of obtaining such disclosures from the confessors of the nobility, is particularly charged on Wolsey. Roy says,

> 'In all the londe there is no wyght,
> Nether Lorde, Baron, nor knyght
> To whom he hath any hatred,
> But ether by sower speche or swete
> Of their Confessours he will wete
> Howe they have theym selves behaved.
> What they saye, it is accepted,
> In no point to be objected,
> Though they be as false as Judas.'

"A very rare tract of that time, by William Tyndale, intitled 'The Practice of Prelates,' intimates that Wolsey learned this of Fox and Morton, and that it was the engine by which Henry the Seventh maintained himself upon his throne. 'In kynge Henryes dayes the vij. the Cardinall Morton and bishop Fox of Winchestre delyvered unto the Kynges Grace the Confessions of as many Lordes as his Grace lusted. Wo so ever was mistrusted, if he shrove him self at the Charter houses, Syon, Grenewych, at Saint Jhons, or where soever it was, the Confessoure was commanded by the auctorite of the Pope to delyver his confession wryten, and sworne that it was all.'

"Please it your Grace the Frenshe King told me how my Lord of Bukkyngham was in the Towre, and asked me and I herde of it: and I

sayed naye. And he asked me also what maner a man he was, and I aunswered as I thought, and sayed he was a high mynded man, and a man that wold speke like a man that were in a rage. And he sayed he judged him for..... man, and so full of coller that ther was nothing could content him. Then I shewed hym the Kings Grace had geven hym good lessons, and so good that and he had had any grace, he wold not have disserved to have been ther: and he sayed it was honorably doon of the Kings Grace to gyve him warnyng. And then I shewed hym I knewe hys Grace had gyven him warnyng, as well by your Grace, as by his owne ..... oftener than oons: and he praysed that verrey moche. At Mounte Armyne the xxij of Aprill.

By your servant to the best of my power

WYLLIAM FYTSWILLIAM.

"*Extract from the Cardinal's Answer to Sir William Fitzwilliam.*

* * * * * * *

Over this wher as upon knowlaige had by the said Frenche King of the attachement of the late Duke of Buckingham, the Lorde Bergevenny, and the Lorde Montague, he supposing that the matiers had been in some daungerous astate, made right loving, faithful, and kinde offers by you Sir William Fitzwilliam unto the King's Grace for the defence of his person if nede had

been; ye shall for his gentle and benivolent offer herin geve unto hym on the Kings behalve most hertye thanks. Neverthelas ye shal shewe unto hym that th'affaires were not, ne be in any suche daungerous state, but that the said late Duke, whom the Kings Grace of a good season hathe knowen to be perversly and evil mynded was nowe lately detected of diverse treasons by hymself thought and imagyned, aswel against the Kings person as against his succession, and specyally against the Princes with whose aliance in the House of Fraunce he was greatly miscontented and greved. And these things being openly and manifestly proved, and at last by hymself confessed, he was by the due order of the Kings lawes condempned and put to execucyon of dethe, according to his demerits. And as touching the said Lords of Bergevenny and Montague, ther is non untrouthe ner infidelitie in theym, but be as good, sincere, and loving subgietts and servaunts to the King as may be. And they were for non other cause committed to the Towre, but for a smale conceylement proceding of necligence, and being of no regarde, weight, or importance.

At my Place beside Westm. the xxth day of May.

Your lovying ffrende

T. Cardinalis Ebor."

The Earl of Surrey, in one of his despatches

(1523), gives the following very characteristic account of an important inroad into Scotland, which does not seem to have terminated so auspiciously as it began. The wars on the Scottish borders at one period were carried on *with* the most devastating activity.

. . . "The next day I sente my seid Lord Dacre to a strong hold called Fernherst, the lorde whereof was his mortall enemy, and with him Sir Arthure Darcy, Sir Marmaduke Constable, with vij c. of their men, one cortoute, and dyvers other good peces of ordynaunce for the feld. The seid Fernherste stode marvelous strongly within a great woode. The seid twoo knights with the moost parte of their men, and Strickland your Graces servaunte, with iij C. Kendall men, went into the woode on fote with th' ordynaunce, where the seid Kendall men were soo handled that they found hardy men that went noo foote bak for thëym. The other twoo Knights were alsoo soo sharply assayled that they were enforced to call for moo of their men, and yet could not bring th'ordynaunce to the fortresse unto the tyme my lord Dacre, with part of his horsemen, lighted on fote, and marvelously herdly handled himself; and fynally with long stikmysing* and moche difficultie, gut forthe th' ordynaunce, wan the howse, and threwe downe the same. At whiche skyrmyshe my seid Lord Dacre

* Skirmishing.

and his brother Sir Christofer, Sir Arthure, and Sir Marmaduke, and many other gentilmen, ded marvelously hardly, and found the best resistence that hath be seen sith my comyng to thies parties, and above xxx^{ti} Scottis slayne, and not passing iiij. English men; but above sixty hurt. After that, my seid Lord retornyng to the campe, wold in nowise bee lodged in the same, but where he laye the furst nyght: and he being with me at souper about viij. a clok, the horses of his company brake lowse, and sodenly ran out of his feld in suche nombre that it caused a marvelous alarome in our feld; and our standing watche being set, the horses cam ronnyng along the campe, at whome were shot above one hundred shief of arrowes and dyvers gonnys, thinking they had bee Scotts that wold have saulted the campe. Fynally the horses were so madde that they ran like wild dere into the feld above xv. C. at the leest in dyvers companys; and in one place above l. fill downe a great rok and slewe theymself; and above two hundred and fifty ran into the towne being on fire, and by the women taken and caried awaye, right evil brent; and many were taken agayne; but fynally by that I can esteme by the nombre of theym that I sawe goo on fote the next daye, I think there is lost above viij. C. horses, and all with foly for lak of not lying within the campe. I dare not write the wonders that my Lord Dacre and all his company

doo saye they sawe that nyght, vj. tymys, of sprits and ferefull sights. And unyversally all their company saye playnely, the Devill was that nyght amongs theym vj. tymys. Whiche mysfortune hath blemyshed the best Jorney that was made in Scotland many yeres. I assure your Grace I found the Scotts at this tyme the boldest men, and the hotest that ever I sawe any nation: and all the Jorney, upon all parts of th'army kept us with so contynual skyrmyshe that I never sawe the like. If they myght assemble forty thousand as good men as I nowe sawe fifteen hundred or two thousand, it wold bee an herd encounter to mete theym. Pitie it is of my lord Dacres losse of the horses of his company. He brought with hym above four thousand men, and lodged one nyght in Scotland in his moost mortal enemys contre. There is noo herdyer ner bettir knyght, but often tym he doth not use the most sure ordre; which he hath nowe payed derely for." .....

In another letter from the same hand, the famous Duke of Albany is strangely described: . . . "And by many wayes (says the Earl) I am advertised that the Duke of Albany is a mervelous wilfull man, and woll beleve noo mannys counsaill, but woll have his owne opinion folowed. And bicause the Frenche King hath be at soo greate chardges by his provoking, having his wiffs inherytance lying within his domynyons, dare not for no Scottish counsell

forbere t'envade this realm. I am also advertized that he is so passionate that he bee aperte among his familier, and doth here any thyng contrairies to his mynde and pleasure, his accustomed manner is to take his bonet sodenly of his hed and to throw it in the fire; and no man dare take it oute, but let it to be brent. My Lord Dacre doth afferme that at his last being in Scotland he did borne above a dosyn bonetts aftir that maner. And if he be suche a man, with God's grace we shall spede the better with him."

Amid the remarkable struggles for Empire, in which the greatest monarchs of the age were engaged, Henry (VIII). after amusing himself with the Electors, half abandoned his ambition, and seemed to play fast and loose both with Charles of Castile (the ultimately successful aspirant) and Francis the First of France. Among the many curious scraps which survived the fire, may be reckoned the following; nor, it is presumed, will even fragments be despised when they relate to an event which formed as it were an æra in the general system of Europe.

Upon the Emperor (Maximilian's) death, (in January 1529), Henry directed Sir Thomas Boleyn, his ambassador at Paris, to sound the intentions of Francis. Sir Thomas saw him in his chamber as he returned from mass; where, having read a letter delivered to him from Henry,

he took Sir Thomas to a window, who urged that the two Kings should 'take a resolution by common assent.' 'Whereunto,' says Sir Thomas, 'he bad me lene out at the window with him, and he would tell me what he had done in it, and his hole mynde what further he intended to doo.' This appears in a Letter dated February the 9th.

In another letter of Sir Thomas Boleyn to Wolsey, dated from Paris, Feb. 28th, detailing a farther conversation with Francis, he says, 'I was so famyliar with hym, that I asked hym in ernest if he were Emperour whether he wold make a voyage agenst the Infidels in his proper person, as the voyce went. He tooke me hard by the wryst with the oon hand, and layed the other hand upon his brest, and sware to me by his feyth yf he attayn to be Emperour, that within three yeares after he wold bee in Constantynople, or he would dye by the way.' In talking still further of the enterprize, Francis told him that 'his realme was to hym six millions yerely and over that in value;' and 'that he wold spend three millions of gold' but he would succeed. In another Letter to Wolsey, dated March the 14th, Sir Thomas represents Francis to have said that now, since Henry and he were of a mind, neither Emperor nor Pope should be made but such as pleased them. This, it is probable, was a speech more especially intended for the ear of Wolsey.

The following Epistle from Sir T. Boleyn is a curious document, and picture of courtly intercourse..

" Pleasyth it your Highnesse to understand that yesterday I delyvered your lettre to the Kyng here with as harty and affectuous recommendacions from your Grace as I cowlde devise. And after he had at lenght and with good laysure read over your said lettre, I declared to hym for my credence, according to the Instructions which your Grace late sent me. First the effecte of your said Lettre. And after I shewed hym how great desire your Grace hath for the increase of his honnor, and what pleasure and consolation your Highnes taketh in the same, considerying the unfeyned amytie and aliance that is established betwixt you, both which your Grace belevith to bee soo rooted in your hartys that what high honnor or advauncement shall fortune to come to hym, the fructe thereof shuld redonde to your Highnesse, wherefore to advaunce hym to the preferment of this Imperiall dignitie, your Grace, uppon knowledge of his further intent and mynd shalbe gled to employe your self as well by worde and writing as by acts and dedes to the best of your power, wheruppon he may assuredly trust. Whereunto, he, taking of his bonett thanked hartely your Highnesse, and sayd that the great love and favour

which he well perceyveth that your Grace beryth towardes him is the greatest comfort that he hath upon erth. And for the great honnor that your Grace shewith to hym in advancyng hym to th'imperiall dignitie which is his most desire, he sayth he knoweth nat how nor by what meanes he may recompence your Highnesse in doing any thing so moch for your Grace, but he sayeth as long as he lyveth, in any thing that he may doo that shalbe to your pleasure, he shall always bee as redy and as glad to doo yt as he wold be to doo for hymself, and desireth no thyng moore than to have knowledge wherein he might employe hymself to doo your Highnesse some pleasure. Rehersyng to me that by the reason of the perfecte love and aliaunce betwixt you both he rekeneth your Highnesse to bee of great myght and power, sayeng that what with your owne puissance, and with his help, which he sayeth your Grace shall alwayes have redy at your commaundement, there is nother honnor, dignytie, nor other thing in Crystendome, but that your Highnesse shall y.... and ordre yt at your own pleasure, and tolde me that he cowlde not expresse to me with his tonge the due thanks that he t..... * to your Grace in his hart for the loving kindnesse that he fyndeth in your Highnesse: and sayd that, whan ye both mete, which he trusteth shalbe shortly, your Grace shall knowe his hart, no man lyving sooner. Whereunto I

sayd that your Highnesse thanked hym specially consideryng that amongs all his other things and great affaires, he is so moch desirous to mete, visite, and see your Grace; and toolde hym of your conformable mynd therunto, shewing to hym the tyme, place, fourme, and maner as is at lenght expressed in th'instructions that I have. Wherunto he sayed that he is determyned to see your Grace though he shuld come but hymself, his page, and his lakaye: and that noo buysenesse shall lette yt: how be it, for the tyme, place, and order of the Meeting he said he wold common with the Great Master, and within ij. or iij. dayes he wold send hym to Parys, wher he shuld make me aunswer of every article concernyng the said Entreview and Meting. And bicause that the Quene here hath been very sycke thies ij. dayes and in great daunger, as I have more at large wryten of the same to my Lord Legat and Cardinall of England, which I am sure woll shewe your Grace therof, I can as yet have no aunswer what order shalbe taken for the Marchaunts matiers. Beseching the holy Trinytye long to preserve your Highnesse From Pairys this xiiijth day of March."

LETTER *from Dr. Sampson* (English Ambassador at Madrid) *to Cardinal Wolsey, giving an account of his Interview with Charles V. on the arrival of the News of the great Victory at Pavia*.*

" PLEAS it your Grace the x. day off Marche be a currier, that passyd throw France be the Frence Kings salve conduict, com first the newis hither that uppon Seynct Mathies day at Pavia anno 1524 the Frenche King was taken prisonner, with many othir noble men takyn and slayne. The sam day was th'emperor borne, *et jam complevit xxv.* I was the sam night with his Majestie *ut maxime gratularer huic insperatæ felicitati.* And afftir that I had spokyn not with many words, for as I seyd the newis ware of so great excellentie and joy os well to his Majestie os to his frends and all christyndom, that in no maner of wyse it was in me to expresse be words the worthy joyfulnesse and excellentie off it; with othir words os my litle discretion wold serve. Afftir that I had seyd, His Majestie fyrst aunsword that withowght fayle the newis ware very

* "The moderation with which Charles heard of the success that had crowned his arms, was for a short time the theme of universal admiration. Whether he felt or only assumed the virtue at first, seems problematical. One thing is certain; prosperity soon got the better of his mind. He laid aside his generosity at the time he lost his humility; and became as ambitious of conquest as any of those who had aimed at universal empire. The world has agreed to take him, young as he was, for a profound hypocrite."

Ellis's Letters.

good and joyffull, and so his very hope was that such effect schuld folow with Godds helpe to his friends and all christyndom. And iij. things causyd hym to have joy off this victorie. Fyrst that it hath pleasyd God to gyve such a rare and singulier gyfft to hym, and theroff most humbly he thankyd God; for he a synnar off this worlde nevyr hath or schall [or] may deserve such a singulier goodness off God. Nevirtheless trusting off the same goodnesse off God at all tyms to be his ledar and eydar, he intendith to employ his strenith and power that he hath receyvid off God in this worlde with most affection off mynde and diligence wher as he schall beleve to be his most pleasour and service. And this is the seconde thing that causith hym to be joyfull off this victorie, trusting that be the sam such a sure and universell peace schall folow to all christyndom that schall not oonly be to the quietnesse off the sam, and establissching off charitable love, wherwith God may be most pleasyd, but also he with his frends be the reason of such unite and accorde schall may employ ther temporall forcis, as well to the defence and augmentation of Christis feith agenst the enemies off the sam os to the necessarie reformation of the sam body off Christis feith, repressing the abominable errors and ordering the othir great inconvenients. And here His Majestie sayde that he trusteth now ther schalbe som good occasion

and oportunite that the King's Highnesse and he togethirs may employ ther travayles and pours in the service of God. Thridly His Majestie seyd that this Victorie was joyffull to him, *tam amicorum quam inimicorum causa*. For he wold assurydly endevor hymsellff that this victorie might be to the profette off his frends rather then his own, ffor he assuryd me that he was nothing ambitios off more than he hath. And with humble words thanking God, he seyd that his dayly preyre is to have grace gevyn hym well to governe and ordre such possessions os he hath. And as towching his enemies they schall well perceyve that thow he schall have place, tym, and with Godds holpe puissance to revenge hym, yet knowleging all to be off Godd's hande and pleasour, his mynde is to use such moderation that in hym ther schalbe fownde no intent off crueltie or revengance. These vertuouse and singular wyse words His Majestie usyd with such a grace in the speaking off them, that, withowght fayle Sir, to here and perceyve in such a rare and excellente victorie, his moderacion off gesture, cowntenance, and os it semyd allso off inwarde intente and mynde, thow that I was no lesse gladde of the victorie then many othir, yet much more gladde I was to perceyve the victorie in his hands that had the grace off such temporance and moderation; and so expressely I seyd to his Majestie. For I assure

your Grace ther was no möre semblance in hym of arrogantie or change off maniers to joy effusely owthir in worde or countenance then iff no such great thing had chaunsyd; but evyr in his words with humble visage referryd every thing to God, so thanking hym ffor the sam. Wherffor I compared His Majestie to hym that hath receyvid a great benefite off a nothir, that iff the gevar perceive much gratuite in the receyvar, he schall induce the gevar with much more desyre iff such occasion chaunce anothir tym to gyv hym a much greatar gyfft, especially iff the receyvar also use such a gyfft to the most pleasour off the gevar. And so his Majestie both knowleging with so good mynde this gyfft off victorie to have receyvid off God so well thanking hym ffor the same, and allso intending to use the sam great and inestimable gyfft with such moderation to the most pleasour off the gevar, schall induce allmighty God of his goodnesse a nothir tym to gyve hym a much greater gyfft. His Majestie aunswerd beseching God that he myght use it to his most pleasor. With thies, Sir, and dyvers othir good words in so great a thing to have such singuler moderation, *nullo fastu, nulla arrogantia, nulla prorsus effusa ab indecenti leticia, aut vultu, aut gestu, aut verbo aliquo,* I think myselff more to have lernid, and much bettyr at all tymes to have moderation present and in good remembrance, then be all the lettirs,

words, or bokis that evyr I have or schall rede. And not oonly he declaryd his moderate mynde be thes words to me, but well he schewid the same in all othir his demeanor now. For be oon off his pryvie chambre, and anothir great personage off singulier feith and credence, I know that immediatly afftir the fyrst knowlege off these newis, sole he enteryd in to his pryvie chambre, and ther was a good space uppon his kneys, withought fayle geving thankis to God. And where os he was advyssid be som to make great triumphe ffor this victorie, expressly he commandyd that no such thing schuld be, syns it was agenst christyn men. But syns it hath ben Godds pleasor to gyve hym such a victorie, the next day with a generall procession he wold gyve oonly thankis to hym. The next day the generall procession off all the towne went to a chapell of our Lady, oon quartier of a myle withowght the towne, and thether went th'Emperor yn a cape of blakke frese withowght ony more semblance off triumphe. And at his departing owght off his chambre thithirwards, he seyd thes words, 'now schall we goo to have a solempne Messe, giving thankis to God; and I wold that we schuld make it much more solempne with good inwarde devotion then with ony maner off owghtwarde pompe.'

"At this Messe a frier prechid uppon thes words '*laudamini nomen Dei vestri, quia fecit*

nobiscum mirabilia.' And ffor the fyrst great marveyle in this worlde most to be estemyd, he beganne with the conception and incarnation off Christe; so passing to certeine marvelos victories off the Old Testamente; and for a conclusion estemyd this victorie ffor no lesse marveyle.

"Withowght ffayle, Sir, the lord chauncelier schowed me that in th'Emperors campe was no money; they dyede for hungre; the souldiers had no clothis; they ware in such extreme necessite that it was not possible to abyde it longar. And the same night the Frenche King was advertyssed that th'Emperors campe was in armis the same night to leve the fylde; wherffor the Frenche Kings campe was allso in armis to pursuye them in the wey, so that when they saw them entre with such a boldnesse whom they thowght to pursuyve flying, it was a great change, and no lesse marvayle. But it is writtin that the Marquise of Piskera fyrst gave this advyse, the which was well acceptyd off the Viceroy and Monsr de Burbon, as they had extreme cause rathir to hasarde ther lyvis then to leve the Frenche King so victorios to ther utter undoing. The great Mastre, who I beleve is os feithffully desyros to doo most acceptable pleasor and service to the Kings Highnesse as ony straungier else lyving, schewed me that som advysed th'Emperor the next day to were some riche and fresche rayement ffor the demonstration off

joy to his people. He sayd that in no manner off wyse he wold so doo, but iff he knew in what maner most humbly to demeane hym selff to gyve thankis to God, and to induce the people to the sam, withowght demonstration off pompe or immoderate joy, he wold folow that wey and means.

" The next day afftir the procession, be cause the precher wold not sey it in his presence, the sam precher seyd in a nothir place wher he prechid, that th'Emperor commandyd hym the day before to preche off this Victorie, referring every thing to the power and goodnesse off God, expressely charging that nowthir he schuld speke off ony preyse towching th'Emperor nor in eny maner off wyse off reproche against his enemie.

" In summa, the Emperor hath usyd such demeanor in all maner off thinges, both be worde, deade, and cowntenance, and towards all maner off persons, that every wyse man hath ben most most joyffull to see it *magna cum admiratione in ætate tam tenera.*

" And Sir amongs othir many good words to me, he forgatt not to schew me off the singulier love that he hath fownde in the King's Highnesse, and evir trustith to fynde the sam. And in lyke maner the Kings Highnesse schall assurydly at all tyms know hym off the sam feithffull mynde nevyr to fayle, os at all tyms he hath else promysid and seyd. His Majestie is allso

very desyros to know from the King's Highnesse afftir this Victorie, os knowith our Lord, who preserve your Grace in most prosperos helth and honour. At Madryd the xv. day off Marche.

"Your most humble bedeman

"RICHARD SAMPSON.

"To my Lord Legate."

LETTER *from* CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, *to* MR. HAWKINS, *Ambassador at the Emperor's Court, in* 1533.

"OTHER newys have we none notable, but that one Fryth, whiche was in the Tower in prison, was appoynted by the Kyngs Grace to be examyned before me, my Lorde of London, my Lorde of Wynchestre, my Lorde of Suffolke, my Lorde Chauncelour, and my Lorde of Wylteshere, whose opynion was so notably erroniouse, that we culde not dyspatche hym but was fayne to leve hym to the determynacion of his Ordinarye, whiche ys the Bishop of London. His said opynyon ys of suche nature that he thoughte it nat necessary to be beleved as an Article of our fayth, that ther ys the very corporall presence of Christe within the Oste and Sacramente of the Alter, and holdethe of this poynte muste after the opynion of Oecolampadious. And suerly I myself sent for hym iij or iiij tymes to persuade

hym to leve that his Imaginacion, but for all that we could do therin he woulde not applye to any counsaile, notwithstanding nowe he ys at fynall ende with all examinacions, for my Lorde of London hathe gyven sentance and delyuerd hym to the secular power, where he loketh every daye to goo unto the fyer. And ther ys also condempned with him one Andrewe a taylour of London for the said self same opynion."

Curious Story, *by* John de Ponte, *a poor Frenchman, to* Secretary Cromwell.

"Monsr truth it is that the furst day of Juny, the vicary of Honnyngton and an other prest prayd me to dyne with them in John Bould's house at the signe of the golden Lyon. I went thether with them, and an other named Granger and Mr Nedersolles wiff and Mr Wrakes wiffe, and of John Bould, all of Dover were there at dyner. Whan we had half dyned, one of the Masters of Godds Howses sernamit called Trasse, sayd that he had newes for the company touch-Quene Katherine. Saying that the day afore my lady Anne was behedded, the tapers aboute the saide quene Katherine sepulchres kendled of them selfs and after matynes were don to *Deo gratias* the said tapers qwenched of them selfs; and that the King sent xxx. men to the Abbaye

where quene Katherine was buryed; and it was true of this light contynuing from day to daye with suche a token that within fewe days ther shuld be geven a commandement to pray for quene Katherine as it was acoustomed to be don: and that after the same grete hepe of heretiks and newe invencions shuld be hanged and brent; as I who was the gretest heretik of England and a false knave; and that shortely I shuld be befor the Kings Conseill, like a false knave that I was, for certayn matiers which he knew well, whiche he wold not saye for that tyme: and that I shuld merke well what he said. After that I had heard all his sayng and words, I said, merk well what this man saieth of me. I said unto hym that he spak moche to my dishonour saing that I was grete heretike, and that I shuld be hanged and brent. Askyng whether he had heard me preache or spek heresye, he said ys, and that I had eaten mylk, butter, and eggs. I said that I had eaten milke and butter, and that it was no heresie: but as for eggs I did eat non for I loved them not. He said unto me agayn that ther were ferre other things whiche he wold not saye, but that I was a false Frenshe knave, with great injuries. I toke patiently feare lest he shuld strike me, for he had a swerd and a dagger. I tok witnesses, and all the companye said unto hym that he shuld be content and that I was not of suche as he spake of. He said that

his mouth was afore and that he shuld hold befor the Kings Counseill the same that he had spoken. Monsr I put myself to your good Grace I being true; deale with me: as it shal please you pleaseth me. I am the Kings and Yours in every thing unto deth. Praying God that he geve you grace to continue in helth. Amen. The your servaunt and lesse of your servants Monsr Jehan de Ponte.

De Ponte, the furst day of Juny.

Ns Monsr ye owe to be advertissed that I am in danger to be kylled of them of Godds house; and I deare not abyde in the Chapell for feare of them. They wolld that I should flye in to Fraunce for their threatenyngs, and they put me in feare; but I shall neve do dishonor to my frends. *But if it shal please You to geve me leave, I had lieve to go away then to be kylled withoute desserte.* Monsr I wold ye shuld knowe the love of my hert as it is unto deth."

Singular Scenes *during the* Suppression *of the* Monasteries.

Dr. John London, one of the Visitors of Religious Houses, to Lord Cromwell, upon the pulling down of the Image of our Lady of Caversham, near Reading, writes among other matters thus:—

"In my most humble maner I have me commendyd unto yowr gude lordeschippe, ascertenyng the same that I have pullyd down the Image of o^r^ Ladye at Caversham wherunto wasse great pilgremage. The Image ys platyd over with sylver, and I have putte yt in a cheste fast lackyd* and naylyd uppe, and by the next bardge that commythe from Reding to London yt shall be browght to y^r^ Lordeschippe. I have also pullyd down the place she stode in w^t^ all other ceremonyes, as lights, schrds†, crowchys‡, and imagies of wex hangyng abowt the chapel, and have defacyed the same thorowly in exchuyng of any farther resortt thedyr. Thys chapell dydde belong to Notley abbey, and ther always wasse a chanon of that monastery wiche wasse callyd the Warden of Caversham, and he songe in thys chapell and hadde the offerings for hys lyving. He wasse acustomyd to schew many prety relyks, among the wiche wer (as he made reportt) the holy dager that kylled Kinge Henry; and the holy knyfe that kylled Seynt Edwarde. All thees w^t^ many other, with the cots of thys image, her cappe and here, my servant shall bring unto yor Lordeschippe thys weke w^t^ the Surrendre of the Freers undre ther covent seale, and ther seale also. I have sent the chanon home again to Notleye, and have made fast the doores of the chapell, wiche ys thorowly well

* Locked. † shrowds. ‡ crosses.

covered with ledde: and if it be y^r lordeships pleasur I shall se yt made suer to the Kings Grace's use. And if it be nott so orderyd, the chapell stondith so wildely that the ledde will be stolyn by nyzt, as I wasse servyd at the Fryers; for as soon as I hadde taken the Fryers surrendre, the multytude of the poverty of the Town resortyd thedyr and all thinge that myzt be hadde they stole away: insomyche that they hadde convayed the very clapers of the bellys. And saving that M. Fachell, wiche made me great chere at hys howse, and the Mayer dydde assist me they wolde have made no litell spoyle. In this I have don as moche as I cowde do to save every thing to the Kings graces use, as shall apper to yor Lordeschippe at the begynnyng of the terme, Godde willing, who w^t increase of moche honor long preserve yor gudde Lordeschippe.

"At Redinge xvij° Septembris.

"At Caversham ys a propre lodginge wher the chanon lay, with a fayer garden and an orcherd mete to be bestowed upon som frynde of yor lordeschips in thees parties; for the chanon had no thing to do ther butt to kepe the chapell and receyve the offrings."

Another remarkable Document, from Elis Price to Cromwell, 1538.

"Righte Honorable and my syngular goode Lorde and Mayster, all circumstauncys and

thankes sett aside, pleasithe yt youre good Lordeshipe to be advertisid, that where I was constitute and made, by youre honorable desire and commaundmente, Commissarie generall of the dyocese of Saynte Assaph, I have done my dylygens and dutie for the expulsinge and takynge awaye of certan abusions, supersticions, and ipocryses, usid within the said diosece of Saynte Assaph, accordynge to the Kynges honorable actes and injunctions therin made. That notwithstondinge there ys an Image of Darvellgadarn, within the saide diosece, in whome the people have so greate confidence, hope, and truste, that they cumme dayly a pillgramage unto hym, somme withe kyne, other with oxen or horsis, and the reste withe money: in so muche that there was fyve or syxe hundredthie pillgrames to a mans estimacion, that offered to the saide Image the fifte daie of this presente monethe of Aprill. The innocente people hathe ben sore alüryd and entisid to worshipe the said Image, in so muche that there is a commyn sayinge as yet amongist them that who so ever will offer anie thinge to the said Image of Darvellgadern, he hathe power to fatche hym or them that so offers oute of Hell when they be dampned. Therfore for the reformacion and amendment of the premisses, I wolde gladlie knowe by this berer your honorable pleasure and will; as knowithe God, who ever preserve your Lorde-

shipe, longe in welthe and honor. Writen in Northe Wales."

The further history of the Image of Darvell Gathern is detailed in our Chronicles. It was brought to London and burnt with Friar Forest in Smithfield. Hall's account of the cruelty exercised on this occasion is worth transcribing, though he appears himself to have had no pity for the Friar. One is sorry to record, in addition, that the good bishop Latimer preached on the occasion,—

"'In May' 30th Hen. VIII. A. D. 1538. 'there was a friar called Friar Forest, one of the Observant Friars' of Greenwich, 'but he might have been,' says Hall, 'more truly named an Obstinate Friar. This obstinate Friar had secretly, in confessions, declared to many of the King's subjects that the King was not supreme Head, and being thereof accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the King was not Supreme Head of the Church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary. He answered that he took his oath with the outward man, but his inward man never consented thereunto. At this answer the Lords who examined him looked very strangely at the dissimulation of the Friar; but being further accused of diverse heretical and damnable articles that he held, contrary to the Scripture of God, he was after sundry exami-

nations convinced and confuted, and gladly submitted himself to abide the punishment of the Church. But upon this his submission, having more liberty than before he had, as well to talk with whom he would, as also who that would to talk with him; certain such outward men as he was, so talked with him, and so incensed him, that the outward Friar was as far from his open submission as ever he was, and when his abjuration was sent to him to read and look upon, he utterly refused it, and obstinately stood in all his heresies and treasons before conspired. All gentle means that were possible to be sought for his reconciliation were had, but the more gentler that the Magistrates were to him, the more obstinat was the Friar, and would neither argue nor answer: wherfor justly was he condempned; and after for him was prepared, in Smithfelde in London, a gallows, on the which he was hanged in chaines by the middle and armholes all quicke, and under the gallows was made a fire, and he so consumed and brent to death. At his coming to the place of execution, there was prepared a great scaffold, on which sat the nobles of the realme, and the Kings Majesty's most honorable Councel, only to have granted pardon to that wretched creature if any spark of repentance would have happened to him. Ther was also prepared a pulpit where a right reverend father in God and a renoumed and famous clerk, the

bishop of Worcester, called Hugh Latimer, declared to him his errors, and openly and manifestly by the Scripture of God confuted them, and with many and godly exhortations moved him to repentance, but such was his frowardness that he neither would hear nor speak.

"'And a little before the execution, a huge and great Image was brought to the gallows, which Image was brought out of Wales, and of the Welshmen much sought and worshipped. This Image was called Darvell Gatheren, and the Welshmen had a prophecy that this Image should set a whole Forest a fire, which prophecy now took effect, for he set this friar Forest on fire and consumed him to nothing. This Friar, when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, caught hold upon the ladder, which he would not let go, but so unpaciently took his death, that no man that ever put his trust in God never so unquietly nor so ungodly ended his life. If men might judge him by his outward man, he appeared to have little knowledge of God and his sincere truth, and less trust in him at his ending.

"'Upon the Gallows that he died on, was set up in great letters these verses following:

David Darvell Gatheren,
As saith the Welshmen,
Fetched outlawes out of Hell.
Now is he come with spere and shilde,
In harnes to burn in Smithfelde,
For in Wales he may not dwell.

LETTER FROM LORD CROMWELL TO THE EARL OF CHESTER.

After my right hartie commendations. Whereas the Kings Maiestie, about a twelfmonethi past, gave a pardonne to a company of lewde personnes within this realme calling themselves Gipcyans, for a most shamfull and detestable murder commytted amongs them, with a speceall proviso inserted by their owne consents, that onles they shuld all avoyde this his Graces realme by a certeyn daye long sythens expired, yt shuld be lawfull to all his Graces offycers to hang them in all his places of his realme, where they myght be apprehended, without any further examynacion or tryal after forme of the lawe, as in their letter patents of the said pardon is expressed. His Grace, hering tell that they doo yet lynger here within his realme, not avoyding the same according to his commaundement and their owne promes, and that albeit his poore subjectes be dayly spoyled, robbed, and deceyved by them, yet his Highness officers and Ministres lytle re-

garding their dieuties towards his Majestye, do permyt them to lynger and loyter in all partys, and to exercise all their falshods, felonyes, and treasons unpunished, hathe commaunded me to sygnifye unto youe, and the Shires next adjoynyng, whether any of the sayd personnes calling themselves Egipcyans, or that hathe heretofore called themselfes Egipcyans, shall fortune to enter or travayle in the same. And in cace youe shall here or knowe of any suche, be they men or women, that ye shall compell them to depart to the next porte of the See to the place where they shalbe taken, and eyther wythout delaye uppon the first wynde that may conveye them into any parte of beyond the Sees, to take shipping and to passe in to owtward partyes, or if they shall in any wise breke that commaundement, without any tract to see them executed according to the Kings Hieghnes sayd Lettres patents remaynyng of Recorde in his Chauncery which, with these, shalbe your discharge in that behaulf: not faylyng t'accomplishe the tenor hereof with all effect and diligence, without sparing uppon any Commyssion, Licence, or Placarde that they may shewe or aledge for themselfes to the contrary, as ye tender his Graces pleasor which also ys that youe shall gyve notyce to all the Justices of Peax in that Countye where youe resyde, and the Shires adjoynant, that they may accomplishe the tenor hereof accordingly."

About this period, it would appear from the above letter that the Gypsies were in as little favour as the Monks and Nuns."

In England, (by Stat. 22 Hen. VIII. chap. x.) these wandering hordes are described as 'an outlandish people calling themselves Egyptians, using no crafte nor feate of merchandize, who have come into this realm and gone from shire to shire, and place to place, in great company, and used great, subtle, and crafty means to deceive people, bearing them in hand that they by palmestry could tell men and women's fortunes:' wherefore they are directed to avoid the realm, under pain 'of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods,' sixteen days being allowed for their avoidance after the proclamation of the Statute.

"The inefficiency of this Act in operation, gave rise to severer measures, as will be seen in the following Letter:—

"It was afterwards enacted by Stat. 1 and 2 Ph. and Mary, chap. iv. and again, Stat. 5 Eliz. chap. xx, that if any such persons should be imported into the Kingdom, the importers should forfeit forty pounds. And if the Egyptians themselves remained one month in the kingdom, or if any person being fourteen years old, whether natural-born subject or stranger, who had been seen or found in the fellowship of such Egyptians, or who had disguised him or herself like them,

should remain in the same one month at one or several times, it should be felony without benefit of clergy."

"Sir Matthew Hale informs us, that at one of the Suffolk assizes, no less than thirteen persons were executed upon these latter statutes a few years before the Restoration. Some others were executed at Stafford a short time after the Restoration.

"The gipsies were expelled from France in 1560; and from Spain in 1591.

"In Scotland these people seem to have enjoyed some share of indulgence. Brand, in his Popular Antiquities, quotes Writs of Privy Seal of the years 1553, 1554, and 1594, respecting privileges in that country granted to John Faw, or Fall, who is called *Lord and Earl of Little Egypt*. But there is an earlier entry relating to them in the Privy Seal Book, No. xiv. fol. 59, 'Letters of Defence and Concurrence to John Fall, Lord and Earl of Little Egypt, for assisting him in the execution of Justice upon his Company, conform to the Laws of Egypt, 15th Febi 1540.'"

ORIGINAL LETTERS, ETC.

THE following extracts, taken from the first volume (new series) of the Retrospective Review, which we consider as one of the most clever

entertaining, and well-conducted periodicals of the present day, are stated, by the editors, to be then published for the first time. For this reason, we avail ourselves of them, agreeably to our avowed intention of introducing to the notice of the world, a selection of scarce and interesting matters, wherever found, whether in MSS. or books, in which they might be neither expected nor sought.

The first of these letters is from King Edward the Third to William Le Zouche, Archbishop of York, dated the 30th of July, 1346. The prelate is therein informed of the progress of that monarch, from the time of his landing in Normandy; and also of the capture of Caen. The invasion of France, on that occasion, is so well known to every reader of history, that it is not requisite to say much now in illustration of this document, which is valuable, chiefly, for its presenting a more detailed and accurate account of the proceedings of Edward, than is to be found in Froissart or any other chronicler of that particular period, if we except Robert de Avesbury, who, in his "Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi Tertii," has inserted a very curious letter relating to the same events, and of which a translation is here given, because it singularly corroborates His Majesty's statements, and minutely describes many circumstances which are either altogether omitted, or only alluded to,

in the royal despatch. Edward's letter has been taken from a copy of the "Chronicle of Lanercost," in the British Museum, where it is prefaced by the following words:—"In the month of July, 1346, Edward, the famous and illustrious King of England, undertook an expedition against the King of France, to recover his inheritance, due to him in right of his grandfather and uncle, and embarked at Portsmouth with a thousand five hundred ships, and a great multitude of fighting men. On the 12th day of the same month he disembarked at Hogges, in Normandy, from which he went to the city of Caen, and having killed and taken a great multitude of knights and men-at-arms, he plundered it to the bare walls;" and in the margin, the chronicler adds, "the king's expedition is described in this letter." Froissart informs us, that Edward's army consisted of 4000 men-at-arms and 10,000 archers, besides the Welsh and Irish, who served on foot: he states, that the king intended to land in Gascony; but, as the wind became adverse, he was persuaded by Sir Godfrey Harcourt to steer for Normandy. A few remarks from Froissart are inserted as notes to the letter which is translated from Robert de Avesbury; hence, it will only be observed, that on the 26th of the following August, Edward gained the battle of Cressy.

There are, it is presumed, other copies of his

majesty's letter relative to the capture of Caen extant; and many instances occur of despatches being sent to bishops, as well as to the mayor of London, from Edward the Third, and the Black Prince, with accounts of the success of their forces*. The letter in Robert de Avesbury's "Historia" is very interesting, from the comparison which the writer draws between the different towns he mentions and those in England, —from the account of Caen,—and of the ships which were taken by the English fleet. The original is in French, and was reprinted by Mr. Johnes; but the translation here given has been compared with a contemporary MS. of the "Historia," in the Museum†: such words as are of doubtful import, or admit of a different interpretation than that which has been here given to them, are inserted in the notes. In the quarto edition of Johnes's Froissart there is a plate representing the siege of Caen; but it does not appear in what manuscript the illumination from which it was engraved occurs.

King Edward the Third to William le Zouch, Archbishop of York.

"Edward par la grace de Dieu Roy Dengleterre et de France et seigneur Dirland, A

* Archæologia, vol. i. p. 213, and Illustrations of the "Chronicle of London," p. 202.

† Harl. MS. 200, fol. 99.

Lonurable Pere en Dieu W. par la mesme grace Ercevesqe Deverwyke, Primat Dengleterre, salutz. Pur ceo qe nous savoms bien qe vous orretz volunters bones novelles de nous, vous fesons assavoir qe nous arrivams a la Hoge prest Barfluz le xij. iour de Juyll' darreyn passe ovesqe toutz noz gentz seyns et saufs, loetz en soit Dieux: et illeoqes demurasmes sur le descippere de nos gentz et chivaux, et le vitaler de noz gentz tank' le Marsdi procheyn ensuant, qen iour nous movasmes od n're host devers Valonges, et preims le chastel et la ville; et puys sur n're chymyn fesoms faire le pount de Ove qestoit debruse par noz enemys; et le passams, et preyms le Chastell et la ville de Carentene. Et de illeokes nous tenysmes le droit chymyn devers la vile de Seynt Leo et trovasmes le pount Herbert prest cele vile rumpu pur aver desturbe n're passage; et nous le feismes maintenaunt refaire: et lendemayn preismes la vile; et nous adresceasmes droitment a Caen, sanz nulle iour soiournir del houre qe nous departismes del Hoge tank' a n're venu illeoqes, et mayntenaunt sur nostre herbergere a Caen nos gentz comencerent de doner assaunt a la vile qestoit mout afforce et estuffe de gentz darmes environ Mill' et sis centz, et comunes armes et defensables et eismes de xxx Mill, qe se defenderent moult bien et apertement si qe le melle fuyit trefort et longe durant, mes loietz ensoit Dieux la vile estoit pris par

force au derreine, saunz perde de noz gentz. Y furent pris le Count de Eu, Conestable de Fraunce; le Chamberleyne Tankervill', qestoit a la iourne escriez Mareschal' de Fraunce, et des autres Banerettes, et Chivalers enveron cent et qaraunt, et des Esquiers de' riches Burges grant foison; et sont mors tou pleyn de nobles Chivalers et gentils hommes, et de communes grant noumbre. Et n're navye qest demurre devers nous ad ars et destrutz tout la coustе de la miere de Barfluz iesqes a la fosse de Collevill' prest Caen; et si ount y ars la ville de Chirbrut' et les neefs de la haveне; et sount ars de grant neefs, et autres vesseals des enemys, qe par nous qe par nous qe par noz gentz, C. ou plus. Par qay nous prioms qe vous regraciez Dieu devotement del exploit qe il nous ad issint done, et luy priez assiduelment qe il nous voille doner bone continуauncz; et qe vous escrives a les prelatz et clergeе de v're provynce qils le facent en mesme le maner, et qe vous notyfiez cest chose a n're poeple en voz partiez en confort de eux; et qe vous mettes peinиblement v're diligence de resistere a noz ennemys Descoce en sauete de n're people devers voz parties par totes les voies qe vous purretz, sicome nous asseurons enterement de vous, qare nous avoms ia parmy lassent de totes noz grantez qe se monstrount de boen entre et de une volunte pris certeyn purpose de nous hastier devers n're adversarie en qen part

qil soit de iour en autre tank' come purromes et esperoms ferment en Dieu qil nous durra bone et honurable de n're enprise; et qe vous deynz bref orretz bone novelles et plesauntz de nous. Done south n're prive seal a Caen le xxx. iour de Juyl' lan de n're Reigne Dengleterre vyntysme."

[TRANSLATION.]

"Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, to the Honourable Father in God, W. by the same grace Archbishop of York, Primate of England, health. As we know well that you are desirous to hear good news of us, we inform you, that we arrived at the Hogue, near Barfleur, the 12th day of July last past, with all our forces well and safe, praise be to God; and remained there to disembark our forces and horses, and the provisions of our forces, until the Tuesday next following, on which day we removed with our host towards Valonges, and took the castle and town; and then on our route we rebuilt the bridge of Ove, which was broken by our enemies, and passed it, and took the castle and town of Carentene: and from thence we kept the direct route towards the town of Saint Lo, and found the bridge Herbert, near that town, broken to prevent our passage, and we caused it to be rebuilt, and the next morning took the town;

and we proceeded direct to Caen without stopping one day from the time of our departure from the Hogue until our arrival there; and then on our taking up our quarters at Caen, our people began to besiege the town, which was strongly garrisoned, and filled with about one thousand six hundred men at arms, and more than thirty thousand armed commoners, who defended it very well and ably; so that the fight was very severe, and continued long, but, thanks be to God, the town was at last taken by assault, without loss of our people. There were taken the Count of Eu, Constable of France, the Chamberlain Tankerville, who was for the time styled Marshal of France, and about one hundred and forty other bannerets and knights, and a great number of esquires and rich burgesses; and several nobles, knights, and gentlemen, and a great number of the commons, were slain. And our fleet, which remained near us, to burn and destroy all the sea coast from Barfleur to the "foss" of Coleville*, near Caen, and have burnt the town of Chirbourgh and the ships in the harbour; and of the enemy's large ships and other vessels above one hundred or more have been burnt either by us or by our people. Therefore, we pray you devoutly to render thanks to God, for the success which he has thus granted us, and earnestly entreat him to give us a good continu-

* Coleville is a small port near the entrance of the river Orne.

ance of it; and that you write to the prelates and clergy of your province, that they do the same, and that you signify this circumstance to our people in your neighbourhood to their comfort; and that you laboriously exert yourself to oppose our enemies, the Scots, for the security of our people in your vicinity, by all the means in your power, so that we rely entirely on you: 'for, with the consent of all our nobles, who evinced a great and unanimous desire that we should do so, we have already resolved*' to hasten towards our adversary, wherever he may be, from one day to another as well as we can; and we trust firmly in God that he will protect us well and honourably in our undertaking, and that in a short time you will hear good and agreeable news of us. Given under our Privy Seal, at Caen, the xxxth day of July, in the twentieth year of our reign in England [Anno 1346."]

Translation of the Letter in Robert de Avesbury's Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi Tertii.

Be it remembered, that our Lord the King and his host landed at Hogue de St. Vaal the xiith day of July†, and remained there until

* The translation of this passage is submitted with much diffidence.

† Wednesday.—"When the fleet of England were all safely arrived at La Hogue, the king leaped on shore first; but, by acci-

the Tuesday next following*, to disembark his horses, to rest himself and his men, and to provide provisions†. He found at the Hogue eleven ships, of which eight had castles before and behind, the which were burnt. And on the Friday‡, whilst the King remained there, some troops went to Barfleur, and expected to have found many people§, but they saw none; and they found there nine ships with castles before and behind‖, ij good craiers¶, and other smaller

dent, he fell, and with such violence, that the blood gushed out at his nose. The knights that were near him said, 'Dear Sir, let us entreat you to return to your ship, and not think of landing to-day, for this is an unfortunate omen.' The king instantly replied, 'For why? I look upon it as very favourable, and a sign that the land is desirous of me.'"—Johnes's Froissart, chap. cxx.

* July 18th. † Et fourner payn.

‡ July 14th.—This account differs much from Froissart's narrative. After describing how Edward had divided his army, he says, "*Both the armies of sea and land went forward* until they came to a strong town, called Barfleur;" and adds, "which they soon gained, the inhabitants having surrendered immediately, for fear of losing their lives; but that did not prevent the town from being pillaged and robbed of gold, silver, and every thing precious that could be found therein. There was so much wealth, that the boys of the army set no value on gowns trimmed with fur. They made all the townsmen quit the place, and embarked them on board the fleet."—Johnes's Froissart, chap. cxx.

§ Gentz.

‖ "Ove chastiels devant et derere."—It is scarcely necessary to state, that the ships of war in the fourteenth century had elevated places in the bow and stern, called castles, which contained the fighting men. "Fore-castle" is still used to describe the fore part of a ship.

¶ A "craier," or "crayer," was a sort of small ship, but

vessels; the which were also burnt: and the town was as good and as large a town as the town of Sandwich; and after the said troops were gone, the sailors burnt the town, and many good towns and houses* in the neighbourhood were burnt. And the Tuesday that the King left† he went to Valoignes‡, and remained there the whole night, and found sufficient provisions. The next day§ he proceeded a long journey as far as the bridge of Ov, which those of the town of Carentane had broken down, and the King caused it to be rebuilt the same night, and passed it the next day‖, and proceeded as

whether for war or merchandize does not exactly appear, but most probably the latter. See Ducange. "Volumus quod centum naves vocatæ Pessoneræ et *Creyeris* et aliæ minutiæ naves," &c.

* Manoirs. † July 18th.

‡ Froissart confounds the operations of Edward's fleet with those of the army. It will be seen from the letters in the text, that whilst the king proceeded by land, the ships plundered the towns on the coast; but that chronicler says, "They *advanced* until they came to Cherbourg, which they burnt and pillaged in part, but they could not conquer the castle, as it was too strong, and well garrisoned with men-at-arms; they therefore passed on, and came before Montebourg, *near* Valonges, which they pillaged and then set fire to."—Johnes's Froissart, chap. cxx.

§ Wednesday, July 19th.

‖ Thursday, July 20th.—Speaking of Carentane, Froissart says, "Those lords that were on board the fleet then disembarked with their people, and made a vigorous attack upon it," &c. He then states, that the inhabitants opened their gates and submitted to the English; but that the men-at-arms defended the castle for two days and then surrendered it, "their lives and fortunes being saved."

far as the said town of Carentane, which is not more than about an English league from the said bridge: the which town is as large as Leicester, where he found an abundance of wines and provisions; and much of the town was burnt, notwithstanding all the King could do*. And on Friday† the King came to and slept in a village‡ on a river§, which it was difficult to cross‖; and those of the town of St. Lo broke the bridge, and the King rebuilt it and past the next day¶, he and his host, and took up his quarters adjoining the town, and all belonging to the town began to fortify it, and collected many armed men** to defend it, who waited for the arrival of the King; and they found in the said town full one thousand tuns of wine and an abundance of other goods; and the town is larger than Lincoln††... The next day‡‡ the King

* Et fust mult de la ville arz p'r rien qe le Roy purroit faire.

† July 21st. ‡ Villes campestres.

§ "He took up his quarters on the banks of this river," Froissart tells us, "to wait for the return of that part of his army which had been sent along the sea coast;" but it is clear that Edward did so because the bridge over it had been destroyed.

‖ Mal a passer. ¶ Saturday, July 22d. ** Gentz d'armes.

†† Froissart does not notice any attempt to defend St. Lo; but describes it as containing "much drapery and many wealthy inhabitants; among them you might count eight or nine score that were engaged in commerce." He then says that Edward would not lodge in it for fear of fire; that it was taken by his advanced guard with a trifling loss, who completely plundered it; and that no one can imagine the quantity of riches they found in it, nor the number of bales of cloth.—Johnes's Froissart, chap. cxx.

‡‡ Sunday, July 23d.

proceeded on his march, and slept at an abbey, and his host in the villages* around him; and the soldiers of the host† committed inroads all the day, robbing and destroying within about v or vj leagues, and burnt many places. And the Monday‡ the king removed, and took up his quarters in villages§; and the Tuesday‖ also: and on Wednesday¶, at the hour of nones**, he came before the town of Caen, and was informed that a great quantity of armed men†† were in the town; and the King arrayed his fine and numerous battles‡‡, and sent some persons to the town to examine it§§, and they found the castle fine and strong, in which were the Bishop of Baions, Knights, and troops‖‖, who defended it. And towards the river the town is very fine, and very large; and at one end of the town is an Abbey, as noble as possible, where William the Conqueror lies buried; and it is surrounded by walls and embattled towers¶¶, large and strong, in which Abbey there was no one. And at the other end of the town, another noble Abbey of

* Villes campestres. † Et chivacherent les gentz del ost.

‡ July 24th. § Villes campestres. ‖ July 25th ¶ July 26th.

** A houre de none. Roquefort explains "none" to be the ninth hour of the day, i. e. three after noon; and which agrees with the meaning of the English word "nones."

†† Gentz d'armes.

‡‡ Et le roy fist arraier ses batailles beals et grosses.

§§ "A la ville des veer," in Johnes's copy, but "a la ville de les veer," in the Harleian MS. 200, f. 99b.

‖‖ Gentz. ¶¶ Tours battaillis.

ladies; and no one remained in the said Abbeys, nor in the part of the town towards the river as far as the castle; and the inhabitants were in the town on the other side of the river, where the constable of France and the Chamberlain de Tankerville, who was a very great Lord, and many troops, to the amount of five or six hundred, and the commons of the town, were*. And our people of the host, without permission or order, attacked the bridge, which was well fortified with bretages and walls, and they had much to do, as the French defended the said bridge bravely and behaved very well until they were taken†; and then were taken the said Constable‡ and Chamberlain, and to the amount

* Froissart's description of the capture of Caen is too long for insertion; nor does it contain any thing very remarkable, excepting that Sir Thomas Holland particularly distinguished himself; that the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the garrets flung upon the English stones, benches, and every missile they could find, by which they killed and wounded, he says, upwards of five hundred of them; which so enraged Edward that he commanded the remainder of the inhabitants to be put to the sword, and the town burnt. At the remonstrance of Sir Godfrey Harcourt, however, he countermanded his orders.

† Saunz assent & saunz arraie assaillerent le pount que fust mult bien afforce des Bretages, et barrer, et avoient mult affeare, et les Fraunceys defenderent le dit pount fortment, et a eaux porteront, mult bien devant qil poel estre pris sour eaux. Roquefort explains "Bretages" to be, fortresses, citadels, parapets, strong places, moveable towers of wood to attack and defend places, &c.

‡ Hollingshead asserts, that the Constable was taken by a

of one hundred Knights, and one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and forty Esquires, and a great many Knights, Esquires, and other people of the town were killed in the streets, houses, and in gardens; but no one could ascertain how many were persons of consequence*, because they were so stripped that it was impossible to recognise them; and no gentleman of ours was slain, excepting an Esquire who was wounded and died two days afterwards. And there were found in the town, wines, provisions, and other goods and chattels innumerable, and the town is larger than any town in England, excepting London. And when the King quitted La Hogue, he left about two hundred ships, which went to Rothemasse†, and proceeded and burnt the country two or three leagues in land, and took many goods and brought them to their ships; and then they went to Cherburgh, where was a good town and a strong castle, and a fine and noble abbey, and they burnt the said town and abbey; and all on the sea coast was burnt from Rothemasse as far as Hostrem on the haven of Caen, extending to one hundred and twenty English leagues‡, and the number of ships which

person named Leigh, ancestor of the family of Leigh of Hanleigh, in Cheshire.

* Gentz de bien. † Query—Rouen?

‡ Qamounte a $\overset{xx}{vi}$ lieges Engleis; but the writer must have meant "miles," as it is about that distance from Rouen to Cherburgh.

were burnt is sixty-one of war, with castles before and behind, and twenty-three craiers, besides other smaller vessels, many laden with from twenty-one to thirty tuns of wine. And the Thursday* after the King arrived before Caen, those of the city of Bions† offered our Lord the King that they would render to him themselves and their town, and to perform homage to him; but he would not receive them upon any term whilst it was in their power to do him harm‡."

The next letter is from Robert Lord Willoughby, of Eresby, to his father-in-law, Henry Lord Fitz-Hugh, and is what may be termed a domestic letter. It derives its principal claim to attention from the early period in which it was written, and from the rank of the parties to whom it relates. Although it contains no other date than "Tuesday after the feast of the Nativity," it is certain, from internal evidence, that it was written on Tuesday, the 9th September, 1411; hence, with the exception of a few printed in one of the volumes of Collins's "Peerage," and to which we shall, probably, on some occasion refer, it is, perhaps, one of the earliest family letters which is extant. Robert Lord Willoughby was then nearly twenty-six years of age; and, as is evident from the address, had married

* July 27th. † Query—Bayeux?

‡ Query—The original is, "meas il ne lez voleit resceure pour ascuns enchesouns, et tanq' les purreit salver de damage."

the daughter of Lord Fitz-Hugh, though Dugdale attributes no other wife to him than Maud, the cousin and heiress of Ralph Lord Cromwell. In the pedigree of Fitz-Hugh, however, that eminent genealogist says, that Lord Fitz-Hugh had a daughter "Joan, wife of Sir Robert Willoughby," a statement which this letter proves to be correct. The indefinite meaning which was formerly attached to the words "father," "mother," "brother," &c. renders it necessary to observe, that William, the son and heir of Henry Lord Fitz-Hugh, is said to have married Margery, the sister of this Lord Willoughby; but independent of the improbability that this connexion should induce him to style Lord Fitz-Hugh "his most honoured father," it must be remembered, that, in 1411, the said William was only about fourteen years old; a fact which, though it does not absolutely negative the possibility of his being then married, makes it extremely unlikely. William Lord Willoughby, the father of the writer of this letter, had two wives; first, Lucy, daughter of Roger Lord Strange, and secondly, Joan, sister and coheiress of Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, and widow of Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York, but by her he had no issue, and died on the 4th December, 1409. The duchess, his widow, re-married in the 12th Henry IV. 1410-11, Henry Lord Scrope of Masham, who was appointed Lord Treasurer

in the 11th Henry IV., from which dates the year in which this letter was written has been fixed; since he is described in it as "Treasurer of England," and it is manifest that he was not then married, though he was to be so "in all haste."

Robert Lord Willoughby, who thus complains that his property was withheld from him, became one of the most distinguished warriors of his time; and is said by Sir William Dugdale to have served at Harfleur, Agincourt, the siege of Rouen, Vinoil, Mouns, and other battles in France, in the reigns of Henry the Fifth and Sixth. He died on the festival of St. James, 30th Henry VI. 25th July, 1452, leaving by Maud, the cousin and co-heiress of Ralph Lord Cromwell, and who must have been his second wife, (his first, the daughter of Lord Fitz-Hugh, having died, probably without issue, before 1425,) Joan, the wife of Sir Richard Welles, his daughter and heiress, then twenty-seven years old.

The original of this letter is preserved in the Bodleian Library; it is written on a piece of paper $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$, and the space occupied by the writing is 10 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$, with the exception of the signature; and was sealed with red wax in the form of a cross, which extends from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

[MS. Dodsworth, 118, f. 53, *Original.*]

" *A Honnure S^r^ et moun tressoun'aignement bien ame Pier' Henry Fitz Hugh' Seigneur de Ravenswath.'*

" Honure S^r^. et tressoun'aignement bien ame Pier. Je me comank a vous en taunt com Je say ou plus puisse. Desiraunt toutduz a oier et savoir bones novelx de vous et de v're honurable estat quels ieo prie adieux q' toutz iours sibones soient come vous mesmez sauetz mieulx deviser ou sohaider et come Je vorroie sentier de moy mesmes. Et vous please de savoir honure S^r^. q' iay p^r^sue a ma treshonuree dame et mier' la duchesse Dev'wyk p^r^ c'tainez chosez q' a moy deussent descender p' voie del heritage et unqore ie nay null' deliv'rance decelts et cett cause moy fate destre absente de vous si longement. Vous enprie q' ne soiez displeasez dautre p't ma d'ce t's honuree dame soy p^r^pose destre mariez ove le Sire de Scrope Tresorer dengleterre en tout le hast si come jeo suy enfo'mez et p^r^. tant qele ferroit carier lez biens avu'ntdiz hoes du pays tanq' ils furent deliv'ez Jeo suy demo^r^antz et exspectantz en la pays Et touchant lez novel^s^ n're S^r^ le y sey p^r^pose daler vers voz parties si come Jeo suy enfourme. Honure S^r^. si rien soit q' ieo p^r^a faire moy voillez c'tifier et ieo lez p'fo^r^nera de treslee coer a tout mun poair. Autres ne say a vous escrier mes ie prie a n're

S^r^. tout puissant vous eit en sa t'sentisme garde et vous ottroie tresbone vie et long' a endure. Escr' a Eresby le Marsdy ap's le fes del nativite n're Dame.

" Tout le vre' fitz Rob't de
Wylughby Sr de Eresby.

[TRANSLATION.]

" *To my honoured Lord and most entirely beloved Father, Henry Fitz Hugh, Lord of Ravenswath.*

" Honoured Lord and right entirely well-beloved Father, I commend me unto you as much as I know how or most can, desiring always to know and hear good news of yourself, and of your honourable estate, which I pray to God may always be as good as you yourself can best devise or wish, and as I should desire to feel myself. And may it please you to know, honoured Lord, that I am claiming from my most honoured lady and mother, the Duchess of York, certain things which ought to have descended to me by right of inheritance, and which have not yet been delivered to me; and this has caused me to be absent so long from you. I entreat that you will not be displeased. On the other hand, my said most honoured lady intends to be married with the Sire de Scrope, Treasurer of England, in all haste, as I am informed; and for as much as she would cause the before-men-

tioned goods to be conveyed out of the country, until they be delivered I am remaining and waiting in the country. And respecting news, our Lord proposes to proceed toward your parts, as I am informed. Most honoured Lord, if there be any thing that I can do, be pleased to mention it to me, and I will perform it with a willing heart to the best of my power. Other matters I have not to write to you upon; but I pray our Lord all powerful to have you in his most holy keeping, and grant you happy life, and long to continue.

"Written at Eresby, the Tuesday after the Feast of the Nativity of our Lady.

"Entirely your son, Robert de
Wylughby Sire de Eresby."

The next letter, though short, discloses one or two facts connected with a subject of never-fading interest—the death of Mary Queen of Scots. The writer was John Wolley, the clerk of the council; and, as the superscription states, it was addressed to the Earl of Leicester. Our readers do not require to be informed, that Queen Elizabeth's conduct with respect to the execution of Mary was a mixture of unrelenting cruelty, despicable cowardice, and flagitious hypocrisy; that whilst it was the dearest wish of her heart to deprive her kinswoman of her existence, she attempted to remove the odium of the act

from herself, by endeavouring to induce those to whose custody she was intrusted to assassinate their prisoner; that when she found she could not succeed, she commanded the warrant to be forwarded; and that when she knew it was too late to recall it, asserted that she never intended it should be carried into execution, threw herself into a paroxysm of affected rage and grief, upbraided her counsellors, and first imprisoned and then sacrificed the fortunes of Secretary Davison, one of her most virtuous servants, as a victim to her own fame, and the resentment of the King of Scots. These damning facts in the character of Elizabeth are too well known to require to be dilated on: they have eclipsed the few noble actions of her life, and remain indelible spots on her reputation as a woman and a sovereign; but we learn from this letter the humiliating efforts made by her ministers to appease her fury, and her implacable resolution to overwhelm the unfortunate Davison with the effect of her assumed, or, perhaps, real repentance. In his "Apology," that statesman informs us, that on the Friday after Mary's execution, namely, on the 10th of February, arriving at the court he learnt the manner in which the queen had expressed herself relative to the event; but being advised by the council to "absent himself for a day or two*;" and being

* Vide Extract from "Apology," Life of Davison, *passim.*

moreover extremely ill, he left the court and returned to London. Wolsey's communication, if dated on *Sunday*, for the manuscript is so excessively badly written, as to be almost illegible, shows that Elizabeth did not summon her council, and evince her displeasure at their conduct, until Saturday the 13th of February, two days after she was informed of Mary's fate. Davison had been attacked with a stroke of the palsy shortly before; and all he says of his committal is, that he was not sent to the tower until Tuesday the 14th, on account of his illness, though some days previous, probably on Saturday the 10th, the queen assembled her council. This letter also exhibits a specimen of Leicester's characteristic meanness; for, notwithstanding that he was a party to the act of forwarding the warrant for Mary's death, as his name occurs among those of the council who signed the letters to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl Marshal, and to the Earl of Kent, both of which were dated on the 3rd February, 1586-7*, commanding them to cause it to be put into execution; he took care to withdraw from court before Elizabeth performed the *rôle* which has so justly excited the scorn of posterity. It may also be remarked, as another example of the official duplicity of the period, that Sir Francis Walsingham likewise affected not to have been concerned in the affair

* Life of Davison, p. 96, and Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. iii. p. 111.

of dispatching the warrant, as, in his letter to Lord Thirlstone, the secretary to King James, dated at Greenwich, on the 4th March, 1586-7, less than a month afterwards, he says, "*Being absent from court* when the late execution of the queen your sovereign's mother happened*," though we find that he signed both the letters just mentioned.

[Cottonian MSS. Caligula. C. IX. f. 168. Original.]

"*To the Righte Honorable my singular goode Lorde the Earle of Leycester one of her Maties moste Honorable Pryvie Councell.*

"Ryght Honorable and my most especiall good L. It pleased her M'tye yesterday night to call the L. L. and other of her Counsell before her into her withdrawing chamber, where she rebuked us all excedingly for our concealing from her our proceding in the Queen of Scotts case; but her indignation particularlye lighteth most upon my L. Treasorer and Mr. Davison, who called us togeather and delivered the commission; for she protesteth she gave expresse commandement to the contrarye and therefore hath taken order for the committing of Mr. Secretarye Davison to the tower yf she contenew this morning in the mynd she was yesterday night, albeit we all kneled upon our knees to praye her to the contrarye. I thinke your L. happy to be absent from those broiles, and thought

* Sanderson's Mary Queen of Scots, p. 128.

it my dewtye to lett you understand them. And so in haste I humblye take my leave. At the courte this present Sonday, 1586*,

"Your L.evèr most bounden

"J. WOLLEY."

I have often times sent unto John your old servant Mr. Norld to pray humbly your L. orders for the ordering of his case: he hath been long in prison and desirith your L. orders for the hearing of his case which it may please your L. to express unto me.

EXTRACTS.—DR. HOWARD'S COLLECTION OF LETTERS, &c.†

The earliest letter in this collection, with the exception of the very apocryphal one from Eleutherius Bishop of Rome, to King Luccus, A. D. 169, is from Stephen Lord Scrope of Masham to King Henry the Fourth. As no other date occurs in it than the 27th of August, the precise year when it was written can only be presumed; but as he died in January 1406, and speaks of being engaged in the king's service, with his majesty's son, it may be safely assigned to the

* Sunday, 12th February, 1586-7.

† A Collection of Letters from the Original Manuscripts of many Princes, Great Personages, and Statesmen, together with some curious and scarce Tracts and Pieces of Antiquity, Religious, Political, and Moral. By L[eonard] Howard, D.D. Rector of St. George's, Southwark, and Chaplain to her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales. London, printed for the Author, MDCCLIII.—4to.

year 1401, in which Dugdale states, he attended Thomas Plantagenet, afterwards Duke of Clarence, to Ireland. The most curious part of this letter is Scrope's apology for the manner in which it was written; he being obliged, for want of a clerk, to write it himself: but as one of the few specimens which exist of correspondence at the commencement of the fifteenth century, it is well deserving of perusal.

" A tres excellent, tres redoute, et mon essovereyn seigneur, le Roy.

" Tres excellent, tres redoute, et mon essovereyn Seigneur; je me recommand a vostre haute et Reall Majeste a tant come aucun lege homme puis a son Seigneur soveryn; desyrant ad tout mon coer de oyer et savoyr bonez novelles de vos et de vostre haute Majeste, le quell je pry a ly toute puissant que tous jours maintener et encrez com vostre coer mesmes saver a multz soheyder ou deviser; et vos doynt toujours le victoyr de tous voz enemyz: Et, tres redoute et mon essovereyn Seigneur, je vous supply par dieux, et en overe de charyte, que vos plesse, que je puis estre en vostre memoyr: Et pour tant que je suy en vostre servysse ovesk mon tres redoutë Seigneur vostre Fitz, que je ne soy pas en obly. Et parce je ay envoye devant vostre haute presenz Hugh Cordoys, porteur de ceste, pour pursuer devent vostre haute presenz tou-

chant mon bille que je ay baylle a vostre hautesse a mon deseyn de partir de vostre haute presenz, touchant le ylle de Man, en cas que vous plest que ill poursue pour le dit matre: Et altrement je le met en vostre haute et graciouse volunte. Par en bon foy de dieux, mon essovereyn Seigneur, je ne ay null espoyr, ne null eyde de null creature fors que de dieux et de vostre gracyouse et haute Majeste: Et parce par dieux, que vos plesse penser de mon pover estat, le quel je ne puis mayntener ne sustener en null manier sanz vostre gracyouse ayde. Et serteyn et en bon foy vos me troverez touz jours humble et loyale lege, et prest a touz servyces que vos me commandrez ad testous mon poayer en corps et bienz sans null fyntisse; Tres excellent, tres redoute, et mon essuer eyn seigneur, je pry aly Tout-puissant, que tous jours maynten et encrez vost haute et Realle Majeste en ioy, honer, et prosperite, com vost graciouse coeur mesmez saver a multz soheyder. Escrit a Chest, le xxvii jour de Auste, de ma propre rude mayn, en deffaute de un alt' clerk. Et par ce ie supply a vost hautesse, que vos plesse me tener pou excuse de cest Lettre.

"Vost' humble lege,

"S. SCROPP."—pp. 65, 66.

A letter from that celebrated woman, the Countess of Richmond, to her son, King Henry the Seventh, is of much interest. The suit to

which she alludes was, we learn from a letter in Mr. Ellis's "Original Letters*," from Henry the Seventh to his mother, "some debts and duties which is oweing and due to her in France, by the French king and others," her whole right to which, that letter also informs us, she had then yielded to her son, the king, though we may infer that the countess went first to Calais, purposely to recover them. Henry's communication is chiefly on that subject, and to which it is only necessary to refer. In the same work† a letter will be found from the countess to the king, dated at Colynton in Northamptonshire, in which she mentions the same affair. Like the following, that letter is signed "Margaret R." and which Mr. Ellis observes is "signed as queen," but it is nearly certain that the letter R. was meant to be the initial of "Richmond." We find, from the only date mentioned in it, that Henry the Seventh was born on St. Anne's day, the 26th of July, a fact which has been hitherto unknown; and the affectionate manner in which she speaks of its being his majesty's birth-day, as well as the endearing expressions she uses towards him, are peculiarly striking. She was then the wife of her third husband, Thomas Earl of Derby, whom she mentions as "my lord;" "my lord marquis" was probably the Marquis of Dorset; and "my lord of York" was Henry,

* First Series, vol. i. p. 45. † Ibid. p. 47.

the king's second son, afterwards King Henry the Eighth.

" *To the King's Grace.*

" My derest and only desyred joy yn thys world,

" With my moste herty lovynge blessyngs, and humble comendations: y pray oure Lord to rewarde, and thancke your grace, for thatt yt hathe plesyd your hyghnes soo kyndly and lovyngly to be content to wryte your lettyrs of thancks to the Frenshe kying, for my greet mater, that soo longe hathe been yn sewte, as Mastyr Welby hath shewed me your bounteous goodness is plesed. I wysh my der hert and my fortune be to recover yt, y trust ye shall well perseyve y shall delle towards you as a kind lovyng modyr; and if y shuld nevyr have yt, yet your kynd delyng ys to me a thousand tymes more then all that good y can recover, and all the Frenshe kyngs myght be myn wythall. My der hert, and yt may plese your hyghnes to lycense Master Whytstongs, for thys time, to present your honorabyll lettyrs, and begin the process of my cause; for that he so well knoweth the matter, and also brought me the wrytings from the seyd Frenshe kyng, with hys odyr lettyrs to his parlyement at Paryse, yt shold be gretlye to my helpe, as y thynke; but all wyll y remyte to your plesyr; and if y be too bold in this, or eny my desires, y humbly beseche your grace of

pardon, and that your highnes take no dysplesyr! —"My good kynge, y have now sent a servant of myn into Kendall, to resseyve syche anewietys as be yet hangynge opon the acounte of Sir Wyllyam Wall, my lords chapeleyn, whom y have clerly dyscharged; and if yt wull plese your mayestys oune herte, at your loyser to send me a lettyr, and command me, that y suffyr none of my tenantes be reteyned with no man, but that they be kepte for my lord of Yorke, your faire swete son, for whom they be most mete, it shall be a good excuse for me to my lord and hosbond; and then y may well and withowte dysplesyr cause them all to be sworne, the wyche shall not aftyr be long undon: And wher your grace shewed your plesyr for the bastard of kyng Edwards, Syr, there is neither that, or any other thing, I may do by your commandment, but y shall be glad to fullfyll to my lytyll power, with God's Grace: And, my swete king, Feldyng, this berer, hath prayed me to beseche yow to be his good Lord yn a matter he seweth for to the bishop of Ely, now, as we here, electe, for a lytyll offyse nyghe to Lond. Verily, my kynge, he ys a gued and a wyse well rewled gentylman, and full trewly hathe served yow well accompanyed as well at your fyrst as all odyr occasions; and that cawsethe us to be the more bold and gladder also to speke for hym; how be yt my lord marquis hath ben very low to hym yn times

past, by cause he wuld not be reteyned with him: and trwly, my good kyng, he helpithe me ryght well yn seche matters as y have besynes wythyn thys partyes: And, my der hert, y now beseche you of pardon of my long and tedyous wryting, and pray almighty God to gyve you as long, good, and prosperous lyfe as evyr had Prynce, and as herty blessings as y can axe of God. At Calais town, thys day of Seint Annes, that y dyd bryng ynto thys world my good and gracyous prynce, kynge, and only beloved son. By

"Your humble servant, bede-woman, and modyer,

"MARGARET R."—pp. 155—157.

We are not sure whether the next letter we shall select, from Lady More, wife of the famous Sir Thomas More, to Cromwell, is generally known. If not, it will be very acceptable to most of our readers, for it presents a very affecting picture of the destitution to which that great man was reduced. It was evidently written about 1533, and the purport was to ask whether she might approach the king, because, from the fear then entertained of the plague, the sudden death of any person rendered the inhabitants of the house in which he died suspected of being infested with that disease. Dr. Howard says it was copied from the original.

" *To the ryght honorable, and her especyall gud maister, Maister Secretarye.*

" Right honorable, and my especyall gud Maister Secretarye: in my most humble wyse I recommend me unto your gud mastershypp, knowlegyng myself to be most deply boundyn to your gud maistershypp, for your monyfold gudnesse, and lovyng favour, both before this tyme, and yet dayly, now also shewyd towards my poure husband and me. I pray almyghtye God continew your gudnes so styll, for thereupon hangith the greatest part of my poure husbands comfort and myne. The cause of my wrytyng, at this tyme, is to certyfye your especiall gud maistershypp of my great and extreme necessyte; which, on and besydes the charge of myn owne house, doe pay weekly 15 shillings for the bordwages of my poure husband, and his servant; for the mayntaining whereof, I have ben compellyd, of verey necessyte, to sell part of myn apparell, for lack of other substance to make money of. Wherefore my most humble petition and sewte to your maistershipp, at this tyme is to desyre your maistershypps favorable advyse and counsell, whether I may be so bold to attende uppon the kings most gracyouse highnes. I trust theyr is no dowte in the cause of my impediment; for the yonge man, being a ploughman, had been dyseased with the aggue by the space

of 3 years before that he departed. And besides this, it is now fyve weeks syth he departed, and no other person dyseased in the house sith that tyme; wherefore I most humblye beseche your especyal gud maistershipp (as my only trust is, and ells knowe not what to doe, but utterly in this world to be undone) for the love of God to consyder the premisses; and thereupponn, of your most subundant gudnes, to shewe your most favorable helpe to the comfortyng of my poure husband and me, in this our great hevynes, extreme age, and necessyte. And thus we, and all ours, shall dayly, duryng our lyves, pray to God for the prosperous successe of your ryght honorable dygnyte.

"By your poure contynuall oratryx,

"Dame ALIS MORE."—pp. 271-2.

Every thing relating to the family of Anne Boleyn is of unusual interest; but the subjoined letter, which there can be little doubt was from her sister Mary to Secretary Cromwell, will well repay perusal from its own merits. She married, according to most pedigrees, first, William Carey, Esq., and, secondly, Sir William Stafford; and her union with the knight, we discover, for the first time, from this letter, excited the displeasure of the king and queen. Unfortunately, no date is mentioned; but the queen seems to have been her sister Anne Boleyn, in which case it must

have been written between 1533 and 1536. There is a frankness and candour in her confession of regard for her husband that speaks volumes in her favour; and popular as the name of Anne Boleyn is, it may be doubted if the qualities of her sister's mind were not of a far more natural and amiable character. The Duke of Norfolk was her maternal uncle; and "my lord her brother," Lord Rochford.

"*To the Ryght Wourshypefull, and my syngular good Frynde, Mastar Sekretory to the Kings Hynes thys be, S. S.*

"Master Sekrytory after my pour recommandasshyons which ys smally to be regardyd off me that ame a pour banyshd kreatur, thys shall be to desyre you to be goode to my pour housbande and to me. I am seur yt ys nat oneknone to you the hy dysplessure that bothe he and I have bothe of the kyngs hynes and the quens gras by the resson of our maryagge wytheout thayr knollyge, wheryn we bothe doe yelde our selfs faulty and doe knollyge that we dyd nat welle to be so hasty nor so bold wytheout thayr knollyge. But wone thyng good Master Sekretory consedor, that he was younge; and love ovarcame ressone, and for my part I saw so myche onesty yn hym that I lovyd hyme as well as he dyd me and was yn bondagge and glade I was to be at lybarty, so that for my part I saw that all the world dyd sete

so lytyll by me and he so myche, that I thoute I could take no betar way but to take hyme and to forsake all other ways and lyve a pour oneste lyffe wythe hym; and so I doe pout no douts but we should, if we myht wons be so hapy to recouver the kyngs grasshyous favour and the quens. For well I myht a had a greater mane of byrth and a hyhar, but I ynsure you I could never a had one that should a lovyd me so well nor a mor onest man, and bysydes that, he ys bothe come offe an aunssyent stok, and agayn as mete, (yeff yt was hys grassys plesaur,) to doe the kyng servys as any young jentyllmane yne hys court; therefore good Master Sekretory thys shall be my sute to you that for the loue that well I kno you doe ber to all my bloude, tho' for my part I have nat desarvyd yt, but smally bye the ressone of my vylle condasshyons, as to pout my housband to the kyngs gras that he may doe hys duty as all outhar gentyllmene doe: and good Mastar Sekretory sue for us to the kyngs hynes and beshych his hynes whyche ever was wount to take pety, to have pety one ous and that yt woull ples hys gras of hys goodiness to speke to the qwens gras for ous; for as far as I cane parsayve har gas ys so hyly displeased wyth ous both that withoute the kynge be so good lord to ous as to wythedraw hys reguor and sue for ous we äre nevar lyke to recover har grasys favoor, whych ys to hevy to ber. And

seinge ther ys no remydy, for Gods sake help ous: for we have byne now ä quarter off a yer maryyd I thanke God and to late now to call that agayn; wherfor yt ys the more almones to helpe. Bout yeffe I war at my lebarty and myhte chous, I ynseure you Mastar Sekretory for my lytyle tyme I haue tryyd so myche onesty to be yne hym that I had rather beg my bred wyth hyme thane to be the gretyst quene krystynd; and I bylyve veryly he ys one the same cas wythe me, for I bylyve veryly a would nat forsake me to be a kyng, therfor good Mastar Sekretory beyng we we are so well togethar and does ynetende to lyve so oneste a lyffe, though yt be but pour, shou part of your goodenes to ous as well as you doe to all the worlde bysyds; for I promys you ye have the name to helpe all them that hathe nede, and amonkst all your suetars I dar be bolde to say that you have no mater more to be pytyd thane ours: and therfor for Gods sake be good to ous for yne you ys all our troust, and I beshych you good Master Sekretory pray my lord my fathar and my lady to be good to ous and to lete me have thayr blessyngs and my housband thayr good wyll, and I wool nevar desyr mor off them. Allso I pray you desyr my Lorde of Norfolk and my lorde my brouthar to be good to ous. I dar nat wryte to theme they ar so cruel agaynst ous, but yeff wyth any payne that I could take wythe my lyffe I myht wyne

ther good wyls I promys you ther ys no chyld lyving would ventar mor than I, and so I pray you to report by me, and you shall fynd my wryting true and yn all poynts whyche I may ples theme yne, I shall be redy to obay theme neryst my housband, home I ame moste bound to, to whom I most hartly beshych you to be good unto, whyche for my sake ys a pour banysshed mane for an onest and a godely cawes: and beyng that I have red yne old bouks that some, for aws joust caussys have by kyngs and quens byn pardonnyd by the suete of good folks, I troust yt shall be our chans thourow your good help, to come to the same, as knoyth the God, who sende you helthe and harts ese. Scryblyd wyth her yll hande, who ys your pour humble suytor always to commande.

"MARY STAFFORD."—pp. 525-7.

Letter from Katherine Basset, daughter of John Basset, Esq. of Heanton, in Devonshire, by Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle, natural son of Edward the Fourth; from the address of which, it seems that this lady's mother assumed the title of "Lady Lisle." Katherine was then in the household of the Earl of Rutland, and entreated her mother to exert herself to obtain the queen's favour, most probably with the view of becoming a maid of honour.

" *To the Right Honourable, and my very good Lady and Mother, my Lady Lisle, be this delyvered at Calais.*

" Madame,

" In my humble wyse, my dewtye done to your ladyship, desyeryng yow of your daylye blessyng; sertifying your ladiship, that my lord of Rutland, and my ladye, be in good health, and hathe them hertelye recommendyd to your ladiship, thanking yow for yowre wyne, and your herying, that yow sent them. Madame, my ladye hath gyven me a gown of Kaffa damask, of her own old wearyng; and that she wold in no wise that I shuld reffuse yt. And I have spoken to Mr. Husse, for a rowle of buckeram to new lyne yt, and velwyt to edge it withall. Madame, I humbly beseche your ladyship to be good ladye and mother to me: for my Ladye of Rutland sayth, that mother Lowe, the mother of the Dowche maydes, may do muche for my preferment to the queen's highness; so that your ladiship wold sende her my good token, that she myght the better remembre me; trustyng that your ladyship wold be good ladye unto me in this behalf. Madame, I have received of Ravenfford two crownes, for the whiche I humbly thank your ladyship. I do lake a ketyll [kertel] for every day: I beseeche your ladiship that I maye have yt; and I desyre your ladiship, that

I maye be humblye recommended to my lorde, and to my sisters. Madam, my brother George is in good helthe, and is here in the cowrt with Sir Francis Brian. And thus the Holy Ghost have yow in his kepyng, who send your ladyship good lyffe, and length to his plesure. Wrytten at Yorke's Place, the 17th daye of February,

"By your humble daughter,

"KATHERINE BASSET."—pp. 213-4.

A curious letter, from Ann, first Countess of Bedford, to some nobleman about procuring physicians for the Earl, who was then ill, and whose fancies are amusingly described. Dr. Buttes was the great physician of the reign of Henry the Eighth, and was sent by the king to Wolsey during the cardinal's last illness. He is also honourably commemorated by Fox as the friend of Bishop Latimer; but he is better known from being introduced by Shakespeare into his play of "Henry the Eighth:" his portrait occurs in Holbein's picture in Surgeons' Hall, of Henry giving the charter to the Company of Surgeons.

"In most humble manner, I commend me unto your lordship. So it is, that it hath pleased God to visit my husband with a burning ague, ensuring your lordship he was as sick and as sore handled with it yesterday, as ever I saw him in my life; and as your lordship shall perceive by

the letter therein, I sent to London to a chaplain of my husbands, to send him physicians; but he could get none that my husband had any mind unto; wherefore this shall be most heartily to beseech your lordship, of your goodness, that you will help him so that Doctor Buttes, or the Spanish physician, might come hither; for if they did but see my husband, he would think himself half healed.

"Furthermore, there is a powder that the kings grace gave to my lord admiral, which my husband hath a great mind unto; and if your lordship could get a few of that of the kings grace for him, you should do him the greatest pleasure in the world. At the writing of this letter, I had, nor could get, no physicians as knoweth him, who preserve your good lordship.

"By your poor bede woman,

"ANN RUSSELL*."—pp. 296-7.

"*At Cheynes, July* 29."

"N. B. This letter is published to shew the early taste for quackery, which, like the frogs in Egypt, got into the king's palace: however, it chanced to turn out a valuable medicine, and was purchased of the king for 5000l. It is thought to be what we now call the Gascoign powder."

* This lady was Anne, the wife of John, the first Earl of Bedford, and daughter of Sir Guy Sapcott, bart.

From one of the Cottonian manuscripts Dr. Howard has given a Copy, from the original, of Henry the Eighth's declaration of his dislike to Anne of Cleves, in which his majesty states,

"Then after, at my repayre to Grenewyche, the next day after, I thynke, and dowght nott but that the Lord of Essex, well examined, can, wyll, or hathe declaryd what I then sayde to hym in that case, not dowghtyng, but since he is a person whyche knowyth hymselfe condemnyd to dye by act of parliament, wyll not dame his solle, but truly declare the trught, not only att that tyme spoken by me, but also contynuyingly till the day of maryage, and also many times after: wherby I'm lacke off consent, I dought not dollie or shall well appeare; and also lacke much off both wyll and power to consummate the same; weryn both he, my physicians, the Lord Privy Seal that now is, Heneyge and Deny, can, and I doubt not will, testify according to trewth; whyche is, that I never, for love to woman, consented to mary; nor yet if she brought with her toke any from her. This is my bryffe declaration. H."

"Oppon the day of her entre to Grynwich, after I had brought her to her chamber, he came wyth me to myne; and then I sayd to him, How say you, my lord; is it not as I tolde you? Say what they wyll, she is nothing fayre; the par-

souage is well and semly, but nothing else. Be my fayth, you say right, quoth he; but me thyketh she hath a queenly manner wyth all. That is right, quoth I; and for that time we had no farther communication."

"The even before we shulde be maryed, as you and I was talkying thereoff, yow tolde me, that the ambassadurs and you, with the rest of my commissioners, were at a poynt; and then I asked you, How do ye with the ensurrance that was made by her to the Duke of Loran? To that yow answard and sayde, They have cleryd that matter well inowght and browght with them a sufficient instrument of the same. Marry, quo I; yett wyll I not mary her, excepte she make a renounciation herselfe: Whereoppon, as I remember, you causyd her to make the same; and when she had done it, yow came to me effesones agayne, and tolde me, that it was done: then is there no remedy, quo I, but put my necke in the yoke; and so we parted for that time. The morrow after we were maryd, as he and I communyd of our affaires, and the wayghty maters resolvyd, he asked me whether I likyd her any better then affore. I answard, and said, nay, my lord, muche wors; for by her brest she shulde be no mayde; which strake me to the hart. But is it so? quo he. Ye, by my fayth, quo I. Then wolde I, quo he, she never had come here. And also I dowght nott, but that he

dothe well remember, that at sondry and many other tymes synce, I have declared unto hym how I abhorde her ever since. If these thyngs be true, wyllyng to sett hys hand thereto."—pp. 170-2.

A letter in Latin, (p. 276) without date, signed "Margaret Seymour and Jane Seymour," thanking Henry for a literary present, probably a book, which they assured his Majesty would stimulate them in their studies.

Lord Wharton, in a letter to the Lord Privy Seal, dated at Cockermouth, 23d December, 1540, advises his lordship, that,—

"As I am informed, there is a ballad maide lately in Scotlande of gret derision against all Ynglyshmen, for our livynge in the trew christen faith; which they take to be the contrarie. If it be your lordship's plesure, that I shall sende for the copie, and to sende it to your lordshipe; for it goeth muche abrode; and, as I am also informed, that the byshops are the setters forth thereof; as it maie stand with your lordship's most honorable commandment therein."—p. 169.

Among the numerous letters of the reign of Elizabeth, a few will be found of importance, and many of much interest: of the former is a copy of the commission for the execution of the Queen of Scots, "penned," the compiler says, "by Lord Burghley." It is dated on the 1st

Feb. 29 Eliz. 1587, and was directed to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and Pembroke. The date there assigned to that instrument fully agrees with Secretary Davison's assertion, that it was signed on Friday the first of February. Following the warrant, Dr. Howard has inserted the correspondence between James the First and Elizabeth, relative to his mother; but it has been frequently printed elsewhere. There are, however, two letters from James on another affair, which we do not remember to have read before (p. 244, 245.) The well-known Duke of Norfolk, who lost his life from his connexion with the Queen of Scots, writing to the Earl of Sussex, in August 1560, betrays his suspicion of Elizabeth's duplicity,—a suspicion justified by almost every action of her life.

"I am at the last arrived at the court, good cosyne, after long delays, where, by my will, I mind not long to tarry. All things at my coming out of the north were in as good state as it was possible to make broken matters to be. God send the queens majesty quickly to take order for the redress thereof; it is now an easy matter to do it, which with prolonging may become almost impossible. I have received at the queen's majesty's great heap of fair words, both openly and privately. Her majesty promises me great

matters, God send me to feel of some in effect, as by my lords here I am put in good hope. Thus being sorry, that through my man's negligence I have been fain to make your man tarry for this scribbling so long, I bid you, good cosyne, most heartilye farewell. Pray make my commendations unto my lady. From Southehamtone, the 1st of August, 1560.

"Your loving cosyne assuredly,

"THOMAS NORFOLKE."—pp. 203-4.

Another letter from that unfortunate nobleman well merits a place among these extracts:—

"*To the Earl of Sussex.*

"I am glad, good cosyne, that in the ende the queen's majestye will consider of the service you have done her in Ireland, not dowtyng, but that tyme shall brynge her majesty to know her true and heartye servants from dysembling and flattering lyars; and as to the or any others, they be soe errante lyes, as I care lyttle for them. I thynke the world thynkes we have not so lyttle wit to deal in that sort; but if some heads were not occupyed in some matters, the clock should stand still: I smell whence these storyes rise: I, for my own parte, remain ready at all tymes, upon my friends advertisements. Marry, and if by any means it might be, I would be very lothe to come unsent for, if occasion

served for my comyng. Mr. Secretary may soon dyvyse to cause the queens majesty to claime my promise; which is upon a letter from him, to come up with all speed. I shall doe more good, being sent for, than in comyng upon any other occasion: but because I here cannot so well judge what is best to be done as you there, and Mr. Secretary, I have sent myself to be ordered therein as you two shall thynke good: and so for this tyme, thankyng you for your friendly letters, I bid you, good cosyne, most heartilye farewelle. From Norwich, this 15th of July, 1565.

"Your assured loving cosyne,

"T. NORFOLKE."—pp. 204-5.

Few people would suppose that Richard Barnes, Bishop of Carlisle from 1570 to 1577, was speaking of the wife of the former bishop, John Best, who filled that see from 1561 to May 1570, had he not used the word "predecessor." Addressing the Earl of Sussex, in January 1571, he says,—

"I am bold to beseche, and most humblie to crave, your honor's lawfull and good favour and furtherance towards a poore blinde woman, and her poore children, Elizabethe Beeste, late wife to my predecessour at Carlyle; who is in good forwardness to receive some relief at the queenes

majestie's gracious hands, towards the payment of the debtes to the quene, before his death, in consideration of great charges; which he is said in the quenes service to have sustayned; and the rather by your good means and helpe; which to bestowe, I dowte not your honor will be redie, according to your accustomed wonte. And for that ende my simple sewte is, if the same unto your honor may be found reasonable, and seeme worthie to be consydered."—p. 200.

Speech of Henry Cuffe, Secretary to the Earl of Essex, at his Execution, in 1601.

"I am here adjudged to die for acting an act never plotted; for plotting a plot never acted. Justice will have her course; accusers must be heard; greatness will have the victory; scholars and martialists (though learning and valour should have the pre-eminence) in England must die like dogs, and be hanged. To mislike this, were but folly; to dispute of it, but time lost; to alter it, impossible; but to endure it, is manly, and to scorn it, magnanimity. The queen is displeased, the lawyers injurious, and death terrible: but I crave pardon of the queen; forgive the lawyers, and the world; desire to be forgiven, and welcome death."—p. 152.

A long correspondence is introduced in these letters relative to the Earl of Suffolk, who, with

his lady, in 1619, were fined £30,000, and imprisoned in the Tower, for malversation in his office as lord-treasurer; but about which his biographer, Collins, is wholly, and unless it were from ignorance, criminally silent in his account of the earl in his "Peerage."

Among the articles in this collection which deserve notice, is a petition from Mr. Francis Phylipes, on behalf of his brother, Sir Robert, then a prisoner in the Tower, which is very eloquently written; an account of the reception of James the Second at Oxford; of the meeting between the Czar and William the Third in Holland; and the speeches of Lord Howard in the House of Commons, from 1660 to 1673, and some others.

We shall, however, terminate with these extracts a modern letter from a maid of honour, to a fair friend, who was afflicted with the small-pox, which displays the vivacity of the writer in a manner that, we think, cannot fail to please our readers; and may serve either as a foil or a relief to the earlier correspondence hitherto brought to their notice:—

"My dear Lady Charlotte,

"The concern which your illness gave me, could be equalled by nothing but the present contrast, my joy at your recovery. I am told you are very angry at my not coming to see you;

but pray, my dear, hear the reason before you condemn me. You must know I never had the small-pox, and tho' there may be no danger, I cannot help my fears; I had once plucked up my spirits, and sent for my chair; but the thought immediately came into my head, that the hail which fell upon you, without its usual effects, might revenge itself on me, and pepper me off for a ceremonious and imprudent civility; and then what must have become of a poor maid of honour, with nothing but her royal mistress's bounty, to get her a husband?

As yet my face has no pimples, nor have I drank it into redness, nor painted it into wainscot, but it retains the tolerable form and features which my good Maker gave it. If it has not charms enough to catch a duke or an earl, yet it may get a young pair of colours in the Guards, or throw perhaps an old battered colonel at my feet: but disfigured by that spightful and ugly distemper, I must either die a maid, or end my days behind a counter in the city, with no more balls or pleasures in my prospect, but a walk with my spruce husband to his hall on a lord-mayor's day, to open the ball with some clean-shirted 'prentice, or merchant's book-keeper. If this is not a sufficient plea to excuse my not waiting on your ladyship, your good nature, that beauty of your mind, is gone, however favourable that disease, which is the common enemy of

a complexion, has been to your face. All her friends trembled for lady Charlotte but myself: and now mark how I am going to present you with a fine stroke, and a simile. As the sun drives back the vapours of the earth, by the strength of its beams; so your bright eyes have sent back the malignity of the small-pox, from your lovely face, which heaven would not suffer that distemper to pit and spoil, because it was unwilling one of the finest of its works should fall its victim, and cease to promote its Creator's praise and honour! I forget, the princess has sent, and the chair waits, or I could say a thousand such things. Lord keep every girl of face and condition from such a misfortune as you have wonderfully escaped, to the joy of all the pretty fellows in town, and the particular pleasure and satisfaction of,

" my dear lady,

" your whimsical friend,

" A. B."—pp. 459—460, signature M m m.

The following letter chiefly derives interest from its describing a very similar event to one which has lately possessed so much of public attention, the abduction of a young girl from her parents.

Letter from Peter Cooke, Rector of Sutton upon Derwent in Yorkshire, to his Son-in-law Miles Dodson, Esq. of Kirkby Overblows in the same County, respecting the Abduction of an Heiress in the Reign of James I.

[From the original.—Communicated by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F. S. A.],

Sonne,

I am glad that I sent you worde of the stealing away of the mayd before Mr. Ashton and his wife came unto you. The thinge that I writ was true in substance; and now bicause I have better leysure, I will shew you as I have hard of the same busines more particularly.

I was at Yorke the day after the act was done; and beinge at dinner with Sir Robert Askwith, his brother told him of the stealinge away of this mayd and of her cryinge, for he was upon Heworth Moore when they tooke her up, but he could not tell whose daughter she was, nor who stole her. Cominge from theire I mett Mr. Crashaw, and he told me that my daughter was blamed for inticinge of a young mayd into the feilds to that end she might be taken away. I told him, my daughter was at home with her children; neyther wold she take any such ungodly and unlawfull acts in hand. He laughed and said it was Mrs. Dodson that was blamed; and so the bruit went it was my daughter, but,

sayth he, I have answered that matter to all those I hard speake of it, that your daughter was of that behaviour she woold not have to doe with any such business: and then streight after, it was knowne to be Mr. Mildred Dodson. And so the talke ceased of her and your wife was in no blame.

The maid's father was one Spinke who dwelt at Great Driffield upon the Wold. He was a petty grocer by his trade and kept a shop in Driffield; but he got his wealth by bargayninge and takinge of tythes to farme. He dyinge havinge children, this daughter's portion came to betwixt five and six hundred pounds. Her mother may make it a great some for she is very rich; but she vowed as I have hard to spend more then they are all worth but she will have the law against them; and I heare she is a very wilful and obstinate woman. The mayd is but about twelve yeares of age. She was put to schole at Yorke with one Mr. Solomon Daye's wife. Thither Mrs. Mildred resorted, and took acquaintance with a gentleman's daughter whom she never knew, and told her that her father and mother were well. She wold needes bestow a quart of wine of the mistress; and intreated the mistress, seinge it was about foure of the cloke, that they might goe play, never takinge notice of Spink's daughter. Then she inticed them into the feilds, and then she gave notice to them

that were appoynted for the matter, they beinge at Mrs. Davye's, an inn hard by the posterne that goeth to Heworth Moore. In all hast they take horse; and Davye one of the conspiracy gott Richard Dodson's horse: and so he and Miles and the Captain marshall away. Myles seased upon the mayd. At the first she laughed; but when she saw they were in good earnest she cryed extremely out, [and when] she was layd over the horsback, she cryed out, "Murder, Murder! Alas! I shall never see my mother." Leonard Swan, my host Wadsworth, and one other offred to stay them. They drew their swords and showted and halowed, that her cryinge might not be hard. She lost her shoes. And after they had got her from company, they sett her up behind one of them. She twyse or thrice gott from behind him, and then, as I thinke, they bound her. Judge you whether this mayd was stolen agaynst her will or no.

They left the ordinary way by Kexby and came to Elvington, and so by my doore. My sonne Henry and tow of my men were standinge at the doore. They sange; yet notwithstandinge they hard the mayd mourne. The foremost man they say was hoded. I suppose she was then past cryinge. After that, they mett my mayds comminge from Kye. One of them asked how I and my wife did: and so they kept on their journey to Goodmadame. Richard

Dodson, after he had got an horse brought his sister Mildred behind him: but he went by Kexby; for ther he was inquiring whether any such people had gone that way.

The morow after, the Pursevant was sent with commission to Mr. Sudabie to apprehend them all. He beinge sicke, sent his sonne with the Pursevant with other company. At the first, they wold not open the doores: but when they were told they must rayse the town and country, they opened: and the three worthies stode with their swords drawne. When they were told what danger they were in if they did resist, they yelded. They could not see the bridegrome nor the bride. So these thre was caryed to York, and committed to Cutlawes the Pursevant. The next day Mr. Ashton voluntarily went to York to see what was become of them, and there was he committed. And the next day was a warrant sent for the bringinge in of the bridegrome and the bride, and Mrs. Mildred as I suppose. Mr. Ashton writ a letter to his wife, by the name of Mrs. Katharine Fowberye to deliver the bodies of Richard Dodson and ..... Spinke. So they came to Yorke upon Sunday about eleven of the cloke. The mayd was delivered to her mother, and so to the schole againe. The mayd beinge asked whether they threatened to kill her or no, she answered, they did not, but they sayd, if she wold not be content and be quiet they wold one

of them kill an other. The minister that married them is one Lee, reader at Shipton. He overrunne the Pursevant, and so he is not as yet taken. It is sayd, that ther was a supper provided at Sparow's at Goodmadam for them, and so it is thought he is in some danger. I wish that it were otherwise in respect of the money that he stands bound to me for. Mr. Ashton, in regard he is a minister and his church must be served, was allowed to departe upon securitie. So likewise Mrs. Mildred, bicause she was a Lincolneshire woman, Sir William Ellis, being of Lincolne tooke bayle of her. The other foure ar in the Castle as I heare. Miles is in hope that Sir Edwin Sands and Sir Myles will procure them ther pardons: but I feare they will have nothinge to doe with such a fowle offense. All the country dryes shame of this act, and expects the rigour of the law to be ministered unto them, that they nede not live in feare of the stealinge away of ther children.

I was at dinner upon Thursday last at Sir Henry Vaghan's, wher were Sir Guy Palmes, Sir George Palmes, Sir John Bouchier, Sir William Acklam, and Sir Richard Darley. A great parte of the talke at dinner was of this bad busines. Sir Guy sayd, by a statute Henrici 7 it was fellony: wherfore I am glad you intend to have hothinge to doe with them.

I have sent you tenn pounds accordinge to

your desire. I expect you and my daughter at your day. My wife and I both have a great desire to see her. I pray you send me a woll-man to buy my woll, that will pay me before my day.

Thus being now in some haste, with our loves remembered unto you, desiring God to blesse your wife and children, I betake you to God. Sutton upon Darwent this 20 of 7ber 1620.

Yo^r^ ever assured lovinge father in law,

PETER COOKE.

FURNITURE IN THE PALACES OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

AMONG the MSS. in the British Museum are two very large volumes, marked No. 1419, A. and B. entitled, "The Seconde Parte of the Inventorye of our late Soveraigne Lorde King Henry the Eighth, conteyning his Guarderobes, Householde Stuffe and other Implementes; made by virtue of a Commyssion undre the Greate Seale of England bearing date at Westminster the 14th daye of Septembre in the firste yere of the reign of our Soveraigne Lord King Edward the Sixte [1547], directed to the Lorde Seynt John, Great Mastre of the Kinges Housholde, President of the Counsaill, and Keaper of the Great

Seale; the Lord Russell, Keeper of the Privey Seale; the Erle of Warwicke; and to Sir Walter Mildmay Knight, or to three or two of theym. Which Commyssion in the Boke conteyning the firste parte of the saide Inventorye at length is conteyned. All whiche Goodes, Cattalles, and Stuffe were examyned by the Commyssioners at sundrie tymes and seasons in the saide firste yeare of the Kinges Majesties reign; as by dyvers perticuler and rough bokes, uppon whiche this hole and entier boke is made, appereth."

It will at once be inferred by those who know the extremely minute manner in which such inventories were then made, that those volumes must contain a curious and interesting account of the furniture and other domestic articles then in use. In selecting the most singular entries for our pages, we shall present valuable illustrations, not merely of the furniture of the royal apartments, but, occasionally, of the state of the arts, the personal amusements and occupations, as well as of the luxuries of the age. Nor is the information thus afforded of interest to the antiquary alone: the general reader can scarcely fail to be amused with the perusal of an account of the articles which composed Henry the Eighth's toilet, &c. To such entries as are not likely to be generally understood, explanatory notes are added.

In the Tower.

Item, foure cappes with vanes of silver and gilte, engraven with the kinges armes and rooses, for the postes of a beddstede.—f. 22.

Item, a targett of steele with a gonne in it lacking parte of the steele, frengid with grene silke and lyned with grene vellat.—*Ibid.*

Item, twoo rounde pannes of iron made six square grate wise, being uppon wheales, to make fyre in *.—f. 30.

In the kynges privey chamber.

Firste, a brekefaste table of wallnot tree †.

Item, a rounde table covered with blacke vellat.

Item, a steele glasse ‡.

Item, one paier of regalles with the case §.

Item, one payer of tables of bone and wodde in a case of leather ‖.

* Vessels for conveying fire from one apartment to another. The same article occurs in the "Privy-Purse Expenses of Henry VIII." where we find that the price of two was, in 1531, 4l. 13s. 4d.

† Walnut-wood. ‡ A mirror of polished steel.

§ A *regal* is explained in Ellis's Original Letters, 2d Series, vol. i. p. 272, on the authority of William Ayrton, Esq. to be "a small portable organ with one row of pipes: a double regal was also portable, but had two rows of pipes. Mersennus (Harmonie Universelle) says, in one place, that the stop *vox humana* took the name of regal; in another, he describes the *harmonica*, and calls it a regal. There can be no doubt, however, that the above is the correct definition: there is even yet a tuner of regals in the royal household, whose business it is to tune the organs in all the chapels royal."

‖ Backgammon-boards. Henry lost considerable sums in gambling, and frequently at "the tables." See his "Privy-Purse Expenses," pp. 48, 81, 272-3.

In the closet next that chambre.

First, vij rackettes for the tennys.
Itm. a boxe of leather full of painted antiques.
Itm. a boxe covered with vellat wheren were pictures of nedleworke.
Itm. a litle boxe of leather with table men*.
Itm. two poyses of tynne†.
Itm. a boxe of woodde with vj hawkes whoodes embrawdered.
Itm. a woodden boxe with xxx haukes whoddes‡ of dyvers sortes, xij payer of hawkes belles smalle and greate, and a fawconers glove.
Itm. a deske covered with printers leather§ furnysshed with boxes with counters of tynne‖, and having a paire of syssorres, a payer of compas, a penne knyfe, and a poyntell¶ cased in metall.
Itm. an other like deske furnysshed with boxes withoute counters, with a penne knyfe, and a payer of sisorres.
Itm. an other like deske with a paier of sisorres a penknyfe with boxes without counters.

* Backgammon-men. See last page, note ‖.

† Probably tin scales.

‡ Two dozen hawks' hoods cost in September 1531, 6s. 8d.; and 13s. 6d. were given for a dozen of gilt bells for hawks.—*Privy-Purse Expenses*, p. 159.

§ The term, "printers' leather," tends perhaps to show that printers were then also bookbinders, though the latter term often occurs. See p. 189, ibid.

‖ Probably a pencil. ¶ Query, counters for cards?

Itm. an other like standishe with boxes not furnished.

Itm. a square coffre covered with leather having in yt lxxij hawkes whodes, iij lewres, and viij papers with hawkes belles.

Itm. a standisshe covered with purple vellatt furnysshed with iij boxes and with counters all of metall, with a penne knyfe.

Itm. a buckler of steele painted in a case of leather.

Itm. a pair of gilte spurres.

Itm. two here brusshes.

Itm. two glasses paynted.

Itm. two baggs with table men and chesse men.

Itm. a stocke bagge with divers lether purses having in theym peces of —ure [query, wire?] of gold and silver.

Itm. an olde tassell of crymson silke.

Itm. an instrument of tynne for water.

Itm. two stone bowes of ewe*.

Itm. a leather bagge with instrumentes of bone, and a crosse bowe rope.

Itm. two poyzers of tynne.

Itm. a payer of tables of bone with chestmen belonging to the same.

Itm. a case of leather with lyames† of Carlisle making.

* Bows for shooting stones.

† A leash or string to lead a hound. It may be inferred from this entry that Carlisle was celebrated for the manufacture of them.

Itm. a long case for plattes * covered with yellat.
Itm. a paier of beades of bone.
Itm. a little folding table with a glasse and an ymage.
Itm. lxv lymes and collors of dyvers sortes.
Itm. xviij lures enbrawdered, and xvj other lures playne.
Itm. a combe case of white bone, unfurnished.
Itm. twoo Combe cases of woodd, unfurnyshed.
Itm. a Diall of bone.
Itm. two boxes with the picture of the frenche King and the ffrenche Quene.
Itm. lx hawkes whoddes embrawdered hanging uppon the walle.
Itm. dyvers candells and peces of candells of waxe, whereof three be paynted and gilte.
Itm. foure olde banners clothes of silke, and an olde pece of a cusshion of clothe of golde, and a Cassak of crymsen and grene silke.
Itm. a smalle cheste of white bone.—f. 54 to 56.

In the kinges withdrawing chamber.

Firste one faire instrument being regalles and and virgynalles †.

* Plans of places or towns. See a long note to the *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.*, p. 343.

† For "Regalles" see a former note. Virginals is thus explained in the volume whence that note was copied: "The Virginal was that which afterwards took the name of spinnet, and differed from it only in shape. The spinnet was triangular, the virginal oblong, like our small piano-fortes." Two pairs in one coffer, with four stops, cost in April, 1530, 3*l*. 6*s*. and at the same

Itm. a hanging clocke* closed in glasse with plomettes of leade and metalle belonging to the same.

Itm. a greate writing table of Slatte.

Itm. a table with the king's picture and other pictures.

Itm. a skrene of wycker.

Itm. a plate of latten† for a candlestick in th entree.

Itm. twoo Cuppbordes with ambries,‡ ij tabells with trestells, one forme and one stoole.

In the closet next the bedd chambre.

Firste twoo patternes for bridges§.

Itm. a square coffer with tilles, having a stan dishe furnysshed for ynk duste and counters, with a boke conteyning the ymage of both churches, with allso one payer of Sissors, twoo paire of compas, twoo Drawing Irons, and a penne of stele.

time the price of a little pair was 20*s.*—*Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.* p. 37.

* Henry the Eighth indulged to profusion in the purchase of clocks; and numerous entries occur relative to them in the work just cited.

† Upon the precise meaning of Laten or Laton our best Antiquarians are divided. It is generally supposed to be brass: a long note on the word will be found in the *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 333.

‡ Ambries were a kind of recess in cupboards for the deposit of valuable articles.—*Ibid.*

§ Evidently models of bridges.

Itm. a greate booke called an Herballe.
Itm. twoo greate bibles in latten.
Itm. one booke of Aristotle.
Itm. a massebook covered with black vellvet.
Itm. vj. other smalle bookes.
Itm. a great clocke closed in glasse with plometts.
Itm. iij rounde clockes of metalle, whereof twoo be cased in leather.—f. 56.

In the kynges gallery.

First a fayer steele glasse covered with white velvet embrawdered.
Itm. a payer of virgynalles.
Itm. a table with the picture of the frenche king.

In one chambre within the gallery.

Itm. an ymage caste in metalle.

In the next gallery.

First in a lobby in that Gallery a mappe of England, twoo cheyres and one table, a Cupborde, and a barbe * for a horsse.

EXTRACTS RELATIVE TO THE HOUSEHOLD OF HENRY VIII.

THE following Articles are from the fragment of a Manuscript Volume, or Common-place-book,

* The complete armour, or rather, in this instance, trappings, for a horse, which appear to have been made either of cloth of gold or silk.---*Ibid.*

of some person probably holding an official situation in the Household of Henry the Eighth*.

"Md. yt ys agreyd by Compossissions that the fellowshyppe of the pulters shall s'ue the kyngs majestey wythe thes kynds of pultry stuffe folloyng, on the pryce as here after aperythe:

Swannes the pece, vs.

Crannes
Busterds } the pece, iiijs.
Storks

Hernesewys
Showelerds } the pece, xviij*d*.
Bytters

Pecokks old the pece. ijs.

Pechykks the pece, xiiij*d*.

Capons of gr. [growth] of the best the pece, xx*d*.

Capons good the pece, xiiij*d*.

Capons the pece, viij*d*.

Hennes of gr. the pece, vij*d*.

Brewes & Egrets the pece, xij*d*.

Gulles the pece, xij*d*.

Mewz the pece, vj*d*.

Grene Gesse from Ester tyll mydsomer ye pece, vij*d*.

Gesse grett from mydsomer tell shroftyde ye pece, viij*d*.

Goodwytt the pece, xij*d*.

Dotterells the dossen, iijs. iiij*d*.

* From the Antiquary's Portfolio, by J. S. Forsyth.

Quayles the dosen, iiijs.
Sparrowes the dosen, iijd.
Pegyons the dosen. viijd.
Rabetts socars the dosen, xiijd.
Connys tell hallontyd the dosen, ijs.
Wyhter conys from hallontyd tyll Shroftyd the dosen, ijs. vjd.
Mallards the dosen, iiijs.
Teelles, the dosen, ijs.
Wegeons, the dosen, iijs.
Woddoks the dosen, iiijs.
Plovers grey the dozen, iijs.
Bastarde plovers the dosen, ijs. vjd.
Marles the dozen, xviijd.
Larks the dosen vjd.
Henne spyts the dosen, xviijd.
Buntyngs the dosen, iiijd.
Greatte byrds the dosen, vjd.
Eggs from Ester to Myghelmas, xvjd.
Eggs from Myghelmas tyll Ester, xxd.
Butter swete from Ester to Hallontyd the pownde, iid.
Butter swete from Hallontyd tell Ester the pownde, iijd."

"[1536] Md. the xvjth day of Aprell the xxvijth yere of the reigne of kynge Henry the viij that John Wylkynson of Busshopgate strete in London, scourer of synks, hath couvenanted and bargayned w^t. Edmunde Pekham, Coferer;

Thomas Hatterlyf and Edwarde Weldon, clerks of the g'nclothe & William Thynne, clerc, comptroller of the kings hon'able householde; that he the saide John Wilkynson for the wags of xxvjs viij*d.* and oon cote clothe, color red, of the price of vs, viij*d.* to be paied and geven vnto hym yerely, the saide wags to be to hym q'terly paid by even porcionz: shall scoure, clense and substancially make clene all and eu'y of the synks belonginge vnto the kechyns w'in any of the kynges houses at Wyndesor, Rychemont, Hamptonco't, the More, Westm', Grenewiche, & Eltham euery qu'ter of the yere oone tyme yerely, if that he so often shal be com'anded by any of the officers aboue mencyoned to do the same; and if he shall at any tyme refuse so to do, then he to haue his q'rter wags or more as the cace shall requyre, defaulted and taken away. In wittyness herof the saide John Wilkinson to this agreement hathe putte his m'ke the daye and yere aboue wrytten."

"Asysse of talwod, byllet, tysard, and fagott.

Euery shyld of talwod in lenght iiij foote of assyse besyd the Carf.

Euery talshyld of on [one] in the mydes to be of gretness xx ynches of assysse.

Euery talshyld of ij of gretnes in ye mydes xxvj ynches.

Euery talshyld of iiij xxxviij ynches of assyse.

Euery talshyld of v xliiij ynches.

And that no talshyld be made of any moo shyldes than v.

Euery bedd of fagotte to be in lenght iij foote and the bande contayne iij quarters of a yarde besyde the knotte.

And that no byllett be put to sale but syngle byllet, wythe owt any marke.

Euery Essex byllet conteyn in lenght iij footte, w^t^ the carfe; in gretnes in mydes xv ynches."

Assize of Coals, temp. Henry VIII.

"M'd. That the lorde meyor of the cetey of London for the tyme beyng, may and doth assise after what rate and pryce the Colyers bryng Colys to the said cetey than shall sele the same.

It. The said lorde mayor hath officers appoynted to se that eu'y Cole sake comyng to the Cetey be of lenght ij yerde and in brede iij q'rs of yerde; w^t^ sake ought to holde yf it be well and truyly fylled viij bz.

It. If it be at eny tyme founde the said saks to be defectyue and not of suche contents as aboue said, the said officers may, and doth from tyme to tyme take the sake so fawte and kepe the same till a tyme apoynted for the bornyng of the same in the open market place.

It. There is a lawe that in eu'y warde w'in the Cety ther shall be a grate sake w^t^ cont. viij bz, & ye p'ce of Colys to be set by my lorde

mayer and the aldermen both wynter & somer as the case shall requere, and now at this present tyme ye p'ce ys at viij*d*. the quart' sessed and to be mesered."

An order taken at the king's palice of Westm. w^t^ the hiegh constable hedborowes and pety constables and other inhabito's dwellinge w^i^n the hondred of Roupley, for the well s'uinge of the king's highnes w^t^ ther cariage as well in wynter as som^r^ & to be of suche nomber as herafter is specified; and in case they fawte of the same nombre, they ar well contented to byde therfore suche ponyshment as shalbe thought mete for there mysbehauyor don in this behalf.

Richard Swyster, on of the highe constables of Roupley honderte, hath these vilags vnder his rule:

	Somr.	Wynter.
Bexley	iiij.	ij.
North Cray	ij.	j.
Roupley	j.	j.
Sainte mary craye	iiij.	iiij.
Orpinton	ij.	ij.
Chesylhyrste	iiij.	iij.
Polliscraye	n.	n.
Fotyscraye	n.	n.

Will'm Cawsten, another of the highe constables of Roupley, hath these vilags vnder his rule:

Hethes	j.
Farneborowe	j.

Chellysfeld	ij.	ij.
Knokneold	j.	j.
Codihame	ij.	ij.
Downe	j.	j.
Kyston	n.	n.
Weste Whikham	j.	j.
	xxvj.	xxij.

No. I.

CURIOUS FACTS RELATIVE TO THE STATE OF THE METROPOLIS. *Temp.* 2. *Eliz.*

In the time of Queen Bess, William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, relates some very curious facts respecting the state of the metropolis, in his weekly reports to Lord Burghley. The following are proofs:—

"My singuler good Lord, uppon Thursday at even, her Majestie in her Cooche, nere Islyngton, taking of the air, her Highnes was environed with a nosmber of Rooges. One Mr Stone a footeman cam in all hast to my Lord Maior, and after to me, and told us of the same. I dyd the same night send warrants owt into the seyd quarters and in to Westminster and the Duchie: and in the mornyng I went a brood my selff, and I tooke that daye lxxiiij roogs, whereof some were blynd and yet great usurers, and very

riche: and the same daye towards nighte I sent for Mr Harrys and Mr Smithe and the governors of Bridwell, and tooke all the names of the roogs; and sent theym frome the Sessions Hall unto Bridwell where they remayned that night. Upon Twelff daye in the forenoone, the Master of the Rolls, my selff, and others receyved a charge before my Lords of the Counsell as towching roogs and masterles men, and to have a pryvie searche. The same daye at after dyner (for I dyned at the Rolls) I mett the governors of Bridwell, and so that after nowne we examined all the seyd roogs and gave theym substanciall payment. And the strongest we bestowed in the mylne and the lighters. The rest wee desmyssed with a promise of a dooble paye if we mett with theym agayne! Upon Sonnday being crastino of the Twelfth daye, I dyned with Mr Deane of Westminster, where I conferred with hym towching Westminster and the Duchie, and then I tooke order for Southwarke, Lambeth, and Newyngton, from whence I receyved a shool of xl rooggs, men and women, and above. I bestowed them in Bridwell. I dyd the same after nowne peruse Pooles*, where I tooke abowt xxti cloked roogs that there use to kepe standing. I placed theym also in Bridwell. The next mornyng, being Mounday, the Mr of the Rolls and the rest tooke order with the Constables for a privie searche

* St. Paul's.

ageynst Thursdaye at night, and to have the offendors browght to the Sessions Hall upon Fridaye in the morning where wee the Justices shold mete. And agaynst the same tyme my Lo. Maior and I dyd the lyke in London and Sowthworke. The same afternowne the Masters of Bridwell and I mett, and, after every man being examined, eche one receyved his payment according to his deserts; at whiche tyme the strongest were put to worke and the other dismissed into theire Countries. The same daye the Mr of the Savoye was with us and sayd he was sworne to lodge '*claudicantes, egrotantes, et peregrinantes*;' and the next mornyng I sent the Constables of the Duchie to the Hospitall and they browght unto me at Bridewell vj. tall fellowes that were draymen unto bruers and were neither '*claudicantes, egrotantes,* nor *perigrinantes*.' The Constables if they might have had theyre owen wills wold have browght as many moo. The Master dyd wryte a very curtese letter unto us to produce theym: and although he wrott charitably unto us, yet were they all sowndly paydd, and sent home to thare masters. All Tewsday, Weddensdaye, and Thursdaye there cam in nosmbers of roogs; they were rewarded all according to theire deserts. Upon Frydaye mornyng, at the Justice Hall, there were browght in above a C. lewed people taken in the privie searche. The Mrs of

Bridwell receyved theym, and immediately gave theym punishment.—This Satterday, after Causes of Consciens herd by my. Lord Maior and me; I dined, and went to Polls and in other places as well within the libertes as els where, and I founde not one rooge stirryng. Emongest all these thyngs I dyd note, that wee had not of London, Westm. nor Sowthwarke, nor yet Midd. nor Surr. above twelve, and those we have taken order for. The resedew for the most were of Wales, Salop, Cestr. Somerset, Barks, Oxforde, and Essex; and that fewe or none of thaym had ben abowt London above iij. or iiij. mownthes. I dyd note also that we mett not agayne wth any in all our searches that had receyved punishment. The chieff nurserie of all these evill people is the Savoye, and the brick kilnes near Islyngton. As for the brick kylnes, we will take suche order that they shall be reformed. And I trust by yor good Lordship's helpe the Savoye shall be amended; for suerlie, as by experiens I fynd it, the same place, as it is used, is not converted to a good use or purpose. And this shall suffice for Roogs.

"Upon Weddensdaye last a Frenche merchaunt, in a bag sealed, delivered to a cariers wiff of Norwich xl^li^ to be caried to Norwich. She secretlie conveyed the money to a howse a good way off frome the Inne, and within half a quarter of an houre the Frenche merchaunt cam

agayne to see his money packed up. But the woman denyed that ever she received any one penny with such horrible protestacions as I never herd of before. Mr Secretarie Walsingham wrote me his Letters for the ayde of the Frenche man, and after great searche made, the money was founde and restored. She not knowing of the same, I examined her in my studie privatlie, but by no meanes she wold not confesse the same, but dyd bequeth her selff to the Devell, both bodie and sowle, if she had the money or ever sawe it. And this was her craft that she then had not the money, and in dead she sayd the trowth, for it was eyther at her frynds where she left it, or els delyvered. And then I perceyving her fewke, I asked her whether the Frenche merchant dyd not bring her a bagge sealed full of metall that was weightie, were it either platts, coyne, cownters, or suche lyke: then, quoth she, I will aunswer no further. And then I used my Lo. Maiors advise, and bestowed her in Bridwell, where the Masters and I sawe her punished; and, being well whipped, she sayd that the Devell stood at her elbowe in my studie, and willed her to denye it. But so soon as she was upon the Crosse to be punished he gave her over. And thus my singuler good Lo. I end this tragicall part of this wicked woman."

From another letter—

"Mr. Nowell of the Court haith lately been

here in London. He caused his man to geve a blowe unto a carrman. His man haithe stricken the carrman with the pumell of his sword and therwith haith broken his skelle and killed hym. Mr. Nowell and his man are lyke to be indicted; whereof I am sure to be muche trobled, what with letters and his frynds, and what by other meanes as in the verie like case heretofore I have byn even with the same man. Here are sundrie yonge gentilmen that use the Court that most commonly terme theymselffs *gyntylmen*. When any of these have done any thinge amisse and are compleyned of, or arrested for debt, they then runne unto me, and no other excuse or aunswere can they make but saye '*I am a Jyntylman, and being a Jyntylman I am not thus to be used at a slave and a colions handes.*' I know not what other parlee Mr. Nowell can pled; but this I say, the fact is fowle. God send hym good deliverans. I thinke in my conscience that he makethe no reckenyng of the matter."

["The subject of cutpurses, rogues, and masterless men, with the language they assumed in imitation of the Gipsies, was one of no slight interest in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

"The writer of the Descriptiou of England prefixed to the second edition of Holinshed's Chronicle, describes no fewer than twenty-three sorts, in men and women, of this ungracious

rabble. He says, 'The several disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds,' are '1. Rufflers; 2. Uprightmen; 3. Hookers, or Anglers; 4. Roges; 5. Wild Roges; 6. Priggers, or Pransers; 7. Palliards; 8. Fraters; 9. Abrams; 10. Freshwater mariners, or Whipjacks; 11. Dummerers; 12. Drunken tinkers; 13. Swadders, or Pedlars; 14. Jarkemen, or Patricoes. Of women kind; 1. Demanders for glimmer or fire; 2. Baudie Baskets; 3. Mortes; 4. Autem Mortes; 5. Walking Mortes; 6. Doxes; 7. Delles; 8. Kinching Mortes; 9. Kinching Cooes.'

"These several personages, together with the nice differences of their respective callings, are explained in a tract entitled 'The Groundworke of Conny-Catching,' a thin quarto, printed at London without date, but apparently written about the year 1566. The reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First, indeed, abound in publications of a similar description; coarse in their language and scenes, but singularly illustrative of popular manners."]

Another letter, similar to the preceding, throws farther light on such matters:

"Right honorable and my verie good Lord, uppon Thursdaye laste beinge the crastinn of Trinitie Terme, we kepte a Sessions of Inquyrie in London in the forenone, and in the afternone we kepte the lyke att Fynsburie for Middlesex,

in which two severall Sessionses all such as were to be arrayegned for felonye at the Gaole deliverye were indyted. Uppon Frydaie last we sate at the Justice hall att Newgate from vij in the morninge until vij att night, where were condempned certen horstealers, cutpurses, and such lyke, to the nusmber of x., whereof ix. were executed, and the tenthe stayed by a meanes from the Courte. These were executed uppon Saterdaye in the morninge. There was a Showmaker also condempned for willfull murder commytted in the Blacke ffryers, who was executed uppon Mondaie in the morninge. The same daye my Lord Maior beinge absent abowte the goods of the Spannyards, and also all my Lords the Justices of the Benches beinge also awaye, we fewe that were there did spend the same daie abowte the searchinge out of sundrye that were receptors of ffelons, where we fownd a greate manye as well in London, Westminster, Sowthwarke, as in all other places abowte the same. Amongest our travells this one matter tumbled owt by the waye, that one Wotton a gentilman borne, and sometyme a marchauntt man of good credyte, who faillinge by tyme into decaye, kepte an Alehowse att Smarts keye neere Byllingesgate, and after, for some mysdemeanor beinge put downe, he reared upp a newe trade of lyffe, and in the same Howse he procured all the Cuttpurses abowt this Cittie to repaire to his said

howse. There was a schole howse sett upp to learne younge boyes to cutt purses. There were hung up two devises, the one was a pockett, the other was a purse. The pockett had in yt certen cownters and was hunge abowte with hawkes bells, and over the toppe did hannge a litle sacring bell; and he that could take owt a cownter without any noyse, was allowed to be *a publique ffoyster:* and he that could take a peece of sylver owt of the purse without the noyse of any of the bells, he was adjudged *a judiciall Nypper.* Nota that a ffoister is a Pick-pockett, and a Nypper is termed a Picke-purse, or a Cutpurse. And as concerninge this matter, I will sett downe noe more in this place, but referr your Lordship to the paper herein enclosed.

"Saterdaye and Sondaie beinge past, uppon Mondaie my Lord Maior, my Lord Buckhurste, the Mr. of the Rooles, my Lord Anderson, Mr. Sackford Master of the Requests, Sir Rowland Hayward, my selffe, Mr. Owen, and Mr. Younge, with the assystaunce of Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor, did arraigne one Awfeild, Webley, and Crabbe, for sparcinge abrood certen lewed, sedicious, and traytorous bookes; Awfeild did most trayterously maynteyne the booke, with longe tedious and frivolous wordes and speeches. Webley did affirme as much as Awfeild had uttered. They are both executed

thorough Gods goodnes and yor Lordshipps good helpe, as Mr. Younge told me. There came a letter to reprive Awfeild, yt was not well digested of as many as knewe of yt, but after all was well taken. When he was executed, his bodye was brought into St. Pulchers to be buried, but the parishioners would not suffer a Traytor's corpes to be layed in the earthe where theire parents, wyeffs, chyldren, kynred, maisters, and old neighbors did rest: and so his carcase was retourned to the buryall grounde neere Tyborne, and there I leave yt. Crabbe surelye did renownce the Pope, and my Lords and the rest of the Benche moved Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor to be a meane to her Maiestie for him, and for that cause he was stayed. Trewelye my Lord it is nothinge needfull to wrytte for the staye of any to be repryved, for there is not any in our Commyssion of London or Middlesex but we are desirous to save or staye any poore wretche, yf by color of any lawe or reason we maye doe ytt. My singler good Lord my Lord William of Wynchester was wonte to saye, 'when the Courte is furthest from London, then is there the best justice done in all England.' I once hard as great a parsonage in office and authoritye as ever He was, and yett lyvinge, saye the same wordes. Yt is growen for a trade nowe in the Courte to make meanes for repryves, 'twentie

pownd for a reprive is nothinge, although it be but for bare tenn daies. I see it will not be holpen onles one honored gentilman, who many tymes is abused by wronge informacion (and suerlie uppon my sowle, not uppon any evill meaninge) do staye his penn. I have not one Letter for the staye of a theiffe from your Lordshippe. Fearinge that I trouble your Lordship with my tedious Lettres, I end, this vij^th^ of Julie, 1585.

"Your good Lordships moste humbly bownden

"W. FLETEWOODE."

A list of the "Harboringe Howses" is elsewhere given; and upon one of them there is a singular note for the Lord Treasurer's edification, in the cant or slang language of the day:

"Memorand. That in Wotton's howse at Smarts Keye are wrytten in a table divers Poysies, and among the rest one is this

"*Si spie sporte, si non spie, tunc steale.*

Another is thus

"*Si spie, si non spie, ffoyste, nyppe, lyfte, shave and spare not.*

"Note that *ffoyste* is to cutt a pockett, *nyppe* is to cutt a purse, *lyft* is to robbe a shoppe or a gentilmans chamber, *shave* is to ffylche a clooke, a sword, a sylver sponne, or such like, that is negligentlie looked unto. Nota, that *mylken*

ken is to commytt a roborie or burgularie in the night in a dwelling house, &c."

We shall make but one addition :

["The Apprentices of London in early times were considered a formidable body. Our chronicles represent them as being either the authors or abettors of almost all the slighter Insurrections of the Metropolis.

"For an account of Evil May Day mentioned in this letter, an Insurrection of the Apprentices of a more serious description, the reader is referred to the old editions of Hall's Chronicle, fol. 61. 9th Henry VIII. Grafton, fol. 1021. and Stow's Annals, under the year 1517.]

"Right Honorable and my singuler good Lord, this present daye from two of the clocke until syx, my Lo. Maior, with some of his bretherne th' Aldermen and myselffe, dyd examyne certene Apprentices for conspiringe an insurrection in this Cittie agaynst the Frenche and Dutche, but speciallie against the Frenche; a thinge as lyke unto yll Maye daie as could be devysed in all manner of circumstances, *mutatis mutandis*,; ther wanted nothinge but execucion: We have taken fyve, all of an age, yet all under xxj^tie^ fower of them Darbisher borne; the fyrste borne in Norhamshier. We are searchinge and seekinge for the principall Captayne; we hope we shall heare of him this night, for he hath ben workinge all this daie in the Whyt hall at

Westminster, and at his cominge home we trust to have him. We have this night sett a standinge watche armed, from nyne until seven in the morninge, and doe meane to contynewe the same soe longe as yt shalbe thought convenient unto your honor and the resydewe of my Lords.

"Mr. Alderman Woodcocke, who maryed the wydowe of Mr. Lanyson, shalbe buried uppon Moundaie next. Sr Rowland Hayward is extreame sicke and greatlie distressed (our Lord comfort him.) My Ladie his wieffe is likewise verie sicke.

"This night Mr. Attorney Generall sent his man unto me to sett my hand and seale unto a warrant to summon a Quest of enquirie to appeare to morowe att Westminster Hall. The Citizens, when they shall heare of yt, will lyke thereof verie well, for they all crye owt that justice maye be done uppon these Treators. The foresaid Apprentices, being of the Mysterie of Plastorers, are commytted unto Newgate uppon the Quenes Highnes and her Councells commaundement, where they are lyke to remayne untill they be delivered by speciall warrant.

"Here is presentlie noe other thinge worthie of writinge. Wherefore I beseech God to preserve first her Matie, and then yr Lordship, from all these Treators and such other wicked people. From the Guylde hall this present Twesdaie the

sixt of September at seaven of the clocke in the eveninge 1586.—

Yo^r Lo: most humble bownden,

W. FLETEWOODE.

"Att the sendinge away of my man this Weddensday mornynge all the bells of London do ring for ioye, that, upon the 7 of this monethe, beinge as this daie, A° 25 H. 8. her Grace was borne. There wilbe this daie but specially great ffeastinge at supper. I have ben bidden owt this night to supper in vj. or vij. places.

"To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lo. the Lo. Treasorer of England, at the Courte."

These, good readers, were the golden days of good Queen Bess,—the times to which our unhappy epocha is referred for precedents!!!

No. II.

A Whimsical Example of Clerical Obedience, instanced in a Letter from John Foster, a Priest, to Lord Cromwell, which "was evidently written immediately after the Parliament of 1539 *had passed the Act of 'The Six Articles,' more usually called 'The Bloody Act.'"*

[A notion had gone forth that priests might marry, and numbers of the clergy had seized the opportunity of choosing for themselves a help-

mate, without dreaming that they should subsequently incur a penalty of the severest kind. Even Cranmer had taken to wife the niece of Osiander, an eminent divine of Nuremberg.

Cranmer, with all quietness, sent his wife back at once to Germany. But John Foster, who moved in a lower rank of the priesthood, the writer of the present letter, not only dismissed his wife to her friends at the distance of three-score miles, but hastened to the vicar-general, confessed how ill he had understood the word of God, complimented his majesty's more erudite judgment, and sued for the royal pardon.]

"In my most humblyst wyse, I beyng not so bold as to appere before youre Lordshyp untyll your plesure ys knowyn, feere sett appartt, nede compellythe me to wrytt. Thys last Lentt I dyd no lesse then wrytt, and also to your presence I dyd approche, suyng for your lordschyppys gracious servyce; but now my sute ys muche other, for my dysfortune hathe byn to have conceyvyd untruly Goddys worde, and not only with yntellectyon to have thought yt, but exteryally and really I have fulfyllyd the same; for I, as then beyng a preste, have accompleschyd maryage; nothyng pretendyng but as an obedyentt subyect. For yf the Kyngys Grace could have founde yt lawfull that prestys mught have byn maryd, they wold have byn to the Crowne

dubbyll and dubbyll faythefull, furst in love, secondly for fere that the Bysshope of Rome schuld sette yn hys powre unto ther desolacyon. But now by the noyse of the peopull I perseyve I have dunne amysce, which saythe that the Kyngys erudyte yudgementt with all hys cowncell temperall and spyrytuall hathe stableschyd a contrary order, that all prestys schalbe separat by a day; with which order I have contentyd my selfe; and as sone as I herd it to be tru, I sentt the woman to her frendys iij. score myles from me, and spedely and with all celeryte I have resorted hether to desyre the Kyngs Hyghtnes of hys favor and absolucyon for my amysce doyng; prayng and besechyng your Lordschypps gracyous cumfortt for the optaynyng of hys gracyous pardon: and I schalbe your bounden servauntt yn hartt and also yn contynnuall servyse yf yt schall please your gracious lordschypp to accept yt duryng my lyfe: wrythyn the xviij. day of June.

"Your bounden for ever,

"JOHN FOSTER."

The annexed passage, in a letter from Sir Thomas Elyot, pleading for rewards for his long and laborious services, displays the *bonhommie* in a droll manner:—

"In this unthankfull travayle, I no thing gate but the Colike and the Stone, debilitating of Na-

ture, and allmoste contynuell destillations or rewmes, ministres to abbreviate my lif; *which though it be of no grete importance, yet some wayes it mought be necessary**."

Nicholas Wotton and Richard Berde were the persons deputed to negociate Henry the Eighth's marriage with Anne of Cleves; and a letter of the former (though much injured by the fire which destroyed so many of our records at Westminster) conveys some striking information on the (then) manners of Germany. He says,

"As for th'education of my sayde Ladye, she hathe from her childehode (lyke as the Ladye Sybille was, tyll she wer maryed, and the Ladye Amelye hathe ben and is) ben brought up withe the Ladye Duchesse her mother, and yn manner never from her ellebow, the Ladye Duchesse being a wyse Ladye, and one that verye streytelye lookithe to her children. All the gentylmenne of the cowrte, and other that I have askyd of, rapporte her to be of verye lowlye and gentyll condicions, by the whiche she hathe so muche wonne her mothers favor, that she is very lothe to suffer her to depart from her. She occupiethe her tyme moste with the nedyll, wherwithall she

* This reminds us of the Great Unknown's quaint trait of character, when the Scotch peasant is regretting his lord's death in consequence of the rebellion. "They tuik aff his head at London. They say it was na' a very guid ane; but it was a sair loss to him, puir fallow!"

..... She canne reede and wryte her ..... but Frenche, Latyn, or other langaige she ..... one nor yet canne not synge nor pleye upon onye instrument; for they take it heere yn Germanye for a rebuke and an occasion of lightenesse that great Ladyes shuld be lernyd or have enye knowledge of musike. Her witte is so goode, that no doubte she wille yn a shorte space lerne th'Englisshe tongue, when so ever she puttithe her mynde to hit. I cowde never heere that she is ynclyned to the good cheere of this Cowntrey, and merveyle it were yf she shulde, seinge that her brother, yn whome yet hit were sumwhat more tolerable, dothe so well absteyne from hit. Your Graces servante Hanze Albein * hath taken th'effigies of my Ladye Anne and the Ladye Amelye, and hathe expressyd theyr imaiges verye lyvelye.

* * * * * * * * * *

"Written at Duren the xjth. daye of August A°. Dni. 1539."

In a letter from the Princess Elizabeth to her brother, King Edward, we have a good example of the highest style of that era. She is sending her portrait, and says it is

..... "A thinge not worthy the desiringe for it selfe, but made worthy for your Hightnes request. My pictur I mene, in wiche if the in-

* Hans Holbein.

ward good mynde towarde your grace migth as wel be declared as the outwarde face and countenaunce shal be seen, I wold nor haue taried the commandement but preuent* it, nor haue bine the last to graunt but the first to offer it. For the face, I graunt, I might wel blusche to offer, but the mynde I shal neuer be ashamed to present. For thogth from the grace of the pictur the coulers may fade by time, may giue by wether, may be spotted by chance; yet the other nor time with her swift winges shall ouertake, nor the mistie cloudes with ther loweringes may darken, nor chance with her slipery fote may ouerthrow. Of this althogth yet the profe colde not be greate bicause the occasions hathe bine but smal, notwithstandinge as a dog hathe a daye, so may I perchaunce have time to declare it in dides wher now I do write them but in wordes. And further I shal most humbly beseche your Maiestie that whan you shal loke on my pictur, you will witsafe† to think that as you haue but the outward shadow of the body afore you, so my inward minde wischeth that the body it selfe wer oftner in your presence; howbeit bicause bothe my so beinge I thinke coulde do your Maiestie litel pleasur, thogth my selfe great good; and againe bicause I se as yet not the time agreing therunto, I shal lerne to folow this

* Prevented † vouchsafe.

sainge of Orace*, 'Feras non culpes quod vitari non potest.' "

The report of the commissioners sent in the royal name (of Edward VI.) to enforce the Protestant faith on the Princess Mary, shows her to have been very firm and spirited. Near the conclusion they relate—

..... "The Lady Mary's Grace sent to us to speak with her one word at a window. When we were come into the Court, notwithstanding that we offered to come up to her chamber, she would needs speak out of the window, and prayed us to speak to the Lords of the Council that her comptroller might shortly return. For, said she, since his departing, I take the accounts myself of my expences, and learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat: and I wish my father and my mother never brought me up with baking and brewing. And, to be plain with you, I am weary of mine office, and therefore if my Lords will send mine officer home, they shall do me pleasure; otherwise if they will send him to prison, I beshrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good will, and I pray God to send you to do well in your souls and bodies too, for some of you have but weak bodies."

* Horace.

The following is a fine description of ancient manners:—

"*Thomas Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, from Edinburgh, July 31st, 1565; giving an Account of the Marriage of the Queen of Scots to Lord Darnley.*

* * * * * * * * *

"I dowte not but your H. hathe hearde by such information as I have geven from hence, what the present state of this Countrie is; how thys Quene is nowe become a mariid wyfe, and her howsbande, the self same daye of his marriage, made a Kinge.

* * * * * * * * *

"Theie wer maried with all the solemnities of the popyshe tyme, savinge that he hard not the masse; his speach and tawlke arguethe his mynde, and yet wulde he fayne seem to the worlde that he were of some Religion. His words to all men agaynste whom he conceavethe anye displeasure, howe unjuste soever yt be, so prowde and spytefull, that rather he seemethe a monarche of the worlde, then he that not long since we have seen and knowne the Lord Darlye. He lookethe nowe for reverence of maynie that have lytle will to gyve it hym, and some ther are that do gyve yt that thynke hym lyttle worthye of yt. All honor that maye be attributed unto anye man by a wyf, he hathe yt whollye and

fullye; all prayse that maye be spoken of hym he lackethe not from her self; all dignities that she cane indue hym with, are all reddie given and graunted. No man pleasethe her that contentethe not hym. And what may I saye more, she hath geven over vnto hym her whole wyll, to be ruled and guyded as hymself best lykethe. She cane as myche prevaile with hym in any thynge that is agaynste hys wyll, as your Lordship maye with me, to perswade that I sholde hange myself. Thys laste dignitie, owte of hande to have byne proclamed Kinge, she wolde have had yt dyfferred untyll yt were agreed by Parlement, or had byne hym self of xxj. yeres of age, that thyngs done in hys name myght have the better autoritie. He wolde in no case have yt dyfferred one day; and ether then or never. Whearupon thys dowte is rysen amongeste our men of lawe, whether she beinge clade with a howsbonde, and her howsbonde not xxj. yeres, anye thynge withowte Parlement cane be of strengethe that is done betwene them. Upon Saterdaye at after none these matters were longe in debatinge, and before theie were well resolved upon, at ix. howers at night, by iij. heraulides at sonde of the trompet, he was proclamed Kinge; thys was the night before the mariage. This daye, Mondaye, at xij. of the clocke, the Lords, all that were in thys towne, ware present at the proclaminge of hym agayne; when no man saide

so myche as Amen, savinge hys father, that cried owte alowde, 'God saue his Grace.'

"The maner of the Mariage was in this sorte. Upon Sondaye in the morninge betwene v. and vj. she was convoide by divers of her nobles to the Chappell. She had upon her backe the greate murning gown of blacke, with the greate wyde murning hoode, not unlyke unto that which she woore the deulfull daye of the buriall of her howsbande. She was leade unto the Chappell by the Earles Lenox and Athall, and ther was she lefte untyll her howsbonde came, who also was convoide by the same Lords. The ministors, prests, ij. deep, ther receave them. The banes are asked the thyrde tyme, and an Instrument taken by a Notarie that no man saide agaynste them, or alleged anye cawse whye the mariage myght not proced. The words were spoken. The rings which were iij. the middle a riche diamonde, were put upon her fynger. Theie kneele togyther, and maynie prayers said over them. She tarriethe owte the masse; and he takethe a kysse and leavethe her ther, and wente to her chamber: whether within a space she followethe, and ther beinge requered accordinge to the solemnitie to put off her care, and leave asyde those sorrowfull garments, and geve herself to ane pleasanter lyf, after some prettie refusall, more I beleve for maner sake than greef of harte, she suffrethe them that

stoode by, everie man that coulde approve*, to tayke owte a pyne, and so beinge commytted unto her Ladies, changed her garments; but went not to bedde; to signifie unto the worlde that yt was no luste moved them to marrie, but onlye the necessitie of her Countrie, not, yf God wylle, longe to leave yt destitute of an heire. Suspicious men, or suche as are geven of all thyngs to mayke the worst, wolde that yt sholde be beleved that they knewe eache other before that theie came ther. I wolde not your Lordship sholde so beleve, the lykelyhoods are so great to the contrarie that yf yt were possible to se suche an Acte done, I wolde not beleve yt. After the marriage followethe commenlye cheare and dancinge. To their dynner theie were convaide by the whole nobilitie. The trompetts sonde, a larges cried, and monie throwne abowte the howse in great abundance to suche as were happie to gette anye parte. Theie dyne bothe at ane table upon the upper hande. Ther serve her these Earles, Athall shower†, Morton carvar, Crayforde‡ cupbearer. These serve hym in lyke offices, Earles Eglen§, Cassels, and Glencarn. After dynner theie dance awhyle and retir them selves tyll the hower of supper, and as theie dyned so do they suppe: some dauncinge ther was and so theie goe to bedde."

* "Approvers" was the term for friends and followers.

† Sewer. ‡ Crawford. § Elgin.

Among other letters we observe one from Bishop Grindal, who was one of our earliest horticulturists. His grapes, at Fulham, are stated by Strype to have been esteemed of that value, and a fruit the queen stood so well affected to, and so early ripe, that the bishop used every year to send her majesty a present of them. In a postscript to this letter of 9th Sept. 1569, the Bishop himself mentions them, and says, "My Grapes this yeare are not yet rype; abowt the ende off the nexte weeke I hoope to sende some to the Queen's Matie"—*i. e.* about the middle of September.

A few letters now present themselves, illustrative of the feelings of some of Queen Elizabeth's subjects when they heard that her majesty had vouchsafed to honour them with a visit during her Progresses: from which it will be readily gathered how inconvenient to many these progresses must have been. The chronological order which has hitherto been strictly observed in these volumes, is a little trespassed upon here, that the various letters on the same subject may be brought together.

Lord-Keeper Bacon, it will be seen, rejoiced much at the report that her majesty intended him so great an honour; but owned himself quite a novice in receiving royalty.

The Earl of Bedford thought two nights and a day quite sufficient for the visitation at Wo-

burn; and hinted to Lord Burghley that he had made preparation for no longer time.

Archbishop Parker was one of the few who seemed thoroughly pleased at one of these intended visits. A thought struck him to make it subservient to the promotion of the Protestant religion. His letter will be read with peculiar interest.

Lord Leicester, writing to the Earl of Sussex, in 1577, says, "We all do what we can to persuade [her Majesty] from any Progress at all."

It is quite evident that the queen was fickle; and frequently gave but short notice of what part of the country she chose to visit.

Lord Buckhurst, who expected to receive her majesty at Lewes, in 1577, was so forestalled, in respect of provisions, by other noblemen in Sussex and the adjoining counties, that he was obliged to send for a supply from Flanders.

When Mr. Hickes, Lord Burghley's secretary, was married, the queen hinted that she would honour *him*. Hickes wrote to a friend at court to ask the Lord Chamberlain what preparation he should make, evidently fearing the expense. The Lord Chamberlain's advice was, to go out of the house and leave it to the queen. He simply wished that Mrs. Hickes should present her majesty with some trifling present .....

It is not generally known, that much as these

visits sometimes put the queen's subjects to expense, the cost of them to the public treasury was also a matter of deep concern. Lord Burghley's calculation upon this subject, fairly amounting to a remonstrance, are still extant.

Among the Lansdowne MSS. in the Museum, No. 16, art. 52, is "An Estimate of increase of the Chardgies in the time of Progresse which should not be if her Majestie remeynid at her Standing Howses within xx. myles of London; collected out of the CREDITORS of the last Progresse Anno xv^to^. Reginæ Elizabeth." A.D. 1573. It is altered and corrected in Lord Burghley's hand. The increase of charges caused by the Progress appears to have amounted in the whole to 1034l. 0s. 6d.

Lord Burghley, it is probable, would have been personally glad if the Progresses could have been altogether dispensed with. The queen's visits to him were extremely frequent. His lordship's treatment of the queen's suite when she went to Theobald's, seems not to have been generally acceptable to the visitors. In more than one letter we find the writers vexed when they learned they were to go there.

No. III.—*Temp.* 2. *Eliz.*

Interesting account given by the Earl of Bedford and Mr. Thomas Randolph, to the Privy Council of England of the atrocious murder of David Rizzio. We have only to premise that they seem to have received their own intelligence from Ruthen *(Ruthven) one of the most desperate of the assassins—*

"This we fynde (say the English residents) for certayne that the Quenes howsbande beinge entred into a vehement suspicion of David that by hym some thynge was commytted which was moste agaynste the Quenes honor and not to be borne of his parte, fyrste communicated his mynde to George Duglas, whoe fyndinge his sorrows so greate, soughte all the meanes he coulde to put some remedie to his greef, and communicatinge the same unto My Lord Ruthen, by the Kings commandement, no other waye coulde be founde then that David sholde be taken owte of the waye, whear in he was so erneste and dayle pressed the same that no reste couldè be had untyll yt was put in execution. To this it was found good that the Lord Morton and Lord Lindesaye sholde be made previe to th' intente that theie myght have their friends at hand yf nede requered, which cawsed them to assemble so maynye as theie thoughte sufficient agaynste the tyme that this determination of

theirs shold be put in execution; which was determined the ix^th^ of this instante, iij. dayes before the Parliamente sholde begyne; at what tyme the saide Lordes were assured that the Earles Argile, Morraye, Rothes, and their complices, sholde have byne forfited yf the Kinge could not be perswaded throughe this meanes to be their frend, whoe for the desyer he had that his intente shulde tayke effecte th' one waye was contente to yelde withowte all dyfficultie to th' other, with this condition that theie wolde gyve their consents that he myght have the Crowne matremoniall. He was so impatient to see those thyngs he sawe and were dayly broughte to his eares, that he dayly pressed the saide Lord Ruthen that ther myghte be no longer delaye; and to the intente yt myghte be manifeste unto the world that he approved the dete*, was contente to be at the doing of yt hym self.

"Upon the Saturdaye at nyghte, nere unto viij. of the clocke, the King convoythe hym self, the Lord Ruthen, George Duglas, and two other, thorowe his owne Chamber by the previe stayers, up to the Quenes Chamber yoinge † to which ther is a Cabinet abowte xij. footes square, in the same a lyttle lowe reposinge bedd, and a table, at the which ther were syttinge at the supper the Quene, the Ladie Argile, and David with his cappe upon his heade. Into the Cabinet ther

* Deed. † going.

commethe in the King, and Lord Ruthen, who willed David to come forthe, sayinge that ther was no place for hym. The Quene saide that yt was her wyll; her howsbonde answerde that yt was agaynste her honor. The Lord Ruthen saide that he sholde lerne better his deutie, and offeringe to have taken him by the arme, David tooke the Quene by the blyghtes* of her gowne, and put hym self behynde the Quene, who wolde gladlye have savid hym; but the King havinge loosed his hands, and holdinge her in his armes, David was thruste owte of the Cabinet thorowe the bede chamber into the Chamber of Presens, whear were the Lord Morton, Lord Lindesaye, whoe intendinge that night to have reserved hym and the nexte daye to hange hym, so maynie beinge abowte them that bore hym evle will, one thruste hym into the boodie with a dagger, and after hyma greate maynie other, so that he had in his boddie above LV. wonds. Yt is tolde for certayne that the Kings owne dagger was lefte stickinge in hym. Wheather he stroke hym or not we cane not knowe for certayne. He was not slayne in the Quenes presens as was saide, but goinge downe the stayers owte of the Chamber of Presence.

"Ther remayned a longe tyme with the Quene, her howsbonde and the Lord Ruthen. She made, as we here, greate intercession that he

* Pleats.

sholde have no harme. She blamed greatlye her howsbonde that was the autor of so fowle an Acte. Yt is saide he dyd answer that David had more compagnie of her boddie then he for the space of two monethes, and therfore for her honor and his owne contentement he gave his consent that he sholde be taken awaye. Yt is not, saythe she, the Woman's parte to seeke the howsbonde, and therefore in that the fawlt was his owne. He said that when he came, she ether wolde not or made her self sycke. Well, saythe she, you have taken your laste of me, and your farewell. That were pyttie saythe the Lord Ruthen, he is your Majesties howsbond, and you must yelde deutie to eache other. Whye maye not I, saythe she, leave hym as well as your wyf dyd her howsbonde. Other have done the lyke. The Lord Ruthen saide that she was lawfullye devorced from her howsbonde, and for no suche cawse as the Kinge found hym self greved. Besyds this man was meane, basse, ennemie to the nobilitye, shame to her, and dystruction to her Grace's countrye. Well saythe she, yt shalbe deare blude to some of you yf hys be spylte. God forbed, saythe Lord Ruthen, for the more your Grace showe yourself offended, the worlde wyll judge the worce. Her howsbonde this tyme speakethe lyttle. Her Grace contynuallye weepethe. The Lord Ruthen being evle at ease, and weake, callethe for a drinke, and saythe

this I muste do with your Majesties pardon, and perswadethe her in the beste sorte he coulde that she wolde pacifie her self. Nothynge that coulde be saide coulde please her.

"In this mean tyme then rose a comber* in the Coarte, to peacifie which ther went downe the Lord Ruthen, who went strayte to the Earles Huntlye, Bothewell, and Athall, to quiet them, and to assure them from the King that nothynge was intended agaynste them. Theie, notwithstondinge, taking feare when theie hearde that my Lord of Murraye wolde be ther the next daye, and Argile, to meete them; Huntlye and Bothewell gette owte of a wyndow and so departe. Athall had leave of the Kyng, with Flyske and Landores (whoe was latlye called Lyslaye, the person of Ovne) to go whear theie wolde; and beinge convoide owte of the Court by the Lord of Liddingeton, theie went that nighte to suche places wheare theie thoughte them selves in moste saulftie.

"Before the Kinge leafte tawlke with the Quene, in the heringe of the Lord Ruthen, she was content that he sholde lye with her that nyghte. We knowe not howe he forslowe† hym self, but came not at her, and excused hym self to his frends that he was so sleapie that he coulde not wake in due tyme.

"Ther were in this compagnie two that came

* A rout. † lost himself through sloth.

in with the Kynge; th' one Androwe Car of Fawsensyde, whome the Quene saythe wolde have stroken her with a dagger, and one Patricke Balentine brother to the Justice Clerke, who also her Grace saythe offered a dagge* agaynste her bellye with the cocke downe. We have byne ernestlye in hande with the Lord Ruthen to knowe the veritie; but he assurethe us of the contrarie. Ther were in the Quenes Chamber the Lord Robert, Arthur Ersken, one or ij. other; thei at the fyrste offeringe to mayke some defence. The Lord Ruthen drewe his dagger, and fewe mo wepons then that were not drawne nor seen in her Grace's presens as we are by the saide Lord assured.

"The nexte daye abowte vij. of the clocke after none ther arrived the Earle of Murraye and th' other with hym that were in Englande. He spake immediatlye with the Kinge, and strayte after with the Quene. She saide that he was welcome, and layde the fawlte upon other that he was owte of the Countrie, requered of hym to be a good subjecte, and she wold be to hym as he oughte. The nexte daye he spake with her agayne, as also my Lord of Morton and Lord Ruthen who exhorted her humblye to caste of† her care, to stodie for that whiche myghte be her saftie, weele, and honor, promesinge for their parts obbediens and service as becommed trowe

* Pistol. † off.

and faythefull subjects. She accepted their sayings in good worthe; wylled them to devise what myght be for their securitie, and she wolde subscribe yt. She sendethe for the Lord of Liddingeton, and in gentle words devisethe with hym that he wolde perswade that she myght have her libertie, and the garde that was abowte her removed, seinge that she had graunted their requests. He founde yt verie good and not maynie of the Lords as we here that myslyked yt. All men beinge gone to their lodgings, and no suspicion taken of anye that ether she wolde departe or not performe the promes to the Lords, abowte xij. of the clocke at nyghte she convoide her self a privie waye owte of the Howse. She, her howsbonde, and one gentlewoman came to the place whear Arthur Ersken and the Captaine of her Garde keapte the horses, and so roode her way behinde Arthur Ersken untyll she came to Seton, ther she tooke a horse to her self, and roode to Dombarrton to the Castle, wheather resorted unto her the Lords Huntlye and Bothewell, and so divers of the whole Countrie.

"The Lords beinge thus dysappoynted sent the nexte daye the Lord Simple to her Grace with requeste from their Lordships unto her Majestie to fulfyll her promes to signe that Byll for their securitie. He was dyffered ij. or iij. days untyll suche tyme as divers of the Lords of the which the Earl of Glencarne was the fyrste,

.the Earle of Rothese nexte, and some other, by secret meanes had gotten their remission and were fullye restored, whoe breakinge from the reste as their force dimenesshede so dyd her Grace increase, and whear before theie were hable to have at the leaste defended them selves, theie were fayne to seeke their owne saulftie."

We have no where read a better account of this infamous transaction: poor Mary! her life was a tragical romance; no wonder that future generations should feel so deep an interest in her misfortunes. Respecting Rizzio, it is afterwards stated:

"Of the great substance he had ther is myche spoken. Some saye in golde to the value of ij. M^{li}. st. His apparell was verie good; as yt is sayde xviij. payre of velvet hose. His chamber well furnysshed, armour, daggs, pystoletts, harquebusis, xxij swerds. Of all this nothinge spoyled nor lackinge, savinge ij. or iij. daggs. He had the custodie of all the Quenes Lettres, which all were delivered unlooked upon. We heare of a juell that he had hanginge abowte hys necke of some price that cane not be hearde of. He had upon his backe, whan he was slayne, a nyghte gowne of damaske furred with a satteryne dublet, and hose of russet velvet."

And of his hapless mistress we hear from her own letter to Elizabeth, after her cruel reception in England by that cold-blooded Queen. It re-

monstrates against her intended removal from Carlisle:

"Madame,—Although the necessitee of my cause (which makith me to be importune to you) do make you to judge that I am out of the way, yet such as have not my passion, nor the respects wherof you ar perswaded will think that I do as my cause doth requyre. Madame I have not accused you, neither in wordes nor in thought, to have usid your self evell towardes me; and I beleeve that you have no want of good understanding to keepe you from perswasion against your naturall good inclynation. But in the meane tyme I cannot chose (having my senses) but perceive very evell furderance in my matters, sence my comming hither. I thought that I had sufficiently discourcid unto yow the discommodities which this delay bringeth unto me. And spetially, that they* think in this next moneth of August, to hold a Parlement against me and all my servants. And in the meane tyme I am stayde heere, and yet will you that I shuld put my self further into your Contrey (without seeing you) and remoove me further from myne: and there to do me this dishonnor at the requestes of my Rebelles, as to send Commissioners to heere theim against me, as you wold do to a meane subject; and not heere me by mouth. Now Madame, I have promised you to come to you:

* Her rebellious subjects.

and having there made my mone and complaint of those Rebelles, and they comming thither not as possessors but as subjectes to answer, I wold have besought you to heere my justification of that which they have faulsly set furth against me: and if I could not purge myself therof, you might then discharge your handes of my causes, and let me go for such as I am. But to do as you say, if I wer coulpable, I wold be better advised. But being not so, I cannot accept this dishonnor at their handes, that being in possession they will comme and accuse me before your Commissioners, wherof I cannot lyke. And seeing you think it to be against your honor and cousynage to do otherwise, I beseech you that you will not be myne enemye untill you may see how I can discharge my self every waye. And to suffre me to go into France where I have a dowery to mainteyn me; or at the least to go into Scotland, with assurance that if there come any strangers thither, I will bynd my self for their retourne without any prejudice to you. Or if it please you not to do thus, I protest that I will not impute it to falshode if I receyve strangers in my contrey, wythout makyng you any other discharge for it. Do with my body at your will, the honnor or blame shalbe yours. For I had rather dy heere, and that my faithfull servants may be succourid (though you wold not so) by strangers, then to suffer theim to be utterly

undon upon h . .* to receyve in tyme to come particuler commodite. There be many things that moove me to feare that I shall have to doo in this contrey with other then with yow. But forasmuch as nothing hath followed upon my last mone, I hold my peace. Happen what may happe, I have as leef to abyde my fortune, as to seeke it and not fynde it. Further, it pleased you to gyve lycence to my subjects to go and come. This hath ben refusid me by my Lord Scroope and Mr Knolles (as they say) by your commandement, because I wold not depart hence to your charge untill I had answer of this Lettre; though I shewed them that yow requyred my answer upon the two pointz conteyned in your Lettre. Th' one is (to let you breefly understand them) I am come to you to make my mone to you; the which being heard, I would declare unto you myne innocency, and then requyre your ayde. And for lack therof I cannot but make my mone and complaint to God, that I am not heard in my just quarrell; and to appele to other Princes to have respect therunto, as my case requyreth; and to you Madame first of all, when you shall have examynid your conscience before and have him for witnes: and th' other, which is to come further into your Contrey, and not to come to your presence: I will esteeme that as no favor, but will take it for the contrary: obeying it as a thing forced."

* Hit.

This is piteous work: and where could we find a more just yet melting exposure of the crafty policy pursued by Elizabeth and her ministers towards the unhappy captive who had fled into their thrall, and whom they finally murdered?

No. IV.—*Temp. 2. Eliz.*

The Visit of the first Turkish Ambassador to England presents a picture worth preserving, and we find it painted in a Letter from .... to Sir Edward Hoby.*

"Honourable Knight,—Hoping to finde pardon for my long silence, I will at this present em-

* "The panic which had seized on Europe at the close approach of the Ottoman power in the fifteenth century, fixed a jealousy which was not very quickly removed. Above a century elapsed before any of the Powers in this part of Europe could be persuaded to send a minister to the Turk; and near a century and a half, before his accredited Agents were received at their Courts.

"The Turkey Company was established in this country in 1579, after Amurath the Third, upon a treaty between William Harborne and Mustapha Beg a Turkish bassa, had granted to the English merchants the same freedom of traffic through his empire as was at that time enjoyed by the French, the Venetians, the Polonians, and the Germans.

"It was probably upon this occasion that the thought of sending an embassador to the Porte from England, was first entertained.--

"Harborne remained as agent at Constantinople, partly for the English government and partly for the merchants, till about 1591, when he was succeeded as embassador by Mr. Edward Barton, and he, in 1601, by Mr. Henry Lello, who remained at Constantinople at least till 1605.

bolden my selfe to resume that duty which I have so long dispensed with.

" The Letter inclosed containeth, as you see, a recommendation of the Turke lately arrived, both from his quality and his errand, by that famous Murat-Rey admiral of Algier, being now a man of seventy yeares olde, who heretofore was as much renowned for his exploits in the Levant seas, as ever Drake was for his attempts upon the Ocean.

" For the person of this Mustapha, he seemes to me and others that have visited him, a man of a goodly presence and a gallant spirit, sociable, affable, and full of intertainment to all comers, and one who to give the better content to those that come to see him, is content to dispense with some of his Turkish fashions, and to accustome himselfe to ours. For being invited to accompany Sr Thomas Low governor of the Company to diner, I saw Mustapha sitt in a chayer

" The Turk, however, had no minister or agent, during all this time resident in England - - -

" The Cottonian Collection of Manuscripts in the Museum contains numerous documents illustrative of the first intercourse between England and Russia: as well as one or two earlier Manuscripts of Russian History.

" The greater part of these have been recently transcribed at the expense of the Russian government.

" The communication between the two countries can hardly be said to have begun before the time of Philip and Mary; but it so ripened in the time of Elizabeth, that the Czar Ivan Basilovitch, in 1583, was even desirous to have an English wife."

at the bourdes ende, and drink a solemne helth to the King of Great Brittaine and the Grand Signor. He hath bene two yeares in his Journey, having accompanied Monsr. de Brebis the French ambassador, through Natolia, Armenia, Soria, Palæstina, Ægypt, and Barbary as far as Algier, where indeed they stayed seven moneths, and where the French Ambassador by his meanes was in good hope to have obtained of the King there and Murat-Rey the Coral-fishing upon the Coast of Algier, which was flatly denied him. With this denyal they went both for Marsellis, where Monsr de Brebis, for the courtesies he had received at this mans hand in so long a Journey, promised he would make the King his Master acquainted with the worthines of the man and with his message, and then would come and fetch him. But there Mustapha attended six months, and heard neither by word nor letter from Monsr de Brebis. Hereupon he wrote to the French King that he had the Grand Signors Letters, and that he hoped he would not deny him the lawe of nations, but would graunt him accesse and audience as the Grand Signor used to do to the ambassadors of all Christian Princes. The French King wrote an answer persuading him to returne back, and sending him a present of 1000 crownes. Which present he refused, and did still peremptorily demand audience and his charges to be defrayed,

which in the end was granted him. His errand to the French King was for the release of 150 Turkes chained to the Gallies at Marsellis, the greater part whereof Count Maurice released out of Spinola's Gallies at the winning of Scluse. He saith he brought with him from Algier 80 French captives, wherof four were circumcised, and delivered them up freely at Marsellis, and yet in seven moneths aboad there he could not get one Turke released. Many other things he reporteth of the perfidy of the French nation, and saith, he liketh neither their fashion nor dyet, their meat being so larded with hogs-flesh, as he could not eat of it. During his aboad there the King allowed him 15 crownes aday, and in fine dissuaded him, as did also our Ambassadour, from coming hither. But all in vaine; and so he gott a passe from Sir George Carew, and would not land at Dover till he had indented with Sir Thomas Waller that he should be defrayed during his aboad. He is come but slenderly attended, with some dozen of Turkes, whereof three only are civilly appareld, the rest looking like the ambassadors that came to Josua with old shooes and threed-bare apparel. For his owne persone he hath many changes of garments very rich, and several turbants, and hath brought with him either for presents or for a pledge in time of necessity, twenty one pieces of cloth of gold and silver, valued at 1000 markes.

His emploiments, he saith, have been five times to Venice, once into Persia, once into Tartary, twise into France, and now the first of his Nation that ever came into England. Besides he saith, he was, some eight years ago, treasurer of the warres to Sinan Bassa, when Raab alias Saverin was won from the Christians, and when Mr Barton our ambassadour was in the army. He had the charge there (beleeve him who list) of 3600 Camels, laden with checkins, 40,000 upon a Camel, which being cast up do amount to 144 millions of chèckins, which is almost 50 millions of poundes sterling. As concerning his message mentioned in the Letter of Murat-Reyes, he saith, ther is much talke at Constantinople and Marsellis of English pirats in the Levant seas: but he saith that in all his long journey he could meet but with one; nor could he hear of any more, but of French and Italian Corsares as many as were haires in his bearde. This one English pirate, being, as I take it, one Captain Warde, and, combined with the Turkes, he mett at Alger; wher the French Ambassador requested Murat-Reys to moove Ward to be favourable to the French. 'I favourable to the French?' (quoth he) 'I tell You if I should meet mine own father at sea, I would robb him, and sell him when I had done.' Then Mustapha asked him whether he would commandl him any service into England for the procuring of his

pardon, he answered that he would never see England againe but would be buried in the Sea.

"Mustapha desires to be dispatched, and to returne home not by the way of France, but by sea: but he will hardly gett his audience till the King come to Salisbury. His table standes the Merchants in some 4l. a day.

* * * * * * * * *

"Yo^rs. *a centro cordis.*

"Strand, this Tuesday Morning,
Aug. 1607."

The death of James II., March 1625, forms a point in these historical documents, at which we may conveniently refer back, for the sake of enriching our review with such insulated passages as have most attracted our attention in the correspondence of the preceding thirty years. These are very miscellaneous, but relate to many curious matters which are characteristic of the period, and may, we think, be agreeably perused with little other arrangement than merely that of the dates, as we have marked them in our notes.

In the year 1595, we find the Head and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, writing to Lord Burghley for a loan of the robes from the royal wardrobe in the Tower of London, to wear in a tragedy, to be acted by them; the increasing taste for dramatic compositions, having,

it seems, led both our universities to encourage such representations with a correctness of style and propriety of costume previously unthought of.

"Among the colleges, (says Mr. Ellis,) which in this respect led the way in the two universities to the introduction of the legitimate drama, Trinity College, Cambridge, and St. John's, at Oxford, were remarkably distinguished. A little interlude, performed at the latter college before King James I. in 1605, is thought to have suggested Macbeth to Shakspeare.....

"Mr. Douce is in possession of three manuscript plays, in Latin, performed at Trinity College in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which have never been published."

At the same college, on a visit of King James, in 1623, Mr. Meade relates in a letter to Sir Martin Stuteville,—

"I will tell you a pretty Cambridge accident as I am informed. On Ash-Wednesday there is a Comedie at Trinity College. Whereupon the Spanish Ambassador and the Ambassador of Bruxells being at Court, His Majestie sent word that they meant to come both to see the Comedy. The name of the Comedy is Ignatius Loyola, and, as I guess, the argument according. Hereupon the Seniors of Trinity have been much puzzled, and have moved the Doctors to write to his Majestie how the case stands, and that either

the Ambassadors must not come, or the Comedie must not be acted."

That quackery was co-existent with the drama in those days, is shown by many letters to England's prime minister, who was greatly afflicted with gout.

"Among the Lansdowne MSS. in the Museum, there are letters to Lord Burghley from all parts of Europe, in English, in Latin, in Italian, presenting him with nostrums of the most infallible character.

"How early in life the disease attacked Lord Burghley does not appear; but a Mr. Dyon writes to him, with a course of physic and diet, as early as January the 24th, 1573, the outside of which is marked in Lord Burghley's hand, 'Recipe pro podagra.' The Lady Harington sent his lordship some other directions Feb. 4th, 1573. We have an Italian letter to him concerning *a powder* for the gout, dated Dec. 12th, 1575. In 1579, a prescription was sent to his lordship in Latin by Dr. Henry Landwer, to ease his gout by *medicated slippers;* previous to which, a variety of remedies had been sent to him in Latin by Dr. Hector, selected from the works of Averroes, Johannes Anglicus, and Mattheus Gradensis. In 1583, another Latin letter came from one Nicholas Gybberd, who pretended he had found *a tincture of gold* to cure the gout: and, in 1584, an Italian letter with a

pressing offer of cure of another kind, from one Signor Camillo Cardoini.....

"In 1592, one Henry Bossevyle wrote to his lordship from Calais; offering, for a few hundred pounds and piece of preferment, to furnish him with *some plasters,* which, from the description, it might strongly be feared would have proved more painful to the patient than the Gout itself*.

"Lastly, the Earl of Shrewsbury sent a prescription. He begged his Lordship to make trial of the *Oil of Stags blood,* which, he said,

* Bosseville thus describes it:—

"Touchinge the substance of the things that go to this cure, the Styll is used, and there are several waters, and severall things spred upon a certayne beast skynne made leather.

"Concerninge the applyenge therof, one water muste bathe the place nere unto the payne, leavinge a joynte betwene the place of payne and the place that is bathed, yf conveniently it maye be. Then muste a peece of the sayde lether be cutte conveniente to make a playster, which muste be well moystned in one of the sayde waters, and theron severall other things spredde, with playster muste be layde upon the place so bathed, there to remayne xij. howers, and afterwardes there muste be freshe bathinge and playsters.

"For the operacion therof, the paciente shall shortly fynde the humore stirred, blisters or pymples to rise out of the place where the playster is layde, out of which shall yssue the badde humore; some of which blisters wyll drye up, and others wyll unely breake out so longe as any parte of the humore remaynethe.

"When all the badde humore is drawne out, they wyll drye up, and the patient shall finde himself for the present cured, by havinge the use of his joynts as nymble as ever they were which were so afflicted, and afterwardes shall feele no more payne of the goute."

with a rare and great virtue, had been serviceable to himself.

" Of the state of medical science in the reign of Henry the Eighth, something has been already said; and the correspondence of Elizabeth's reign shows, that, in her time, it had made no advance. Gout, indeed, has defied the science of all reigns. But what will be said when Dr. Anthony Fenot addresses a solemn Letter of Advice in Latin to the Lords of Queen Elizabeth's Council, for putting an end to the Queen's tooth-ache: or what, when Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord-Chancellor, could transmit a ring to Sir Thomas Smith for the Queen, to protect her from the infection of the plague: 'I am lykewise bold' are the words 'to commend my most humble dewtie by this Letter and Rynge, which hath the virtue to expel infectious ayres, and is, as it telleth me, to be worn betwixt the sweet dugs, the chast nest of most pure constancy. I trust that when the virtue is known, it shall not be refused for the valuê.' "

No. V.—*Temp. Eliz.*

Few letters of high interest, written during the early years of Queen Elizabeth, are extant. By the following we are brought deeper into the tragedy of the unfortunate Queen of Scotland, which gives such painful importance to a latter

period of the Elizabethan reign; and though the facts illustrated by the extracts immediately following are mentioned in history, we think it good to set them in the stronger and more certain light of authentic contemporary correspondence.

Very little of the pedantry of James's ordinary manner is to be found in this letter. His remonstrance to Elizabeth is manly; his reasoning just. Affection and anxiety for a mother overcame his usual style: and we have here the best of all his epistolary compositions.

Well does the letter deserve this eulogium: we insert it entire.

"Madame & dearest sister, if ye coulde have knouin quhat divers thochtis have agitat my mynde since my directing of Uilliame Keith unto you for the sollisting of this matter quhairto nature and honoure so greatly and unfeynedly bindis and obleisis me; if, I say ye ken quhat divers thochtis I have bene in and quhat just greif I hadd, ueying deeply the thing it self if so it shoulde proceid, as Godd forbidd, quhat euentis micht follow thair upon, quhat number of straitis I uolde be dreuin unto, and amongst the rest hou it micht perrell my reputation amongst my subjectis. If thaise thingis, I yett say againe, uayre knouin unto you, then [doubt] I not but ye wold so farr pittie my cace as it wolde easely mak you at the first to resolue

youre ouin * best into it. I doubt greatlie in quhat facon to urit † in this purpois, for ye haue all readdie takin sa euill with my playnness, as I feare [if] I shall persist in that course ye shall rather be exasperattet to passionis in [rea] ding the uordis, than by the plainness thairof be persuadit to consider richtlie the simpill treuth. Yett justlie prefferring the deutie of ane honest friend to the suddaine passionis of one quho, hou soone thay be past can uyslier uey ‡ the reasons than I can sett thaime doune, I haue resoluid in feu uordis and plaine to gif you [my] freindly and best advyce, appealing to youre rypest judgement to discerne thereupon. Quhat thing Madame can greatlier touche me in honoure, that bothe [is] a King and a Sonne, then that my nearest neihboure being in straittest freindshippe with me, shall rigorouslie putt to death a free souueraigne Prince, and my naturall mother, alyke in estaite and sexe to hir that so uses her, albeit subject I grant to a harder fortoune, and touching hir nearlie in proximitie of bloode. Quhat law of Godd can permitt that justice shall strikke upon thaime quhome he hes appointid supreame dispensatouris of the same under him; quhom he hath callid Goddis, and thairfore subjectid to the censoure of none in earth; quhose anointing by Godd can not be

* Own. † fashion to write. ‡ wiselier weigh.

defylid be man, unreuenged by the authoure thairof; quho being supreme, and immediatt lieutenant of Godd in Heaven, can not thairfore be judgit by thaire æquallis in earth. Quhat monstruouse thinge is it that Soueraigne Princes thaime selfiis shoulde be the exemple giveris of thaire ouen sacred diademes prophaining. Then quhat shoulde moue you to this forme of proceiding, (supponin the uorst, quhiche in goode faith I looke not for at youre handis) honoure or profeitt? Honoure uaire it to you, to spaire quhen it is least lookid for. Honoure uaire it to you, (quhich is not onlie my freindlie aduyce but my earnist suite) to tak me and all other Princes in Europe eternally beholdin unto you in granting this my so reasonable request; and not (appardon I pray you my free speaking) to putt Princes to straittis of honoure quhair throuch youre generall reputatione and the universall (all most) mislyking of you, may daingerouslie perrell both in honoure and utillitie youre personne and estate. Ye knou Madame uell aneuch, hou small difference Cicero concludis to be betuixt *utile* and *honestum* in his discourse thairof, and quhiche of thaime oucht to be framed to the other. And nou Madame, to concluide, I pray you so to uey* thir feu argumentis, that as I euer presumed of youre nature, so the quhole uorlde may praise

* Weigh.

youre subjectis for thair deutiful caire for your preseruation, and youre self for youre princelie pittie; the doing quhairof onlie belangis unto you; the parforming quhairof onlie apparteynis unto you; & the praise thairof onlie uill euer be youris. Respect then, goode Sister, this my first, so long contineuid, and so earnist request; dispatching my Ambassadouris with such a confortable ansoure as may become youre persone to giue, and as my louing and honest hairt unto you meritis to ressaue. But in kaice any do uant thaime selfis to knau further of my minde in this matter, then my ambassadouris do; quho indeid are fullie aquentid thairuith. I praye You not to takk me to be a Camelion, but by the contraire thaime to be malicious imposturis, as suirlie they are: and thus prayinge you hairtlie to excuse my to ruide and longsum * lettir, I comitt you Madame and dearest Sister to the blessid protection of the Most Hie, quho mott giue you grace so to resolue in this matter as may be honorabill for you, and most acceptable to him. From my palleis of Holirud-house the 26 day of Januarie 1586 †.

"Youre most louing and affectionat
brother and cousin
"JAMES R."

"A Madame ma tres chere sœur
& cousine la Royne d'Angleterre."

* Too rude and longsome.

† A. D. 1586-7.

"The answer of the wily, if not betrayed, Elizabeth, is remarkable, as it disavows her having caused the execution of Mary. It is thus—

"My deare Brother, I would you knewe (though not felt) the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which (far contrary to my meaninge) hath befalen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine whom ere now yt hath pleased yow to favor, to instruct yow trewly of that which ys to yerksom for my penne to tell yow. I beseche yow that as God and many moe knowe, how innocent I am in this case: so you will believe me, that yf I had bid* ought I owld have bid by yt†. I am not so bace minded that feare of any livinge creature or prince should make me afrayde to do that were just, or don to denye the same. I am not of so base a linage, nor cary so vile a minde. But, as not to disguise, fits not a Kinge, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cawse them shewe even as I meant them. Thus assuringe yourself of me, that as I knowe this was deserved, yet yf I had meant yt I would never laye yt on others shoulders; no more will I not damnifie my selfe, that thought yt not.

"The circumstance yt may please yow to have of this bearer. And for your part, thincke

* Directed. † Would abide by it.

yow, have not in the World a more lovinge kinswoman, nor a more deare frend then my self; nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve yow and your estate. And who shall otherwise perswade yow, judge them more partiall to others then yow. And thus in hast I leave to troble yow: besechinge God to send yow a longe Reign. The 14th of Feb. 1586*.

"Your most assured lovinge sister
and cosin
"ELIZAB. R."

Animadverting upon this strange epistle, Mr. Ellis, (and we are sorry that we do not see sufficient grounds for imitating his charity) notices, that—

"In a letter which has been already noticed in a preceding page, from the Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham after Sir Philip Sydney's death, there is a passage of no small importance to History, upon the expected execution of the Queen of Scots: and which seems to present itself as no inappropriate introduction to Elizabeth's disavowal.

"Lord Leicester says, 'there ys a Letter from the Scottish Queen THAT HATH WROUGHT TEARS; but *I trust shall doe no further* herein; albeit the DELAY *is* TOO DANGEROUS.' This passage, coupled with the declaration in the Letter

* *i. e.* 1586-7.

which is now before the reader's eye, gives us ground to hope, if not to believe, that Elizabeth was *really betrayed* by her Ministers when the warrant for Mary's execution was carried into effect."

Having made some observations upon the style of 'the Royal Pedant,' as James I. has been called, we return to the topic, for the sake of copying here (we shall hereafter have another example) a letter from his Majesty to his "son Prince Henry, upon his leaving Scotland to take possession of the Crown of England."

Upon this, Mr. E. remarks—

"The reader is here presented with a Letter, the writing of which seems to have cost the King some pains: and we have already seen that when he chose to take pains, he could write well. We have in it too, his own character of his 'Basilicon Doron.'

"The Letter which succeeds, is another specimen of James's better style. Later in life he grew slovenly in every thing: and in nothing more slovenly than in the composition of his familiar Letters. Some strange specimens of these to Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham will presently be given.

"My Sonne, that I see you not before my pairting impute it to this great occasion quhairin tyme is sa preciouse; but that shall by Goddis grace shortlie be recompencid by youre cumming

to me, shortlie, and continuall residence with me ever after. Lett not this newis make you proude, or insolent; for a Kings sonne and heire was ye before, and na maire ar ye yett. The augmentation that is hereby lyke to fall unto you, is but in caires and heavie burthens. Be thairfor merrie, but not insolent; keepe greatnes, but *sine fastu*; be resolute but not willfull; keepe your kyndnes, but in honorable sorte; choose nane to be youre play fellowis but thame that are well borne; and above all things give never goode countenance to any but according as ye shall be informed that they are in æstimation with me. Looke upon all Englishe men that shall cum to visite you as upon youre loving subjectis, not with that ceremonie as towardis straingeris, and yett with such hartlines as at this tyme thay deserve. This gentleman quhom this bearare accumpanies is worthie, and of guide ranke, and nou my familiare servitoure; use him thairfore in a mair hamelie loving sorte nor otheris. I sende you herewith my booke latelie prentid *: studdie and profiet in it as ye

* "The ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ: or His Majestie's Instructions to his dearest Sonne, Henry the Prince:" published at Edinburgh, and reprinted immediately upon the King's arrival at London, 1603. 12mo.

The autograph of this work, in King James's own hand, is still extant in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 18. B. xv. It is bound in purple velvet, and adorned upon one side with the Arms and supporters of Scotland upon a plate of gold, crowned, sur-

wolde deserve my blessing; and as thaire can na thing happen unto you quhairof ye will not finde the generall grounde thairin, if not the verrie particulaire pointe touched, sa mon ye levell everie mannis opinions or advyces unto you as ye finde thaime agree or discorde with the reulis thaire sett doun, allouing and following thaire advyces that agrees with the same, mistrusting and frouning upon thaime that advyses you to the contraire. Be diligent and earnist in your studdies, that at your meiting with me, I maye praise you for youre progresse in learning. Be obedient to youre maister, for

rounded by the collar and jewel of St. Andrew, with this motto below, "In my defence God me defend." The borders of the cover were formerly adorned with thistles in gold, two or three only of which are now remaining.

"Prefixed to the Manuscript is the following Sonnet to Prince Henry; different from that which appears in front of the Work as printed.

"SONETT.

Loe heir my Sone a mirror viue and fair
Quhilk schawis the schadow of a vorthie King;
Loe heir a booke, a paterne dois zow bring
Quhilk ze sould preas to follow mair and mair.
This trustie freind the treuthe will never spair,
Bot give a guid advyse unto zow heir,
How it sould be zour chief and princelie cair
To follow vertew, vyce for to forbeare:
And in this Booke zour Lesson vill ze leire
For gyding of zour people great and small;
Than, as ze aucht, gif ane attentive eare
And paus how ze thir preceptis practise sall;
Zour father biddis zow studie heir and reid
How to become a perfyte King indeid."

youre awin weill, and to procure my thankis; for in reverencing him ye obeye me, and honoure yourselfe. Fairuell.

"Youre loving Father

"JAMES R."

DRESS *of the different* ORDERS OF SOCIETY *in England and Scotland, during the Reigns of Henry VII. and VIII**.

THE dress of the nobility during the reigns of Richard and Henry VII. was grotesque and fantastical, such as renders it difficult at first to distinguish the sex. Over the breeches was worn a petticoat; the doublet was laced, like the stays of a pregnant woman, across a stomacher, and a gown or mantle with wide sleeves descended over the doublet and petticoat down to the ankles. Commoners were satisfied, instead of a gown, with a frock or tunic, shaped like a shirt, gathered at the middle, and fastened round the loins by a girdle, from which a short dagger was generally suspended. But the petticoat was rejected after the accession of Henry VIII. when the trauses or light breeches, that displayed the minute symmetry of the limbs, were revived, and the length of the doublet and mantle diminished.

* From the Antiquary's Portfolio, by J. S. FORSYTH.

The fashions which the great have discarded are often retained by the lower orders, and the form of the tunic, a Saxon garment, may still be discovered in the waggoner's frock; of the trause, and perhaps of the petticoat, in the different trowsers that are worn by seamen.

These habits were again diversified by minute decorations and changes of fashion: from an opinion that corpulence contributes to dignity, the doublet was puckered, stuffed, and distended around the body; the sleeves were swelled into large ruffs, and the breeches bolstered about the hips; but how are we to describe an artificial protuberance, gross and indecent in the age of Henry VIII. if we judge from his and the portraits of others, a familiar appurtenance to the dress of the sovereign, the knight, and mechanic, at a future period retained in comedy as a favourite theme of licentious merriment? The doublet and breeches were sometimes slashed, and with the addition of a short cloak, to which a stiffened cap was peculiar, resembled the national dress of the Spaniards. The doublet is now transformed into a waistcoat, and the cloak or mantle, to which the sleeves of the doublet were transferred, has been converted gradually into a modern coat; but the dress of the age was justly censured as inconvenient and clumsy. "Men's servants," to whom the fashions had descended with the

clothes of their masters, "have suche pleytes," says Fitzherbert, "upon theyr brestes, and ruffes uppon theyr sleves above theyr elbowes, that yf their mayster or theym selfe hadde never so greatte neede, they coulde not shoote one shote to hurte theyr ennemyes, till they had caste of theyr coats, or cut of theyr sleves." The dress of the peasantry was similar, but more convenient, consisting generally of trunk hose and a doublet of coarse and durable fustian.

The materials employed in dress were rich and expensive; cloth of gold; furs, silks, and velvet, profusely embroidered. The habits of Henry VIII. and his queen, in their procession to the tower previous to their coronation, are described by Hall, an historian delighting in shows and spectacles. "His grace wared in his uppermost apparell a robe of crimsyn velvet, furred with armyns; his jacket or cote of raised gold; the placard embroidered with diamonds, rubies, emeraudes, greate pearles, and other riche stones; a greate baudeuke about his necke of large balasses. The quene was apparelled in white satyn embroidered, her haire hangying down to her backe, of a very great length, bewteful and goodly to behold, and on her hedde a coronall, set with many riche orient stones."

The attire of females was becoming and decent, similar in its fashion to their present dress, but less subject to change and caprice. The

large and fantastic head-dresses of the former age were superseded by coifs and velvet bonnets, beneath which the matron gathered her locks into tuffs or *tussocks*; but the virgin's head was uncovered and her hair braided and fastened with ribbons. Among gentlemen long hair was fashionable through Europe, till the Emperor Charles, during a voyage, devoted his locks for his health or safety, and in England, Henry, a tyrant even in taste, gave efficacy to the fashion by a peremptory order for his attendants and courtiers to *poll their heads*. The same spirit induced him, probably by sumptuary laws, to regulate the dress of his subjects. Cloth of gold or tissue was reserved for the dukes and marquesses; if of a purple colour, for the royal family. Silks and velvets were restricted to commoners of wealth or distinction; but embroidery was interdicted from all beneath the degree of an earl. Cuffs for the sleeves, and bands and ruffs for the neck, were the invention of this period; but felt hats were of earlier origin; and were still coarser and cheaper than caps or bonnets. Pockets, a convenience known to the ancients, are perhaps the latest real improvement in dress; but instead of pockets, a loose pouch seems to have been sometimes suspended from the girdle.

The Scottish was apparently the same with the English dress, the bonnet excepted, peculiar

both in its colour and form. The masks and trains and superfluous finery of female apparel had been uniformly prohibited; but fashion is superior to human laws, and we learn from the satirical invectives of poets, that the ladies still persisted in retaining their fancy and mazzling their faces.

MARRIAGE AND EXECUTION OF ANNE BOLEYN, &c.

This unfortunate lady, the relation of whose miseries will never fail to startle the tear of sympathy, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, and descended on the maternal side from the Duke of Norfolk, was born in 1507. At the tender age of seven she was, by the sister of Henry VIII., who, after the death of Anne of Brittany, espoused Louis XII., carried over to France. On the death of the King, and the return of his widow to England, Anne Boleyn passed into the service of Claudia, wife of Francis I., and, after her decease, into that of the Duchess of Alençon, a princess of great merit. Anne, from her beauty and accomplishments, was early considered an ornament of the French court. Her return to England seems to have been about the period when scruples first suggested themselves to the mind of the king respecting the legality of his marriage with

the widow of his brother. Anne became maid of honour to Catherine, in which situation Henry had frequent opportunities of observing her beauty; and of being entertained by her vivacity. She perceived her power over the passions of the monarch, and, whether from principle or policy, appeared to discourage his attentions. Stimulated by this opposition, the efforts of Henry were rendered yet more vehement to procure a release from his engagements with the queen.

The proceedings of the court of Rome by no means satisfied the impatient ardour of Henry, whose temper, naturally impetuous, had by flattery and submission been rendered uncontrollable. Without waiting for the dissolution of his marriage with Catherine, he, on the 14th of November, 1532, privately united himself with her rival. On the following festival of Easter, 1533, when the situation of Anne rendered longer concealment impracticable, the nuptials were declared. Anne was proclaimed Queen of England, and crowned in the succeeding July. The 17th of the ensuing September, gave birth to Elizabeth, on whom the title of Princess of Wales was conferred. The claims of Mary, the offspring of the former marriage, were thus superseded and contemned.

The King's passion for Anne appeared for a time to suffer no diminution. For six years,

during which time his divorce with Catherine was pending, his affection for the new queen seemed to grow with the obstacles that were opposed to it. This stimulus withdrawn, it began in secure possession, to languish and decline. Symptoms of this change were, by the enemies of Anne, hailed with pleasure, and every device was put in practice that might accelerate its decay. Her second accouchement was less fortunate than the first; a dead male child was brought into the world, and the passions of the disappointed father were irritated by the event. But jealousy, a more powerful engine, was employed by the adversaries of the devoted queen. Naturally lively and gay, she had by her education in France, acquired a volatility, an unguarded levity of manner, that exposed her to the censure of the grave and to the machinations of the malignant and designing. Her manners, opposed to the rigid decorums of the English court, gave but too plausible a colouring to imputations against her. She indulged herself in familiarities unbecoming her rank, and took a pleasure in witnessing the effects of her attractions and charms. The animation that had captivated the lover became, so unusual the case, offensive to the husband. In eminent stations, women, like the wife of Cæsar, should, if they would avoid calumny and peril, be not only innocent, but unsuspected: the delicacy of the

king was, on this subject, fastidious and extreme. He regarded with suspicion and dislike the popular manners of his wife; and there were not wanting those who seized every opportunity of aggravating and supplying materials to his distrust. A profligate woman, who espoused the brother of the queen, had conceived against her an aversion which she manifested by every means in her power. Lost to all morals and decency, she even involved her own husband in the mischief she meditated against her sister. Wilfully and wickedly misconstruing their natural and laudable affection to each other, she brought against them an accusation of incestuous intercourse. Not content with a charge as unsupported as atrocious, she affected to misconstrue every action of her innocent victim, and to find criminality even in those the most indifferent. Against determined malignity it is scarcely possible for the most wary to guard, much less for a temper frank and unreflecting as was that of the queen. Beloved and admired, she was by the gentlemen around her served with zeal; and this was sufficient to implicate them in the calumnies and aspersions of which she was the object. The jealousy of the king, having for its foundation no specific fact, seized and built its conclusions on circumstances the most slight and vague. The most dangerous truth for Anne was, that the capricious inclinations of her

husband led him to a new idol, and that, in her turn, she was supplanted, as she had herself supplanted the unhappy and blameless Catherine. Jane, the lovely and amiable daughter of Sir John Seymour, was now the magnet towards which the passions of the monarch turned.

Occupied by this new desire, he lent an encouraging ear to the report of every indiscretion, whether real or imaginary, of the queen. "Trifles light as air" appeared to be "Confirmation strong as holy writ." Anne having accidentally let her handkerchief fall at a tournament, it was, by the watchful eye of the king, construed into a signal to a lover. Immediate orders were issued for her confinement to her chamber. Four gentlemen of the court, together with the Viscount Rochford her brother, were instantly put under arrest. Anne could not persuade herself that these measures were meant for more than a trial of her courage and firmness: but conviction that the severity was too sincere was not long in forcing itself on her mind. On the following day she was removed to the Tower; and it was only in her way thither that she first became acquainted with the crimes alleged against her. Shocked and surprised, she solemnly declared her innocence; and, falling on her knees as she entered the fortress, called upon God to witness her truth. A convulsive or hysterical spasm was brought on by

the shock which her nerves had received. In the intervals of this disorder she frankly avowed some levities into which her lively temper had betrayed her; but, though imprudent, they were altogether unstained with guilt. She confessed, with simplicity, that she had once, in raillery, told one of the gentlemen implicated, that she supposed he remained a bachelor because he waited for her. Another, whom she reproved for his neglect of his wife, and attentions to a relation of her's, had answered in gallantry, that she had mistaken the object of his admiration. To the intimation thus conveyed she had, however, given a severe reproof. A third, she confessed, had been twice in her chamber to play on a harpsichord that was placed there: he certainly, she added, once had the presumption to tell her, that a look sufficed for him. These candid and simple avowals were considered by the king, as presumptive evidence of guilt.

Amiable and beneficent in her manners and temper, Anne had, during her prosperous fortunes, numerous friends. But all now shrunk from her; real and disinterested affection is rare in all situations of life; and the temper of the king, precipitate, violent, and vindictive, was but too well known. Even her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, whether from policy or prejudice, joined her enemies. The Catholics trusted that by her death the king might be reconciled to

their church; and, of course, were interested in believing her criminal. Cranmer only remained her friend, and left no means untried to soften the king. Anne addressed from her prison a letter to her husband, full of tender expostulation and of asseverations of innocence. Towards its conclusion, she earnestly requested, that if her own destiny was predetermined, on her alone the king's displeasure might fall, and that it might not involve the innocent who had been implicated in her fate. She ended with praying for the welfare of her relentless and cruel husband, and dated from her doleful prison in the Tower.

The selfish nature of him whom she addressed, regardless of the sufferings of others, and intent only on its own gratification, no eloquence, no pathos could move. The gentlemen accused were brought to trial; a hearsay report from a lady, since dead, was the principal evidence against them. One, from a dastardly hope of saving his worthless life, confessed a criminal intercourse with the queen, but was never confronted with her. His unmanly falsehood availed him not,—he suffered with the rest. To another, whose name was Norris, and who had been a favourite with Henry, life was offered on condition of avowing guilt; but he manfully and courageously disdained the baseness proposed to him. He believed the queen, he declared, to

be entirely guiltless; and rather than calumniate the innocent, he would die a thousand deaths.

It remained to try Anne and her brother by a jury of peers, among whom the Duke of Norfolk, her uncle, as high steward, presided. Rochford, it was alleged, had been once seen in company to lean on the bed of his sister. Anne, also, it was affirmed, had declared to her favourites that her heart had never been the king's, and to each of them apart, that *he only* was the object of her attachment. This strained interpretation of guilt was, with curious casuistry, brought under the statute of the twenty-fifth of the king's reign, by which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the reigning monarch, his queen, or his issue. Such were the notions of justice in those times. But Henry was an absolute prince, and where is the mind that such power would not harden, deprave, and corrupt?

Unassisted by counsel, Anne defended her own cause, with a clearness and presence of mind that, on every one not predetermined to find her guilty, produced conviction of her innocence. But the inclinations of the monarch were law, and judgment was by a parasite court pronounced both against the queen and her brother. Her sentence was to be beheaded or burnt, as should accord with the king's pleasure. "Oh! Father," (exclaimed the victim, raising her eyes, as this

cruel and iniquitous sentence was pronouuced) "Oh! Creator, thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this death." Then turning again towards her judges, she protested her innocence.

The king carried his tyranny still farther; he resolved to annul his marriage with the unhappy Anne, and to pronounce her issue illegitimate. He recollected, that, on the first appearance of Anne in the English court, rumour was circulated of an attachment between her and the Earl of Northumberland, then Lord Percy. He caused this nobleman to be questioned on the subject. The earl declared on his oath, before two archbishops, that no contract or promise of marriage whatever had passed between them. This was attested with the most solemn forms, and in the most solemn manner. But, threatened with the utmost rigour of her sentence, the fortitude of Anne was shaken, and she was persuaded to own some impediment to her marriage with the king. The primate, who sat as judge, believed himself, by this avowal, constrained to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. The king, in his selfish rage, perceived not, that if the marriage was null no adultery could exist.

Hopeless, and at length resigned to her fate, Anne prepared herself for submission. She thanked the king, in her last message to him, for having raised her from a private station to the

throne, and now, since he could in this world exalt her no higher, for sending her to be a saint in heaven. She renewed her protestations of innocence, and earnestly recommended her daughter to his care. To every one who approached her she made the same declarations: but her spirits appeared serene and tranquil, and at times even cheerful and lively. She observed to the lieutenant of the Tower, that the executioner, she was informed, was expert in his profession,—"and my neck," added she, grasping it with her hand and laughing, "is very slender."

Overcome by various recollections, at the scaffold, more particularly by maternal tenderness, her spirit gave way, yet she betrayed no want of fortitude. She came to die, she observed, according to her sentence, and she would accuse no one, nor make any reflections on its justice. She prayed fervently for the king, and added, that should any one think proper to canvass her cause, she requested him to judge the best.

She suffered decapitation by an executioner brought over from the continent for the occasion. Her body was placed in a chest made to hold arms, carried to the Tower, and there interred.

In Houssaie's *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 435, a little circumstance is recorded concerning the decapitation of the unfortunate Anne Bullen, which illustrates an observation of Hume. Our historian notices that her executioner was a Frenchman

of Calais, who was supposed to have uncommon skill; it is probable that the following incident might have been preserved by tradition in France, from the account of the executioner himself. Anne Bullen being on the scaffold, would not consent to have her eyes covered with a bandage, saying that she had no fear of death. All that the divine who assisted at her execution could obtain from her was, that she would shut her eyes. But as she was opening them at every moment, the executioner could not bear their tender and mild glances; fearful of missing his aim, he was obliged to invent an expedient to behead the queen. He drew off his shoes, and approached her silently; while he was at her left hand, another person advanced at her right, who made a great noise in walking, so that this circumstance drawing the attention of Anne, she turned her face from the executioner, who was enabled by this artifice to strike the fatal blow without being disarmed by that pride of affecting resignation which shone in the eyes of the lovely Anne Bullen.

"The common executioner,
Whose heart the accustom'd sight of death makes hard,
Falls not the axe upon the humblest neck
But first begs pardon."

Few believed her guilty; the weakness of the evidence produced against her was too glaringly

obvious to produce an impression on any but a predetermined mind. But her most effectual justification was the marriage of the king with Jane Seymour on the day following her immolation. "What must have been the times," exclaims the justly indignant historian, "how gross the ignorance, how servile the nation, and how degraded the public mind, when justice was thus trampled upon, humanity thus violated, and decency thus insulted!"

A new parliament was gravely assured by the king, that all he had done was "for their good." The assertion was received with proper faith, and the condescending monarch gratefully thanked; and, for his endowments, both of nature and of grace, likened to Solomon (who, however, is not recorded as having murdered any of his numerous wives,) to Sampson, and to Absalom for beauty, strength, and wisdom!!! Henry (to carry on the comedy) humbly affected to disclaim these attributes—or, if professing them, to ascribe them to the bounty of Almighty God.

His divorce from Anne Bullen was ratified by the same complaisant parliament, and she, with her accomplices, attainted. Both former marriages of Henry were declared void: it was even made treason to say that they were legal, as throwing by imputation, slander on the present queen. On her issue the crown was settled, or in default of issue, it was to be disposed of by the *will*, or

letters patent of the king. History would too frequently appear as a farce, were it not equally a tragedy.

SACRILEGIOUS MURDER AND RANSOM.*

JOHN of Ghent, eagerly desirous to strengthen his interest in Castille, procured an order from the king for the delivery of the son of the Earl of Denia into his hands, a noble Spaniard, taken in the late campaign by two English gentlemen, and detained by them according to the custom of war until they should receive the stipulated amount of his ransom. The captors resisted the duke's demand as unjust, and took refuge in the Sanctuary at Westminster, trusting to the privilege of the place for security against further persecution: but this precaution availed not against the Duke of Lancaster; a band of soldiers, headed by two gentlemen in the duke's service, entered the church, and endeavoured to drag the fugitives from their retreat: the knights, assisted by their servants and the monks, stood upon their defence; one of the assailed persons fell in the skirmish, and the scandal raised by a murder thus sacrilegiously perpetrated at the foot of the altar, compelled the king, whose name had been employed to sanction the outrage, to

* From "Memoirs of the Rival Houses of York and Lancaster."

abandon the odious means which had led to this catastrophe, and to treat with the survivor for the ransom of his prisoner. The terms being arranged, the Spaniard appeared in the garb of a menial; a disguise which his principles of chivalric conscientiousness had induced him to assume, in order that he might remain concealed from the agents employed to force him from his captors, whose benefit to the right of his ransom he had thus religiously maintained.

The Effects of Avarice.

Avarice at this period was one of the ruling passions of the great, who made a shameless display of their never ceasing desire to add to fortunes already enormous, and scrupled little respecting the means of appropriating any species of property once placed within their grasp. 'The Duke of Gloucester,' says Froissart, was cunning and malicious, and continually soliciting favours of king Richard, and pleading poverty though he abounded in wealth; for he was constable of England, Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Buckingham and Northampton, and enjoyed, besides, pensions from the king's Exchequer to the amount ot 4000 nobles a year; and he would not exert himself in any way if he were not well paid! This mercenary spirit was shared by Gloucester's contemporaries: and it is said that the affection which once subsisted between him and

his brother the Duke of Lancaster, was considerably weakened by a successful manœuvre on the part of the latter to obtain for his son a rich inheritance, which Gloucester had hoped to fix irrevocably in his own family. The duke had married the eldest daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey, Earl of Stafford and Northampton, one of the richest lords and landholders in England, his yearly income being valued at fifty thousand nobles. The younger sister of the duchess remained under the guardianship of her brother-in-law, who, anxious to secure the whole property, kept her strictly secluded from the world. Conversing only with nuns, the young heiress seemed inclined to renounce the splendid destiny which awaited her at the brilliant court, for the tranquil pleasures of a conventual life, and Gloucester departed upon an expedition to France, in the full conviction that his fair kinswoman would take the veil. The vigilant eye of John of Ghent had been long fixed upon the intended nun, whom he was desirous to unite in marriage with his heir. In the absence of Gloucester, the artful duke prevailed upon the Countess of Arundel, the aunt of the co-heiress, to assist in his design. The countess managed the whole affair very adroitly: after paying a visit at Pleslay, the Duchess of Gloucester's usual residence, she invited the Lady Mary, her youngest niece, to accompany her to Arundel Castle, where

she was introduced to Henry of Lancaster, and a marriage effected, which destroyed Gloucester's avaricious hope. 'The duke,' observes Froissart, 'had no inclination to laugh when he heard these tidings, for it would now be necessary to divide an inheritance which he considered wholly as his own. When he learned that both his brothers had been concerned in this matter, he became melancholy, and never afterwards loved the Duke of Lancaster as he had hitherto done.'

Barbarous State of Chivalry at this Period.

Amid those English knights conspicuous for their skill and valour, and who are described as shining at tournaments, was the accomplished but odiously profligate Sir John Arundel. Next to courage and dexterity in feats of arms, the acquirements most dearly prized in the dissipated reign of Richard II. were those of singing and dancing, in both of which Arundel excelled; but neither the gentle laws of chivalry, nor the refinements of music's enchanting art, could soften or subdue the savage nature of this brutal knight: his deeds are still more revolting than those of Sir John Holland; and after a career of vicious extravagance, he perished miserably in a storm off the coast of Ireland, in the command of an expedition which the king had dispatched to the assistance of the Duke of Bretagne. Previous to their embarkation on this fatal voyage, the

conduct of Arundel and his companions is described to have been frightfully dissolute; they carried off the wives and daughters of the inhabitants of Portsmouth, where their fleet was fitting out, and forced them on board of their ships; profaned the sanctuary of a neighbouring convent, and in despite of the tears and intreaties of the Lady Abbess, broke open the gates and committed the most frightful outrages within the holy walls. Many of the nuns who are stated to have been allied to the first families in the kingdom, were also taken out to sea by these lawless soldiers. 'And yet,' says the justly indignant Hollingshed, 'when the tempest rose, like cruel and unmerciful persons, they threw them into the sea, eyther that they would not be troubled with their lamentable noyse or crying, or for that they thought so long as they had such women aboard with them, God would not cease the rage of the tempest.' Such were the deeds which disgraced chivalry at its brightest era; and the gallant knight, who dazzled the world by his valour and courtesy in the field, was not unfrequently the unblushing author of atrocities which would reflect discredit on the most unpolished age.

It is painful to be compelled to tear away the glowing veil with which poetical imaginations have invested the days of chivalry and romance; but it is the province of the faithful historian to

remove those pleasing illusions connected with the annals of warriors renowned for their knightly accomplishments: instead of being the redressers of grievances, the friends of defenceless women, and the bold protectors of the oppressed, we find them the scourge of the weak, the spoilers of helpless innocence, the contemners of the law, and indulging their avarice or their revenge in rapine and in murder. * * *

John Philpot.

Few men have deserved more honour from the community which they have adorned, or obtained less, than John Philpot: his memory and his actions are suffered to sleep in the old chronicles which record his splendid achievements in the defence of England's glory. The imbecility of the ministry in the early part of the reign of Richard II. amid other disasters which it entailed upon the kingdom, encouraged the fleets of France to ravage the defenceless coast; and the impunity with which hostile vessels plundered the unprotected towns and villages, induced a Scottish adventurer named Mercer, to wage a predatory war upon his own account, and being joined by other desperadoes as daring and as fortunate as himself, he became so formidable that the council were entreated to prevent and punish aggressions which were so disgraceful and so ruinous to the nation. The subject was

debated in the cabinet, but no measures were taken to remedy the evil; and Philpot, perceiving the supineness of the government, and hopeless of obtaining aid and sanction from men who appeared to be totally regardless of the honour of their king and country, promptly and efficiently equipped a few vessels, which at his own expense he furnished with an ample complement of men, ammunition, and all other requisites for the intended service, and taking the command himself, put out to sea with the determination to avenge the insults offered to the English crown.

Encountering the marauders upon an element and in a service to which the brave Philpot was wholly unaccustomed, the intrepidity of the dauntless citizen prevailed over every disadvantage, and after a sharp engagement he achieved a splendid and signal victory, capturing Mercer and his whole fleet, consisting of several ships which the pirate had seized in the port of Scarborough, and fifteen Spanish vessels laden with spoil.

Philpot sailed triumphantly to London with his prizes, and received an enthusiastic welcome from the citizens and the populace, who greeted his return with shouts and acclamations.

The nobles, jealous of the honour so justly paid to Philpot's valour, and mortified by the tacit reproach which the disinterested zeal in the public service displayed by a private indivi-

dual conveyed to men who were the constituted guardians of the nation's honour, summoned him before the council to give an account of his conduct. The Earl of Stafford even went so far as to charge this loyal subject of the crown with the commission of an unlawful act, in presuming to levy forces in the king's dominions without the sovereign's permission. But Philpot repelled the accusation with so much spirit and firmness, that the attempts to procure his disgrace were abandoned, and he was dismissed with the commendations due to his merits, and the benefits which he had conferred.

Penance done by Lord Strange and his Wife.

All the old chronicles mention a disturbance of a very disgraceful nature which took place in 1417, during a sermon in St. Dunstan's in the East. A quarrel commenced between Lord Strange and Sir John Russel, 'at the instigation,' says Holinshed, 'of their wives gentlewomen at cursed hatred with one another.' 'Two wise gentlemen I wisse and well advised,' adds the sarcastic historian. Some of the spectators interfering, Thomas Petwarden, a citizen and fishmonger, was, we are told by Fabian, 'slain out of hand.' Both combatants were at length secured and conveyed to the 'Countear' in the Poultry. The service of the church was suspended on account of the sacrilegious violence

which had been committed within the holy precincts, and Lord Strange being proved the offending person, 'he was therefore denounced accursed at Paules-crosse, and in all Parysshe churches of London; and finally he was demyed (doomed) to pennance, and dyd it, and made great amendes to the wife of the said Thomas, for the deth of her husband.'

We find in Stow the nature of the punishment to which the aggressors in this murderous brawl were subjected: 'Lord Strange and his wife, on the First of May following, in Paul's church, before the Archbishop, the Recorder of London, and others, submitted themselves to pennance which was enjoined them, that immediately all their servants should, in their shirts, goe before the parson of St. Dunstan's church, and the lord bare-headed, with his ladie bare-footed; Reginald Henwood, Archdeacon of London, following them; and at the hallowing of the church, the ladie should fill all the vessels with water, and also offer an ornament of teene pound, and the Lord Strange should offer a purse of five pound.'

Mysterious Death of Henry of Lancaster, &c.

Henry of Lancaster's mysterious death took place in the Tower of London during Edward's absence. It happened opportunely for the House of York; and the sanguinary disposition of the king, and of his brother the Duke of Gloucester

would sanction the report that he fell by their hands or by their order; if indeed the numberless calamities heaped upon the stricken monarch had not reduced him broken hearted to the grave. The opinion current at the time, that he fell by violence, unsupported by more substantial evidence, is weak and inconclusive. Few kings have been permitted to die without a supposition that they were hastened to the tomb by sinister means. The monk of Croyland, in relating the event, ejaculates this solemn prayer: 'May the Almighty spare and allow time for penitence to him, whoever he were, who dared to lay sacrilegious hands upon the Lord's anointed.'

Many writers think it probable that the historian would have named the assassin had he not been restrained by his rank: and upon the death of Gloucester no one hesitated to ascribe the crime to his insatiate dagger; but Richard had subsequently imbrued his hands in infant blood, and the perpetration of a deed so black rendered men credulous in the belief of any former atrocity.

In the Harleian MSS. it is positively stated, that 'the king, incontinent after his coming to London, tarried *but one day;* but he was going in search of a military leader, distinguished for courage and conduct, who had already attempted the release of Henry; and the promptitude of decision which formed one of Edward's most striking characteristics, might certainly have in-

duced him to destroy the only person who could now dispute the throne. That he commissioned his brother to commit the murder seems most unlikely, if there were other weapons to whom he could have entrusted the bloody work. Lord Rivers had the command of the fortress in which the wretched king was imprisoned. The assassination, if performed by a vulgar hand, could scarcely have been accomplished without his sanction; and no tongue, however malevolent, has dared to cast the imputation on this chivalric nobleman's unspotted name: it is the necessity of his being a party to the dark transaction which affords the strongest proof of Edward's innocence; unless we adopt the popular belief that Gloucester was the instrument. Henry was doubtless too closely watched to admit the possibility of the intrusion of any person of meaner rank into the place of his confinement, without the king's especial order and the concurrence of the commander of the fortress: but Richard was only eighteen, and at this early period could not have formed either plan or hope of obtaining the crown, which subsequent circumstances threw so fatally in his path; nor can we scarcely suppose it possible that for his brother's sake he should have volunteered the act, and have quitted the scene of his triumphs,—the glory of a public entry into the metropolis, where congratulating

thousands thronged to meet him—to steal into the Tower and glut a brutal appetite for blood.

The Harleian MSS. also contain the following account of the king's death. After detailing the lamentable occurrences which had befallen Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales, the writer says 'The certainty of all which came to the knowledge of the said Henry, being in the Tower, not having afore that knowledge of the said matter. He took it to great despite, ire, and indignation, that of pure displeasure and melancholy he died.'

Always of a weak constitution, the afflicting events of the last few weeks were of themselves sufficient to bring Henry to his grave. The cold and averted looks of the citizens of London during that painful pilgrimage wherein distressed royalty vainly sought for sympathy and protection; the disappointment of the last hope of gaining refuge in sanctuary; the horror of being delivered up to the savage-hearted Edward; and the fatigue and anxiety which the king must have endured when dragged to the battle of Barnet, might have sapped the foundation of a frail existence, without the last appalling blow. Cold and callous must have been the heart which could have sustained these repeated shocks unmoved, and Henry, though patient and almost uncomplaining under the heaviest afflictions, was not destitute of feeling: he endured

his trials with meekness, trusting that having suffered the punishment of his sins in this world, he should find mercy in the next, a ground of consolation afforded by a holy resignation to the divine will, and a deep sense of human infirmity. It is, therefore, more than probable that Henry, wearied by a long conflict with despair, yielded up his soul in the gush of mortal anguish which followed the fearful commmunication of the fall of his friends, and the untimely fate of the hope, the heir, the promise of his declining house.

CURIOUS PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO DRESS AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Cloth of gold, satin, and velvet, enriched by the florid decorations of the needle, were insufficient to satisfy the pride of nobles; robes formed of these costly materials were frequently ornamented with embroidery of goldsmiths' work, thickly set with precious stones; and the most absurd and fantastic habits were continually adopted, in the restless desire to appear in new inventions. John of Ghent is represented in a habit divided straight down the middle, one side white, the other half dark blue; and his son, Henry IV., on his return from exile, rode in procession through London in a jacket of cloth-of-gold, "after the German fashion." The dukes

and earls who attended his coronation wore three bars of ermine on the left arm, a quarter of a yard long, "or thereabouts;" the barons had but two: and over the monarch's head was borne a canopy of blue silk, supported by silver staves, with four gold bells "that rang at the corners." "Early in the reign of Richard II. began," says Stow, "the detestable use of piked shoes, tied to the knees with chains of silver gilt; also women used high attire on their heads with piked horns and long training gowns. The commons also were besotted in excesse of apparel; in wide surcoates reaching to their loines; some in a garment reaching to their heels, close before and strowting out at the sides, so that on the backe they make men seeme women, and this they called by a ridiculous name *gowne*. Their hoodes are little, and tied under the chin."

LADY JANE GREY.

Perhaps no character has ever been pourtrayed which excites the noble feelings of the human heart in so powerful a degree, as that of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey; nor would it be possible to select a more perfect example of those virtues which adorn the female bosom, and confer dignity upon the most elevated rank, than is

exhibited in her writings and conduct. But though possessed of every claim to admiration, such was the inscrutable will of that Being, to whose fiat no one could be more disposed to submit than herself, that her brief existence was not only embittered by unusual and almost constant misfortunes, but it was terminated by a violent, and in the eye of moral justice, an unmerited death.

Notwithstanding that she scarcely attained her seventeenth year, few personages have filled so important a part in the political transactions of their times; and whilst an object of the deepest interest to every mind capable of being affected by the romantic events of her life, all which relates to her is of the greatest importance to the historian. For these reasons numerous accounts of this illustrious female have been given to the public; indeed, so many authors have made her the subject of their pens, that in this sketch of her character little hope is entertained of presenting new facts; but although every expectation of displaying traits, or recording events hitherto unnoticed, is disclaimed, this memoir may nevertheless not be totally unworthy of attention, from the consideration that the same data frequently admit of different conclusions.

Family descent of Lady Jane Grey.

Few characters have ever been pourtrayed in

which the noblest feelings of the human mind have been more powerfully excited, as in that of the amiable, accomplished, and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. Her father's family was one of the oldest in the kingdom, and had in several branches been ennobled; Rollo, or Fulbert, is said to have been chamberlain to Robert, Duke of Normandy, and to have obtained from that Prince the castle of Croy, in Picardy; from which territory he adopted the surname of De Croy, afterwards altered to De Grey: according to many writers, his grandson, Sir Arnold De Grey, accompanied William the Conqueror into England, and was seated at Rotherfield, in the county of Oxford, soon after the conquest: but the first of the family noticed by Dugdale*, is Henry de Grey, who obtained from Richard I. a grant of the manor of Thurrock, in Essex, and which was confirmed to him by King John, in the first year of his reign, with an additional charter of license to hunt the hare and fox in any lands belonging to the crown, excepting in the King's own demesne parks: from the younger sons of this Henry have sprung the numerous families of Grey, whose names are so conspicuous in the Baronage and History of England. John, the second son, was justice of Chester in 1248, 33 Henry III., and was the father of Reginald de Grey, who also became justice of Chester, and for his eminent

* Baronage, tome i. p. 709.

services received a grant from Edward I. of the castle of Ruthyn, and in the twenty-third year of that monarch's reign was summoned to parliament: dying in 1308, he was succeeded in his honours by John, his son and heir, who was twice married; the issue by his first wife continued the baronial line of Grey de Wilton, which existed in uninterupted descent and honor for above three centuries, when the male line not only failed, but the dignities of that house were forfeited by the attainder of Thomas Lord Grey of Wilton, in 1614. By his second wife, Maud, daughter of Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton, John Lord Grey, had a younger son, Roger, on whom he bestowed the castle and lands of Ruthyn, and who founded a house equal in splendour and reputation to that of Grey of Wilton; he was summoned to Parliament as Lord Grey of Ruthyn, in the 17th of Edward II., and died on the 6th of March, 1353, leaving Reginald, his second son, his heir, as John de Grey, the eldest, who was a personage of considerable consequence, died in the life time of his father.

Reginald, second Lord Grey of Ruthyn, in common with the other nobility of that age, served in the wars of France, and died in 1388, when Reginald his son and heir inherited his father's dignities, and was a very distinguished baron in the latter part of the reign of Richard II., and under Henry IV. and Henry V. He

married two wives; by Mary, the first, he had Sir John de Grey, who died before his father, and left Edmund de Grey, his son and heir, who succeeded his grandfather in his honours, and was created earl of Kent by Edward IV., and from whom the earls of Kent, and barons Grey de Ruthyn derived their descent. Reginald, third Lord Grey of Ruthyn, married, secondly, Joan, daughter and heiress of William, Lord Astley, and by her had three sons, the two youngest of which founded houses of considerable provincial distinction, but were never ennobled, and the eldest son, Sir Edward de Grey, was the immediate ancestor of the subject of this memoir, and the founder of a family that attained more elevated honors than either of the other branches. Sir Edward de Grey married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Henry Ferrers, who died in his father's life time, the eldest son of William, Lord Ferrers of Groby, and she being heir to that barony, her husband was in her right summoned to Parliament, as Lord Ferrers of Groby, in 1448. A curious record which is extant relative to this baron and his wife, is worthy of notice, as being in some degree illustrative of the manners of the times. Groby in Leicestershire, the residence of this noble pair, was situated at a considerable distance from the parish church, the obstacles to reaching which were much increased by the badness of the roads.

In 1446, Lady Grey, or more properly speaking, Lady Ferrers of Groby, being near her confinement, and the customs of the age requiring that a child should be baptized immediately after its birth, her husband obtained a license from John Stafford, then archbishop of Canterbury, dated at Lambeth, 8th November, 1446, that "in respect of the great distance of his manor-house of Groby from the parish church, and the foulness of the ways thereto, he might christen that child at his said house, by the Vicar of his chapel, wherewith Dame Elizabeth his wife was then great and near the time of her delivery*." Lord Ferrers of Groby died December 18th, 1460, when the barony devolved on John de Grey, his son and heir; who married the famous Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, who was afterwards created Earl Rivers; her husband being slain at the battle of St. Alban's, she was left a widow with two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir Richard Grey, in whose favour she became a suitor to King Edward IV. when that monarch, deeply struck with her beauty, which was naturally heightened by that interest which is uniformly created by loveliness in misfortune, soon afterwards rendered her the partner of his throne. It is a fact rendered trite by repetition, that an alliance with royalty has ever been attended with the loss of happiness,

* Dugdale's Baronage, tome i, p. 719.

and frequently with that of life; the fate of Lady Jane Grey, as well as that of her family, not only affords a melancholy confirmation of the assertion, but another instance is to be found in the misery which attended the last years of the interesting Elizabeth Woodville.

Much as has been written about this celebrated woman, a document under her own hand appears to have escaped general notice, and this circumstance, united to the consideration of her being the great-great-grandmother of Lady Jane, as well as the progenitress of every monarch who has ascended the throne since the death of Richard III. will perhaps justify its being here introduced. It is well known that Henry VII. on pretences as absurd as they were cruel; and which can only be attributed to the jealousy of his disposition, seized on all his mother-in-law's possessions, when she retired, or as is more probable, was confined to the Abbey of Bermondsey, in which place she died. Of her destitute condition, and the deep sense which she entertained of it, we have a most affecting memorial in her will, and a more plaintive record of her love for her children, and her sorrow that she had nothing but her blessing to bequeath them, could not be imagined: —

"In Dei Nomine. The xth day of April, the year of our Lord God, M.CCCC.LXXXXII. I Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England,

late wife to the most victorious Prince of blessed memory, Edward IV. being of whole mind: seeing the world so transitory, and no creature certain when they shall depart from hence, having Almighty God fresh in mind, in whom is all mercy and grace, bequeath my soul into his hands, beseeching him of the same mercy to accept it graciously; and our blessed Lady, Queen of comfort, and all the holy company of Heaven to be good means for me.

"Item, I bequeath my body to be buried with the body of my lord at Windsor, according to the will of my said lord and mine, without pompes entreing or costly expences done thereabouts.

Item, Whereas I have no worldly goods to do the Queen's grace, my dearest daughter, a pleasure with, neither to reward any of my children according to my heart and mind, I beseech Almighty God to bless her grace with all her noble issue; and with as good heart and mind as is to me possible, I give her grace my blessing, and all the aforesaid my children.

"Item, I will that such small stuff and goods that I have, be disposed truly in contentation of my debts, and for the health of my soul, as far as they will extend.

"Item, If any of my blood will any of my said stuff or goods to me pertaining, I will that they have the preferment before any other, and of this my present Testament, I make and ordain

mine executors, that is to say, John Ingilby, Prior of the Charter-House of Shene, William Sutton and Thomas Brent, Doctors; and I beseech my said dearest daughter, the Queen's grace, and my son Thomas, Marquess of Dorset, to put their good wills, and help for the performance of this my Testament.

"In witness whereof, to this my present Testament, I have set my seal; these witnesses, John, Abbot of Saint Saviour of Bermondsey, and Benedictus Cum, Doctor of Physick. Given the year and day aforesaid*."

Thomas, Lord Grey of Groby, Queen Elizabeth's eldest son by her first husband, was created Earl of Huntingdon by his father-in-law, in 1471, but which title he soon afterwards resigned, and was created Marquess of Dorset, on the 18th April, 1475, and was also elected a Knight of the Garter; but on Edward IV.'s demise, his relationship to the young monarch rendered him an object of suspicion, and he was attainted of high treason in the first year of Richard III.: on the accession of Henry VII. he was, however, fully restored to his honours, and dying in 1501, was succeeded in his dignities by his son Thomas, second Marquess of Dorset, who was a celebrated soldier, and in that age of chivalry often distinguished himself at jousts and tournaments; he was also elected a Knight of the Garter, and

* Royal Wills, 1780, 4to. p. 350.

died in 1530. His son and heir, Henry Grey, inherited all his father's honours, namely, the Marquisate of Dorset, and the Baronies of Ferrers of Groby, Astley, Bonville, and Harington, the two latter of which dignities were acquired by the marriage of Thomas, the first Marquess, with Cecily Bonville, who inherited the Barony of Harington from her father, and that of Bonville from her great-grandfather.

When Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset, succeeded to the honours of his family, he may be considered, in point of rank, as one of the most powerful noblemen of his times; in the first year of the reign of his kinsman, Edward IV. he was constituted Lord High Constable for that monarch's coronation, and was elected a Knight of the Garter; in 1550, 4 Edw. VI. he was appointed Justice Itinerant of all the King's forests; and in the next year, Warden of the East, West, and Middle Marshes towards Scotland; at an early period of his life he was betrothed to Katherine Fitz-Alan, daughter of William, Earl of Arundel, a connexion perfectly suited to his birth, and which was sufficiently splendid to satisfy whatever aristocratic feelings he might possess, without being attended with danger to himself or his posterity. This lady is presumed to have died without issue, and he soon afterwards formed that alliance which proved so unfortunate in its consequences, by marrying Lady

Frances Brandon, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, widow of Louis XII. King of France, second daughter of King Henry VII. and youngest sister of King Henry VIII.: the character of the Marquess of Dorset appears to have been that of a quiet unambitious man, for although some writers have described him as not deficient either in ambition or courage, none have attributed any quality to him which could render him a dangerous subject, and perhaps Dugdale's remark is not wide of the truth, when he observes, that in consequence of his marriage, and the death of his wife's brothers without children, "he was, in favour to her, though otherwise for his harmless simplicity, neither misliked nor much regarded, created Duke of Suffolk." Lady Jane Grey, their eldest daughter, is supposed to have been born at Bradgate, in Leicestershire, about the year 1537, and was, through her mother, grand niece of Henry VIII. and consequently first cousin once removed to his son and successor, Edward VI. Of her early years we have no account, nor does it appear likely that they should present subjects for biography; it is manifest that her education was carefully attended to, for her eulogists describe her as having been deeply versed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, French, and Italian, but this assertion must be received with great caution; that she

possessed acquirements, now properly deemed neither requisite nor useful in female education, cannot be doubted; but it would be absurd to attribute to her much proficiency in seven languages, when a long life would scarcely be sufficient to attain even half that number with correctness; especially as the same partial writers inform us, that she played well on musical instruments, and excelled in works of the needle. The fact probably was, that the pedantry which in that age was frequently mistaken for learning, had caused the tutors of Lady Jane to give her a slight knowledge of each of the different languages in question, but for any purposes of utility, it is very questionable if her knowledge extended beyond Greek, Latin, and French. Her principal preceptor is said to have been John Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, though her biographers attribute part of her acquirements to Roger Ascham.

Soon after the death of Henry VIII. in 1547, his widow, Queen Katherine Parr, resided at Chelsea, and we have evidence that Lady Jane Grey was her guest, both before and subsequent to her Majesty's union with Lord Seymour of Sudley, the Lord Admiral. At this time, though Lady Jane had but just attained her eleventh year, her marriage became an object of serious consideration to those most interested in the event; and it is an unquestionable fact, that the

disposal of her hand was conceded by her parents to the Lord Admiral: the cause of this promise can only be conjectured, but it is evident that he placed the highest value on it, and he appears to have been actuated by the hope of rendering her the instrument of his ambitious projects. In September 1548, whilst she was residing with the Queen-Dowager at Hanworth, her Majesty died, and it was the first intention of Lord Seymour to send her to her own home, but he very soon altered his resolution.

In a recent life of Lady Jane Grey*, a very curious correspondence is given between his Lordship and the Marquess and Marchioness of Dorset on the subject of her return, from which it is clear that Seymour was anxious to retain her, whilst her parents were naturally desirous to have her under their own roof, probably not deeming a man of the Lord Admiral's calculating, and somewhat suspicious character, the proper guardian for their daughter. From the Marquess' letter we also obtain proof of the promise having been made to Seymour relative to her marriage; for, after stating that he deemed a mother's protection and guidance of essential importance to his daughter, he adds, "my meaning herein is not to withdraw any part of my promise to you for her bestowing; for I assure

* Lady Jane Grey and her Times, by George Howard, Esq. 8vo. p. 156.

your Lordship, I intend, God willing, to use your discreet advice and consent in that behalf, and no less than mine own." The address of the Marchioness' letter to Lord Seymour is rather amusing; she styles him her good brother, and herself his sister, though the only connexion between them was, that the Lord Admiral's wife was the widow of the Marchioness' uncle, King Henry VIII.!

The result, however, of this correspondence was Lady Jane's return to her father's mansion, but the Lord Admiral's plans did not admit of her being long from under his immediate care, and after repeated efforts to render her his guest, it may be inferred that he actually bribed her father to part with her. This singular fact is placed beyond controversy by a paper, cited by Mr. Howard.*, written by the Marquess of Dorset himself, after the Lord Admiral's† trial, wherein he states that it was his determination not to have permitted her to return to Seymour, but that the Lord Admiral went himself to Dorset-House, "and was so earnest in persua-

* Lady Jane Grey and her Times, p. 161.

† Mr. Howard, in common with most other writers, erroneously speaks of the Lord Admiral as Lord Sudley; his proper designation was Lord Seymour of Sudley, he having been created Baron Seymour of Sudley, in the county of Gloucester, on the 16th February, 1547. The error is as great as it would be to call Lord Ducie, Lord Tortworth, because that nobleman is Baron Ducie of Tortworth, in the county of Gloucester.

sion, that he could not resist him, amongst the which persuasions was that he would marry her to the King's Majesty," and lest an opposition might be caused by the Marchioness, Sir William Skerington was employed by Seymour to overcome her reluctance. The most curious part of the transaction is the bribe alluded to, and though the fact is stated by the author just quoted, he does not seem to have viewed it in this light. We are informed that Lady Jane returned to Hanworth, when Seymour immediately sent her father £500, "as it were for an earnest penny of the favour that he would shew unto him, and which sum formed part of £2000 that he had promised to lend him, and for which he refused any bond, saying that the Lady Jane should be his pledge!" These facts being admitted by the Marquess of Dorset, no other conclusion can be drawn, than that, when all other means of persuasion failed, Seymour took advantage of his pecuniary wants, and promised to lend him the large sum above mentioned; but it appears that no part of the money was to be paid until he had the object of his solicitude in his own hands, and then a fourth part only was produced.

Lord Seymour was beheaded in 1549, and it is not quite certain whether the allusion noticed by Mr. Howard in a letter from the Marquess of Dorset to the Duke of Somerset, relative to a projected alliance between Lady Jane and the

Earl of Hertford, the Duke's son, was before or after that event; but the very cautious manner in which he speaks of it, "Item, for the marriage of your Grace's son to be had with my daughter Jane, I think it not meet to be written, but I shall at all times avouch my saying," favours the belief that it was during his life-time.

In 1551, Roger Ascham, Lady Jane's early tutor, visited her at Bradgate, previous to his departure for Germany, and his account of the interview affords interesting information of her pursuits and disposition: he states, that on his arrival he found that the Marquess and Marchioness of Dorset, with their attendants, were hunting in the park, and that Lady Jane was in her chamber reading the Phædo of Plato, in Greek; and to his inquiry why she did not join in the amusement in which her family were engaged, she replied with a smile, "I wisse [think] all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato—alas, good folk, they never felt what true pleasure means." Ascham then inquired, "and how came you, madam, to this deep knowledge of pleasure, and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, but very few men, have attained thereunto?"—"I will tell you," she replied, "and tell you a truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is that he sent me so sharp

and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster, for when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry, or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I must do it as it were in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways, which I will not name for the honour I bear them; so without measure disordered, that I think myself in hell till the time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing, whilst I am with him; and when I am called from him I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning is full of great trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me; and thus my book hath been so much pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure, and more that in respect of it all other pleasures in very deed be but trifles and troubles unto me*."

* Roger Ascham died on the 4th of January, 1568, and was buried at St. Sepulchre's church, London. He was born in Yorkshire about 1515, and is celebrated for his learning, for having been tutor and Latin secretary to Queen Elizabeth, and for having written "The Scholemaster." This work originated from mention having been made at dinner that some Eton scholars "had run away from school for fear of beating." Ascham expressed

The advocates of the Reformation with justice claimed Lady Jane Grey as a proselyte to their

his opinion that "young children were sooner allured by love, than driven by beating, to attain good learning." He then retired up stairs "to read with the Queen's Majesty: we read then together that noble oration of Demosthenes against Æschines, for his false dealing in his embassy to King Philip of Macedon; Sir Richard Sackville came up soon after." Sackville took Ascham aside. "A fond (silly) schoolmaster," said Sir Richard, "before I was fully fourteen years old, drove me so, with fear of beating, from all love of learning, as now, when I know what difference it is to have learning, and to have little, or none at all, I feel it my greatest grief, and find it my greatest hurt, that ever came to me, that it was so my ill chance, to light upon so lewd (ignorant) a schoolmaster." The whole conversation was very interesting, and so impressed Ascham with its importance, that he says, he "thought to prepare some little treatise for a new-year's gift that Christmas," but it grew beneath his hands, and became his "Scholemaster, showing a plain and perfect way of teaching the learned languages." The best edition of this work, which Ascham did not live to publish, is that edited by the Rev. James Upton, 1743, 8vo. The book was first printed by Ascham's widow, whom with her children he left in distress. It was eminently serviceable to the advancement of teachers and pupils, at a period when it was the fashion to flog. Its most remarkable feature is the frowning down of this brutal practice, which, to the disgrace of our own times, is still heard of in certain seminaries, both public and private. The good old man says, "Beat a child if he dance not well, and cherish him though he learn not well, ye shall have him unwilling to go to dance, and glad to go to his book: knock him always when he draweth his shaft ill, and favour him again though he fault at his book, ye shall have him very loth to be in the field, and very willing to go to school." He observes, "If ever the nature of man be given at any time, more than another, to receive goodness, it is in innocency of young years, before that experience of evil have taken root in him. For the pure clean wit of a sweet young babe, is like the newest wax, most able to receive the best and fairest printing; and like a new bright silver dish never occu-

faith: this attachment to the Protestant doctrines may be attributed to her tutors, and to her intercourse with Queen Catherine Parr; and it became so deeply rooted in her heart, that as she afterwards evinced, no temptation, not even the promise of life and fortune, was sufficiently powerful to induce her to abandon them, and she has consequently been considered by the Reformed writers as fully entitled to the crown of martyrdom. It must have been about this period that her first epistle in Latin to Henry Bullinger, one of the most distinguished of the Protestant divines, was written, and as each of these three celebrated letters are signed with her maiden name, it is certain that they were all composed before her marriage*.

On the 11th of October, 1551, Edward VI. raised the Marquess of Dorset to the Dukedom of Suffolk, a dignity which became extinct on the death of the Marchioness' half-brother Henry Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in that year, without issue; and on the same day, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was created Duke of Northumberland. Lady Jane Grey had then just attained her fourteenth year, and is consi-

pied, to receive and keep clean any good thing that is put into it. Therefore, to love or to hate, to like or contemn, to ply this way or that way, to good or to bad, ye shall have as ye use a child in his youth." He exemplifies this by the above delightful anecdote.

* Vide Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey. By N. H. Nicolas, Esq.

dered to have first appeared in public in her mother's train, on the occasion of the visit of Mary, the Dowager Queen of Scotland, to the court at Greenwich, and she shortly afterwards became the guest of the Princess Mary. Fox recites an anecdote that occurred during her visit, which conspicuously displays the quickness of her wit. She was invited by Lady Anne Wharton, who apparently was the daughter of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and second wife of Thomas, first Lord Wharton, and was probably one of the attendants of the Princess, to accompany her in a walk, and passing in their road the Princess' chapel, Lady Anne made the customary obeisance of a Catholic to a place of worship, from the Host always being contained therein. Her companion not comprehending the object of her respect, asked if the Princess Mary were in the chapel, and was answered in the negative, with the explanation that she had made her curtesy to Him that made us all. "How can He be there that made us all," ingeniously observed Lady Jane, "when the baker made Him?" "This answer," Fox asserts, "coming to the Lady Mary's ears, she did never love her after, as is credibly reported, but esteemed her as the rest of that Christian profession*." Somerset, who had resigned the Protectorship three years before, was, at the instigation of the

* Acts and Monuments.

Duke of Northumberland, who deemed him an obstacle to his plans, arrested in October 1552, and in December following, he was arraigned on the charges of high treason and felony; and after a trial, which Hume describes as being attended with more formality than was usual at that period, he was acquitted of treason, but adjudged guilty of felony, for which crime his judges condemned him to death. Considerable care had been taken by Dudley, to prevent any merciful intentions arising in the breast of Edward to impede his uncle's execution, and to the lively grief of the people, this once powerful nobleman was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 22d January, 1553.

The young monarch, naturally of a weak constitution, and who had in the preceding year been attacked both with the measles and small-pox, caught a severe cold at the commencement of the year 1553, which so seriously affected his health, that being unable to meet the Parliament, which assembled in March, at Westminster, they were obliged to attend his Majesty at Whitehall, and after sitting only a month it was dissolved. The health of the King now became the subject of considerable anxiety, as symptoms of a consumptive nature shewed themselves, and though much hope was placed in his youth and temperance, great fears were expressed as to the result of his illness. It was at this crisis that the germs

of Northumberland's ambition budded with vigour and effect: and as he had not the slightest pretensions to the royal dignity himself, it became the object of his most anxious wishes to produce an alliance between his family and the blood royal. For this purpose Lady Jane Grey presented an unexceptionable opportunity; as the daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, the union with his son was an alliance equal in every respect to her expectations; hence he could scarcely anticipate an obstacle to the proposition; and to a mind disposed to bend every thing to its wishes, and possessed of sufficient power to effect what it desired, the following facts afforded his intended daughter-in-law some pretensions to the throne. Henry VIII. had, under the authority of Parliament, by his will, entailed the crown, first on his son, Edward Prince of Wales, and his issue; in default of which, on his daughter the Princess Mary, and her children; and if she died issueless, on his daughter the Princess Elizabeth, and her descendants: in the event of their decease without lawful issue, the royal dignity was, contrary to the general rules of succession, to descend to the children of his nieces, the daughters of his younger sister, Mary, Queen Dowager of France, then the wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; namely, Lady Frances, afterwards Duchess of Suffolk, and Lady Eleanor, who married the Earl of

Cumberland. In this settlement of the crown*, two peculiarities are to be observed; first, that the descendants of his Majesty's *eldest* sister Margaret, Queen of Scotland, were removed, to make way for the descendants of his *youngest* sister; and, what is still more singular, under that settlement, his nieces themselves never could have succeeded to the throne, but the eldest son, or the issue of the eldest son; or in default of issue male, the eldest daughter, or the child of the eldest daughter of Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, would have inherited the crown, even if the Duchess had been still living: an anomaly so glaring, that it can only be accounted for on the supposition, that when Henry's will was framed, the possibility of his niece's surviving his children, who were all many years younger than their cousins, was not contemplated. This disposition of the royal dignity, had been solemnly ratified by Parliament†, so that on the demise of Edward VI. his half-sister Mary was the undoubted heiress to the throne, according to the laws of descent, that regulated the succession previous to the testament of her father, and likewise agreeable to the express provisions in

* For a full account of the Statutes passed relative to the succession during the reign of Henry VIII. under two of which he derived the power to limit the descent of the crown by his will, the reader is referred to Nicolas's *Remains of Lady Jane Grey* already quoted, p. 328.

† 35 Hen. VIII. cap. i. and 1 Edw. VI. cap. xii.

that instrument; but as Henry's marriages with Katharine of Arragon and Ann Boleyn, had both been declared null and void, the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth were thereby rendered illegitimate. Under these circumstances, and actuated by motives which cannot be mistaken, Dudley was anxious to secure the hand of Lady Jane, for his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley, his three other sons being already married; and as no objections were urged by her parents, the union took place about the end of May, in 1553; for the state of the monarch's health was too precarious to admit of delay, and Northumberland's object would not have been secured, had he obtained the wished-for alteration in the succession, before the future Queen had become the wife of his son. This important point gained, it only remained for the crafty statesman to avail himself of every means to influence Edward to make such a disposition of the crown, as would complete his ambitious designs. As he was thoroughly aware of the young monarch's stedfast attachment to the Reformed religion, and as Mary had unequivocally displayed her resolute adherence to the old faith, he possessed powerful arguments with which to persuade Edward to set aside his sister, by making a new settlement of the throne. Having thus the amiable monarch's religious fears to work upon, when he was in that state which induces men to think

seriously of their eternal welfare, and when they are feverishly eager to grasp at every means which they are advised will tend to it, can it be a matter of surprise, that he should have yielded to Northumberland's representations and entreaties? The King was much pleased when acquainted with his cousin's marriage, and in his dying hours he evidently considered that she would be his successor.

After the monarch's consent had been gained, it became necessary for Dudley to procure that of the council, and the ground on which the alteration in the succession was urged, was, that Mary had been declared illegitimate by act of parliament*; but as it was not sufficient for his purpose that she should be rendered incapable of inheriting the crown, unless her half-sister Elizabeth was included in the disability, the dissolution of the marriage of her mother†, by which she had in effect also been bastardized, was urged with considerable plausibility, both to the sovereign and his council. Edward would probably gladly have settled the royal dignity on the Princess Elizabeth, whose attachment to the Protestant religion was generally admitted, but the injustice would have been too flagrant had the act of parliament which incapacitated Mary been revived, whilst that which created a similar inability in Elizabeth remained unnoticed. If

* 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xix. † 28 Hen. VIII. cap. vii.

Edward's earnest wishes for the security of the new religion were to be realized, but one course was open, and which was ultimately adopted, by his settling the crown on a Protestant. To effect this object, however, considerable caution was necessary; and as it is an undisputed fact, that no arrangement would have obtained Dudley's concurrence, which did not tend to vest the sceptre in the hand of his daughter-in-law, the alteration from the course prescribed by the will of Henry was certainly as slight, and as apparently consonant to justice as was possible. Edward is said to have objected, that if Mary and Elizabeth were set aside, the Duchess of Suffolk would be the next heir, but this statement must either be an unfounded conjecture, or made in ignorance of the facts of the case, for in no way could she have been heir to the crown. By the laws of descent, the next heir to the throne, after the disqualification of the two princesses, was the celebrated Mary, Queen of Scots, mother of James I. she being the daughter and heiress of James V. King of Scotland, son and heir of James IV. of Scotland, by Margaret, the *eldest* sister of Henry VIII.; and, as has been already remarked, the will of that monarch never created a right in the mother of Lady Jane Grey, though the crown was limited to her daughters; a circumstance which is totally unnoticed by Hume, and by most other historians. Thus, if Mary

and Elizabeth were disqualified, Lady Jane Grey was, according to the provisions in her grand-uncle's will, the undoubted heiress to the throne, and considering the violent change which was created in the succession by Edward, in preferring his cousin to his half-sister, the grounds on which it was effected were certainly extremely plausible, for it was simply to revive the statutes which had declared Henry's first and second marriages void, and then to act upon the other parts of the settlement under that monarch's will, in the same manner as if death had rendered the two princesses as naturally, as their being declared illegitimate would have made them legally, incapable of succeeding to the royal, or to any other dignity.

Though Edward and the council had acceded to Northumberland's plans, it appears that both menace and flattery were used to obtain the approbation of the judges. Sir Edward Montague, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, together with Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two of the other judges, and the Attorney and Solicitor General, being summoned before the council, the proposed succession was explained to them; when they were commanded by the King to draw up the intended instrument, in the form of letters patent. They hesitated to obey, desiring time to consider of it, and according to Hume, the more they reflected, the greater dan-

ger they found in compliance. They urged that the settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had not only been confirmed by an act of parliament, but by another act passed in the early part of Edward's reign it was declared treason, in any one, to attempt to change the order of the succession, and they properly felt, that nothing but parliament could legally alter the limitations as then settled, and advised the King to summons that assembly without delay: it was on the occasion of one of these discussions, that Dudley's zeal overpowered his discretion, as he is reported to have called Montague a traitor, and to have expressed his readiness to fight any man in his shirt, in so just a cause as the succession of Lady Jane. After many debates, Sir Edward Montague proposed an expedient, which the ingenuity of a lawyer only could have devised. He suggested that a special commission should be passed by the King and council, requiring the judges to draw a patent for the new settlement of the crown, and that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have committed by obeying the mandate. This expedient satisfied the council and his colleagues, but when the patent was drawn, and brought to James Goodriche, Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, to receive the great seal, he refused to affix it, unless the whole of the judges should previously sign it.

All of them acceded to the request without difficulty, excepting Sir John Hales, one of the judges of the court of Common Pleas, and William Gosnold, the Solicitor-General; the latter, intimidated by the violent threats of Northumberland, at length complied; but Hales, though a Protestant, could not be prevailed upon to do violence to his conscience, "prefering," adds Hume, "on this occasion, justice to the prejudices of his party." The Chancellor's scruples were however not yet satisfied, and he next required, that all the Privy Councillors should likewise sign it; and the influence of Northumberland was so extensive, that each of them thus testified his consent to the important document.

Edward VI. died on the 6th of July, 1553, and it of course became necessary that the new succession should be instantly promulgated. Historians concur in stating, that until the monarch's decease, Lady Jane was not only totally uninformed of the important measures which her father-in-law had taken in her favour, but that she received the intimation of them, and of the greatness which awaited her, with the deepest sorrow. Her excellent judgment probably taught her the real dangers of her situation, and the humility of her heart prevented that judgment from being blinded by the dazzling offer of the imperial diadem. We are expressly told, that at first she resolutely refused the profferred

dignity, urging with no less good sense than justice, the superior claims of her cousins, the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and in reply to their arguments Heylin states, "that Northumberland's speech being ended, the poor lady found herself in a great perplexity, not knowing whether she should more lament the death of the King, or her adoption to the kingdom: the first loss not to be repaired; the next care possible to be avoided. After some deliberation, she summoned a council of her purest thoughts; by whose advice, half drowned in tears (either as sorrowing for the King's death, or foreseeing her own,) she returned an answer in these words, or to this effect:—'That the laws of the kingdom, and natural right standing for the King's sister, she would beware of burthening her weak conscience with a yoke which did belong to them; that she understood the infamy of those who had permitted the violation of right to gain a sceptre; that it were to mock God, and deride justice, to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown.'—'Besides,' said she, 'I am not so young, nor so little read in the guiles of fortune, as to suffer myself to be taken by them. If she enrich any, it is but to make them the subject of her spoil; if she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their ruins. What she adored but yesterday, to-day is her pastime. And if I now permit her to

adorn and crown me, I must to-morrow suffer her to crush and tear me to pieces. Nay, with what crown doth she present me? A crown which hath been violently and shamefully wrested from Catharine of Arragon: made more unfortunate by the punishment of Ann Bulloign, and others that wore it after her. And why then would you have me add my blood to theirs; and be the third victim from whom this fatal crown may be ravished with the head that wears it? But in case it should not prove fatal unto me, and that all its venom were consumed; if fortune should give me warranties of her constancy; should I be well advised to take upon me these thorns which would dilacerate, though not kill me outright; to burthen myself with a yoke which would not fail to torment me, though I were assured not to be strangled with it? My liberty is better than the chain you proffer me, with what precious stones soever it be adorned, or of what gold soever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and precious jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters. And if you love me sincerely, and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure and quiet fortune, though mean, than an exalted condition exposed to the wind, and followed by some dismal fall.' Happy would it have been had she persevered in so wise a determination, but the vehement solicitations of her father, and especially of Nor-

thumberland, her father-in-law, ultimately overcame her reluctance, and a resolution which the suggestions of ambition could not seduce, gave way to the entreaties and commands, rather than to the arguments of her parents.

The failure of a treasonable plot never fails to produce the destruction of those who created it, and she might reasonably have expected that the hour which saw Mary secure on the throne, would have been the last of the existence of her father, and the father of her husband. This dreadful truth must have flashed on Lady Jane's mind, and she naturally adopted the only step which could possibly secure their safety. If this feeling operated on her judgment, and every circumstance tends to persuade us that it did, her character appears in a new and more lovely light than it has before been exhibited; we see her thus consenting to incur the utmost personal peril, by adopting a course contrary to the dictates of her conscience, with the desperate hope of preserving her family.

Her consent thus extorted from her, she was the next day conveyed by her father-in-law with great state to the Tower, which fortress, according to long established etiquette, had been the residence of the Sovereigns for the first few days after their accession; and she was immediately afterwards proclaimed Queen of England, with the usual formalities.

Proclamation of Lady Jane Grey.

It was the commands of the Council that Lady Jane Grey should also be proclaimed throughout the kingdom, but these orders were executed only in London and its neighbourhood, and we are told that it was heard in silence, and with regret. Nor was the eloquence of the pulpit, which was zealously exerted in favour of her title, attended with success, as a proof of which, the sermon of Ridley, Bishop of London, who preached to the same purpose, produced no effect on his audience.

In the meantime, Mary was neither an unconcerned nor an idle spectator of this serious attempt to deprive her of her birthright. She wrote* to the Council on the 9th of July, claiming the Crown as her inheritance, and expressed her surprise that the demise of her brother had not been duly notified to her. The answer of the Council to this application, is too curious a document to be omitted.

"Madam,

"We have received your letters, the ix of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you judge yourself to have the Imperial Crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that for as much as our Sovereign Lady

* Printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments, folio, p. 1567.

Queen Jane, is, after the death of our Sovereign Lord Edward VI. a prince of most noble memory; invested and possessed with the just and right title in the Imperial Crown of this realm, not only by good order of old ancient good laws of this realm, but also by our late Sovereign Lord's Letters Patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages assenting and subscribing to the same. We must therefore, as of most bound duty and allegiance, assent unto her said Grace, and to none other; except we should, which faithful subjects cannot, fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities, wherefore we can no less do, but for the quiet both of the realm and you, also to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce made between the King of famous memory, K. Henry VIII. and the Lady Katharine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by ecclesiastical laws, and also by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of Parliament remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate and uninheritable to the Crown Imperial of this realm, and the rules, dominions, and possessions of the same, you will upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes, lawful to be

alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line and godly orders, taken by the late King, our Sovereign Lord King Edward VI. and agreed upon by the nobles and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our Sovereign Lady Queen Jane, her subjects, from their true faith and allegiance due unto her Grace; assuring you, that if you will for respect show yourself quiet and obedient as you ought, you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and be glad with your quietness to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily well to fare. From the Tower of London, this ix of July, 1553.

"Your Ladyship's friends, shewing yourself an obedient subject.

"THOMAS CANTERBURY,
THE MARQUESS OF WINCHESTER,
JOHN BEDFORD,
W. NORTHAMPTON,
THOMAS ELY, CHANCELLOR,
NORTHUMBERLAND,
HENRY SUFFOLK,
HENRY ARUNDEL,
SHREWSBURY,
PEMBROKE,
COBHAM,
R. RITCH,
HUNTINGDON,
DARCY,
CHEYNY,
R. COTTON,
JOHN GATES,
W. PETER,
W. CICELLE,
JOHN CHEKE,
JOHN MASON,
EDW. NORTH,
R. BOWES."

Mary had removed from Hovesdon to her manor of Keninghall, in Norfolk; and as she had lately lost one of her household servants by the plague, the pretence for her journey was the fear of infection; but from Keninghall she very soon went to her castle of Framlingham, in Suffolk, where she assumed the royal title. The inhabitants of Suffolk tendered her their homage, as their legitimate sovereign, though they mingled their declarations of alarm for the reformed religion, with the assurances of loyalty; but when she pledged herself that she never meant to change the laws of the late monarch*, they enlisted themselves in her cause with considerable ardour. Many of the chief nobility and gentry daily flocked to her standard, and in a very short time she found herself in a situation to enforce by arms the pretensions which her birth and the laws of the realm so unequivocally afforded her.

The three letters written in Lady Jane Grey's name, during her usurpation of the royal dignity, announcing her succession to the throne, and ordering certain measures to be taken to secure her in the possession of it, are too important to be omitted in these pages.

* Fox relates, that when they afterwards prayed her to fulfil this promise, she replied: "For so much as you being but members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day well perceive that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same."—*Acts and Monuments*, 1570, folio, p. 1568.

"JANE, THE QUEEN,

"Right trusty and right well beloved Cousin, we greet you well, advertising the same, that whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy out of this life our dearest cousin the King your late Sovereign Lord, by reason whereof and such ordinances as the said late King did establish in his life time for the security and wealth of this Realm, we are entered into our rightful possession of this Kingdom, as by the last Will of our said dearest Cousin, our late progenitor, and other several instruments to that effect, signed with his own hand and sealed with the great Seal of this Realm in his own presence, whereunto the nobles of this realm for the most part and all our Council and Judges, with the Mayor and Aldermen of our City of London, and divers other grave personages of this our Realm of England have also subscribed their names as by the same will and instrument it may more evidently and plainly appear: We therefore do You to understand, that by the ordinance and sufferance of the heavenly Lord and King, and by the assent and consent of our said Nobles and Counsellors, and others before specified, we do this day make our entry into our Tower of London, as rightful Queen of this Realm; and have accordingly set forth our proclamations to all our loving subjects giving them thereby to understand their duties and allegiance which they now

of right owe unto us as more amply by the same you shall briefly perceive and understand; nothing doubting, right trusty and right well beloved Cousin, but that you will endeavour yourself in all things to the uttermost of your power, not only to defend our just title, but also assist us in our rightful possession of this Kingdom, and to disturb, repel, and resist the feigned and untrue claim of the Lady Mary, bastard daughter to our great uncle, Henry the Eighth of famous memory: wherein as you shall do that which to your honour, truth, and duty appertaineth, so shall we remember the same unto you and yours accordingly. And our further pleasure is that you shall continue, do, and execute every thing and things as our Lieutenant within all places, according to the tenor of the Commission addressed unto you from our late Cousin, King Edward the vjth, in such and like sort as if the same had beën, as we mind shortly it shall be, renewed, and by us confirmed under our Great Seal unto you.

"Given under our signet at our Tower of London the xj of July, the first year of our Reign.

"To our right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Counsellor the Marquis of Northampton, our Lieutenant General of our County of Surrey, and to our trusty and well beloved the Deputies of that Lieutenancy, and the Sheriff, the chief Justices of Peace, and the worshipful of that Shire*."

* Ellis' Original Letters illustrative of English History, vol. ii. p. 183, from the original among the Muniments at Losely House.

By the Queen.

"JANE, the Queen,

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Albeit that our estate in this imperial Crown whereof we be actually and really possessed, as partly may appear by our Proclamation, wherein our title is published, is not, nor can be in any wise doubtful to all such our good faithful subjects, as setting blind affection apart, do with reason and wisdom consider the very foundation and ground of our title, with the great commodities thereby coming through God's providence to the preservation of our common weal and policy; yet for that we understand the Lady Mary doth not cease by letters in her name, provoked thereto by her adherents, enemies of this Realm, to publish and notify slanderously to divers of our subjects matter derogatory to our title and dignity royal, with the slander of certain of our Nobility and Council: We have thought meet to admonish and exhort You, as our true and faithful subjects, to remain fast in your obeisance and duty to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, whereof we have justly the possession; and not to be removed any wise from your duty by slanderous reports or letters, dispersed abroad either by the said Lady Mary, or by her adherents; for truly like as the nobility of our Realm, our Council, our Prelates, our Judges, and learned men, and others good wise men, godly

and natural subjects, do remain fast and surely in their Allegiance towards us, ready to adventure their lives, lands, and goods for our defence, so can a great number of the same Nobility, Counsellors, and Judges, truly testify to all the world, with safety of their conscience, how carefully and earnestly the late King of famous memory, our dear Cousin King Edward the Sixth, from time to time mentioned and provoked them partly by persuasion, partly commandments, to have such respect to his succession, if God should call him to his mercy without issue, as might be the preservation of the Crown in the whole undefiled English blood; and therefore of his own mere motion, both by grant of his Letters Patent, and by declaration of his will, established the succession as it is declared by our Proclamation. And for the testimony hereof to the satisfaction of such as shall conceive any doubt herein, We understand that certain of our Nobility have written at this present, in some part to admonish you of your duties, and to testify their knowledge of the truth of our title and right. Wherefore we leave to proceed further therein, being assured in the goodness of God, that your hearts shall be confirmed to owe your duty to us your sovereign Lady, who mean to preserve this Crown of England in the royal blood, and out of the * of strangers and papists, with the defence of all

* This space is in the original.

you our good subjects, your lives, lands, and goods, in our peace against the invasions and violence of all foreign or inward enemies and rebels. Given under our Signet at our Tower of London, the xvj day of July, in the first year of our reign.

"To our trusty and well beloved the Sheriff, Justices of Peace, and other Gentlemen of our County of Surrey, and to every of them*."

"JANE THE QUEEN.

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well, because we doubt not but this our most lawful possession of the crown with the free consent of the nobility of our realm, and other the states of the same as both plainly known and accepted of you, as our most loving subjects, therefore we do not reiterate the same, but now most earnestly will and require, and by authority hereof warrant you to assemble, muster, and levy all the power that you can possibly make, either of your servants, tenants, officers, or friends, as well horsemen as footmen, repairing to our right trusty and right well beloved cousins, the Earls

* Ibid. p. 186. From the original among the Muniments at Loseley House. Mr. Ellis informs us, that this letter was sealed with the signet of King Edward VI,—the arms of France and England quarterly, crowned; with the letters E. R. at the sides.

of Arundel and Pembroke*, their tenants, servants, and officers, and with the same to repair with all possible speed towards Buckinghamshire, for the repression and subduing of certain tumults and rebellions moved there against us and our crown by certain seditious men. For the repression whereof we have given orders to divers others our good subjects, and gentlemen of such degree as you are, to repair in like manner to the same parties. So as we nothing doubt but upon the access of such our loving subjects as be appointed for that purpose to the place where this seditious people yet remain, the same shall either lack heart to abide in their malicious purpose or else receive such punishment and execution as they deserve, seeking the destruction of their native country and the subversion of all men in their degrees, by rebellion of the base multitude, whose rage being stirred, as of late years hath been seen, must needs be the confusion of the whole common weal. Wherefore our special trust is in your courage, wisdom, and fidelities in this matter, to advance yourselves both with power and speed to this enterprise, in such sort as by the nobility and council shall be also prescribed unto you. And for the sustentation of your charge in this behalf, our said council, by

* In the margin of the manuscript whence this letter has been copied, but in a more modern hand, is this note—

"Tho' these earls at the time were plotting against her."

our said commandment, do further give order to your satisfaction, as by their letters also shall appear unto you. And beside that, we do assure you of our special consideration of this your service to us and our crown, as expressly to the preservation of this our realm and commonwealth. Given under our signet at the Tower of London, the xviiith day of July, the first year of our reign.

"To our trusty and well beloved Sir John Bridges and Sir Nicolas Poyntz, Knights*."

The support of the Emperor Charles V. was anxiously courted by the partizans of Lady Jane, and the correspondence between the Council and Sir Philip Hoby and Sir Richard Morrison, the Commissioners from the late King to that monarch, develops so many curious facts that a particular notice of it cannot be deemed uninteresting. Some of these letters are printed in *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, but a selection taken from one of the Harleian Manuscripts† will be sufficient for the purpose of this memoir. The notification of Edward's demise was dated on the 8th of July; in which it is remarkable that no notice whatever is taken of his successor, and the Commissioners are merely directed to acquaint the Emperor with the event, and to add that it was the conviction of the Council, that his Ma-

* Harl. MSS. 416, f. 30. † No. 523.

jesty would be willing to preserve the amity which then existed between the two countries. The following was the Commissioners' reply, from which it is manifest that extreme caution was used by the Emperor, as to giving any opinion on the important subject which then agitated this country.

"TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

"Please it your good Lordships, the xvi of this month, we declared to the Emperor our heavy and sorrowful news, setting forth, after that your Lordship's assured good wills and readiness at all times to observe and maintain the ancient amity which had been always betwixt the realm of England and House of Burgundy, and other the Emperor's dominions, according to your Lordship's pleasures, signified to us in your letters of the ix day of this present month; for answer whereunto the Emperor said that he was right sorry for his part of these heavy news, whereby he perceived the loss of such a brother, and so good a friend both to him and to his countries, and considering that he was of such a great towardness, and of such a hope to do good, and be a stay in Christendom, his loss was so much the greater; and used in this behalf many good words to our late Sovereign Lord's commendation and declarations of his grief for his death: and touching, saith he, the *amity* which hath been betwixt me and my late good

brother, our countries and subjects, as I have always had good will to the observance of the same, according to such treaties as were betwixt us, so now understanding by you, my Lords of the Council's good inclinations, and minds to entertain and observe this amity for correspondency, I both now have and shall have like good will to keep and continue the same, and I thank them for making me understand their good will herein; with compliments of many other words to this purpose. So that as far as we can perceive by his words, he mindeth assuredly to keep amity with us, yet to decipher him better herein, it were not amiss in our opinions, when as your Lordship's shall advertise him, either with some new league or to tempt him what he will say to the old, or by some other means, which your wisdoms can better devise, &c. Dated the xvii July, 1553*."

* Immediately following the transcript of this letter in Harl. MSS. 523, f. 12, 13, this note occurs: "The King hath written to the Regent, signifying unto her Mr. Chamberlain's recommendation, and also requiring her in all his Majesty's affairs to give unto you Mr. H. Hobby, benign audience and full credit." On which Mr. Howard, p. 231, perhaps on the authority of the Harleian Catalogue, vol. i. p. 334, lays considerable stress, as evidence that Lord Guildford Dudley, "in right of his marriage, actually assumed the title of King," but it is most probable that the King there mentioned, was Edward VI., for there is no proof whatever when the letter alluded to was written; and as the copies of the state papers contained in that MS. either were arranged without the least attention to order, or became so from the negligence of the binder, no conclusion can be drawn from the place where it

A letter written two days previously, from the Commissioners, is deserving of attention, as it affords evidence that the Emperor's objection to Lady Jane's succession were not in the first instance considered as certain, and that the title of King was attributed to Lord Guildford Dudley by foreigners: a circumstance of less importance, but still of sufficient interest to render it worthy of a remark, is also afforded by this letter, that Don Diego was one of Lord Guildford's sponsors.

"TO THE COUNCIL.

"Please it your good Lordships,

"The xiiij. of this present, Don Diego found me, Sir Philip Hoby, and me, Sir Richard Morrison, walking in our Host's garden, and at his first coming to us, entered into a long talk, how much he was bound to owe his good will and

occurs in the volume; in evidence of which, the letter which immediately follows the one in the text was dated in 1552, that which is the next in point of time is inserted in a mutilated state, in f. 1, whilst the despatch announcing the appointment of the Bishop of Norwich, as Mary's Ambassador to the Emperor, dated 1st August, 1553, is placed at f. 45, and the intermediate pages are occupied not only with the letters just cited, but with others of various dates between 1549 and 1552. Moreover it must be observed, that in the copies of these despatches, in the Cottonian MS. Galba B. xii. the note in question is not to be found. These remarks are only meant to extend to the inference to be deduced from the above-mentioned note, for it will hereafter be seen, that the title of "Majesty" was actually attributed to Lord Guildford Dudley abroad, though there is no circumstance on record to establish that he was so styled in this country.

service to England, and therefore he could not but at one time both sorrow with us for the loss of our old master, a Prince of such virtue and towardness, and also rejoice with us, that our master which is departed, did ere he went, provide us of a King, in whom we had so many causes to rejoice in: he made his excuses that he had not* come to us the day before, laying the stay thereof in D. Arras; for, saith he, when I told him I would come to you, and shew me a partaker both of your sorrows and gladness, with mind to make offer to the King's Majesty by you both, of as much service as should lye in me, and of as much as my friends and kinsmen were able to do, in case D. Arras did think such my offer could not offend the Emperor my master, D. Arras' advice was, that I should for a season defer my going unto you, which as I did somewhat against my will, so I am now very glad that I so did, for he telleth me now I may come to you, and sorrow with you, and make all the offers that I can to the King's Majesty, for I shall not only not offend him in so doing, but I shall much please his Majesty therewith; and therefore saith he, as I am sorry that ye have lost so good a King, so do I much rejoice that ye have so noble and so toward a Prince to succeed him, and I promise you by the word of a gentle-

* This word is erased in the MS. but the sense of the paragraph requires its retention.

man, I will at all times serve his Highness myself, and as many as I shall be able to bring with me, if the Emperor did call me to serve him. We said, we hitherto had received the sorrowful news, but the glad tidings were as yet come unto us by no letters; we were glad to hear thus much, and wished that we were able to tell him all, how things went at home: saith he, I can tell you thus much.—The King's Majesty, for discharge of his conscience, wrote a good piece of his Testament with his own hand, barring both his sisters of the Crown, and leaving it to the Lady Jane, niece to the French Queen. Whether the two daughters be base or no, or why it is done, we that be strangers have nothing to do with the matter; you are bound to serve and obey his Majesty, and therefore it is reason we take him for your King, whom the consent of the nobles of your country have allowed for your King. I, saith he, for my part of all others, am bound to be glad that his Majesty is settled in this office; I was his god-father, and will as willingly spend my blood in his service, as any subject that he hath, as long as I shall see the Emperor my master so willing to embrace his Majesty's amity. Don Francisco de Este, general of all the footmen Italians, is gone to his charge in Milan, who at his departure made the like offer, as long as his master and ours should be friends, which he trusted should

be ever, praying us at our return to utter it to the King's Majesty, and thus we humbly take our leaves of your honours.—From the Commissioners at Brussels, the xv. of July, 1553."

The following passage occurs in the MS. immediately after the preceding letter, but whether it belonged to it or not, can only be conjectured*.

"That it hath liked your Grace to promise to consider my suit, I most humbly thank you for hoping your goodness will at convenient leisure take a time to remember the same, and despatch me."

The letter from the new Queen to the Commissioners, dated at the Tower, 12th July, 1553, announcing her succession, was conveyed by Mr. Shelley; and in the same Manuscript from which the other letters were taken, is the copy of a very important despatch, from the Commissioners to the Council, announcing that the Emperor had ordered them to attend him without delay, and that whilst they were preparing to obey the summons, Mr. Shelley had arrived; but before they could possibly open his despatches, a second messenger reached them, commanding them instantly to attend his Majesty, so that the audience of which it was the object of that despatch to give the particulars, occurred before they were officially informed of Lady

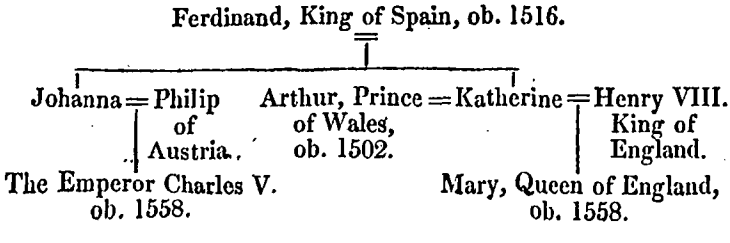
* Vide the note to p. 354.

Jane's having assumed the royal dignity. In that interview the Emperor gave them plainly to understand, first, that he was far from pleased that Edward had declared his sister to be illegitimate, and limited the succession in a different manner than his father had done; secondly, he complained that his Ambassadors in England could not obtain an audience since the death of the late King; thirdly, he observed, that the Dauphin might have pretensions to the English crown in right of his wife, the Queen of Scotland, who was the descendant of the eldest, whilst Lady Jane was the representative of the youngest sister; fourthly, he wished the differences between Lady Jane and Lady Mary should be determined by Parliament, without force or violence, and that Lady Mary should be married to some nobleman of England, so that the realm might remain in the same state, both in policy and religion; fifthly, he expressed his dislike at Mr. Dudley's being sent into France; and, lastly, he declined giving an audience to Mr. Shelley, until he knew from whom he came. To this communication Hoby and Morrison merely replied, that they had no regular intimation of the proceedings in England, but that Mr. Shelley had just reached Brussels with important letters, which they had not had time to examine; and they promised to acquaint his Majesty the next day with their contents: but Charles being

well informed of the state of affairs in England, an excuse was made to receiving them; and it was clearly intimated, that no one could be admitted from England in any other character than as Mary's accredited agent*.

The rapid success which attended Mary's efforts to dispossess her rival of the power which she had usurped, rendered Lady Jane's affairs extremely critical; and even the veil of ambition, which had hitherto blinded Northumberland, was at last removed by a conviction of his dangerous situation. The Earl of Arundel, his brother-in-law, to testify his resolution, remarked: "He was sorry it was not his chance to go with him, at whose feet he could find in his heart to spend his best blood." On the 14th of July, Northumberland, accompanied by the Marquess of Northampton, Lord Grey, and several other persons of rank, proceeded to meet Mary's forces:

* The Emperor's dislike to the innovation in the order of the succession may not only be rationally accounted for on political grounds, but the near consanguinity between Mary and himself, as is shewn below, was a sufficient motive to render him hostile to every attempt against her interests. Mary married in the following year Philip, King of Spain, the Emperor's son.


Ferdinand, King of Spain, ob. 1516.
Johanna = Philip of Austria
Arthur, Prince of Wales, ob. 1502.
Katherine = Henry VIII. King of England.
The Emperor Charles V. ob. 1558.
Mary, Queen of England, ob. 1558.

their troops consisted of about 8000 foot, and 2000 horse, but so manifest was the fact, that their cause was unpopular, that Northumberland, when passing Shoreditch, observed, "See how the people press to see us, but not one of them saith, 'God speed you'*." No sooner had he reached St. Edmond's Bury, than he found his army too weak to cope with Mary's forces, which amounted to at least double the number: he therefore wrote urgently to the council, desiring reinforcements, and they gladly availed themselves of the pretext which the appearance of executing his demands afforded them of quitting the Tower; but it was their first thought to concert measures for their own safety, or, as Hume expresses it, "to shake off his usurped tyranny." Arundel took the lead in throwing away the cloak which had covered his real sentiments; and at a meeting which had been previously appointed to take place at Baynard's Castle, this nobleman, who with the most contemptible hypocrisy had a few days before boasted of his readiness to spill his heart's blood in Lady Jane's cause, now represented Northumberland's cruelty and injustice, the inordinacy of his ambition, his criminal designs, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole Council; and he concluded his address by pointing out, that the only means which then existed

* Baker's Chronicle, sub anno 1553, p. 313.

of atoning for their crime, was by an immediate return to the duty which they owed their lawful sovereign. Pembroke with ardour seconded the motion, laid his hand on his sword, and vowed he was ready to fight any man who expressed a contrary sentiment. The Mayor and Aldermen of London were sent for, and Mary was proclaimed with zeal and affection, that formed a striking contrast to the manner in which the unhappy Jane had been announced a few weeks preceding*. This important change was effected about the 19th of July, at which time neither ambition nor hope could conceal the desperate state of Lady Jane's situation: Northumberland, however, aware that his fortunes and his life were at stake, advanced from Cambridge to Bury, where finding himself deserted, his cause totally hopeless, and the general feeling unequivocally expressed in Mary's favour, he at length suffered his reason to overcome his wishes, and with a meanness no less disgraceful than unavailing, he himself proclaimed Mary, Queen of England. Lloyd quaintly remarks, that the spectators of his conduct on the occasion, "more believing the grief in his eyes when they let down tears, than the joy professed by his hands when he threw up his cap;" and to the same writer we are indebted

* Hume; corroborated by extracts from several contemporary letters.

for information of a fact still more humiliating, for he states, that when the Duke was arrested by the Earl of Arundel, he fell at his feet and "craved mercy." Of this nobleman little remains to be said: he was speedily committed to the Tower, and soon afterwards brought to trial; and as his treason was displayed in too multiplied a manner to admit of a question, the only part of the proceedings worthy of notice is, that when he implored the mercy of the Court for his children, he assured them that Lady Jane herself was so far from aspiring to the Crown, "that she was by enticement and force made to accept it:" on the 22nd of August following, in pursuance of his sentence, he was executed on Tower-hill, with Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer.

At this critical conjuncture in Lady Jane Grey's life, she becomes an object of the deepest interest; and she has been described to have made misery itself amiable by her patient and pious behaviour*. The first person who acquainted her with the events which had taken place, is said to have been her father, the Duke of Suffolk; who, entering her chamber, told her she must now divest herself of the royal robes, and be contented to return to a private station: it is stated that she received the information with apparent joy, and assured him she would put them off with infinitely more pleasure than she

* Fuller.

felt when she assumed them, and which she never would have done, but in obedience to the commands of her mother and himself*.

The command issued by Mary relative to her prisoners, which probably caused them the greatest anguish, was that Lady Jane and her husband should be rigorously confined in distinct apartments, by which she prevented that alleviation of their misfortunes, which mutual endearments seldom fail to supply.

Though at first arrested, Suffolk appears to have obtained his liberty about the 31st of July, but with an engagement to surrender himself if he was required to do so. Immediately after Lady Jane became a prisoner, she was called upon to deliver to the Marquess of Winchester all the crown jewels; and it has been conjectured, that under that pretence both she and her husband were divested of every shilling they possessed†. On the 3rd of October, the ceremony of Mary's coronation took place, soon after which, measures were adopted for the arraignment of Lady Jane and Lord Guildford Dudley, together with his brothers Lord Ambrose and Lord Henry Dudley; and on the 13th of November, their trial commenced, Lady Jane and her husband having on that morning been escorted from the Tower to the place appointed for the purpose. Fully sensible of the uselessness of a defence,

* Baker. † Lady Jane Grey and Her Times.

they pleaded guilty, and after sentence of death was pronounced on each of them, the unfortunate Lady Jane and her husband were conducted back to their solitary abode in the Tower. On this appalling occasion, she is said to have evinced the most perfect coolness and intrepidity, and even to have offered to her companions in misfortune, that consolation, of which, from her youth and sex she might naturally be supposed to have stood in need. During their return, the public sympathy was loudly expressed; and the uniform testimony of historians assures us, that but for the subsequent attempt of her father, their youth and innocence would have moved even the unfeminine heart of Mary, to have preserved their lives.

It was not until the day of their trial, that Lady Jane and her husband had been allowed to see each other since the sad change in their fortunes, but on their return to the Tower, they were again separated. At this period Mary, perhaps disposed to affect a clemency foreign to her nature, and desirous of commencing her reign with an act of popularity, pardoned the Marquess of Northampton and Sir Henry Gates; and ordered the restraint to which the two illustrious personages had been subjected, to be considerably relaxed. Lord Guildford and his brother, Lord Ambrose Dudley, were permitted to walk on the leads of the Tower, whilst to Lady Jane

was conceded the indulgence of taking exercise in the Queen's garden, with other slight favours, which though perhaps otherwise unimportant, were hailed by their friends as the harbingers of a speedy and permanent release. During her confinement, Fox and other writers have positively asserted that the Queen made frequent efforts to convert her to the Catholic faith, and they have even gone so far as to state, that the most solemn promises of life and fortune were made, if she would yield to their solicitations. Of the truth of these statements, which are extremely probable, we have now no means of deciding, but to her eternal honour, and doubtless to her immortal advantage, the sin of apostacy was not her's.

No sooner was this rebellion crushed, than it was resolved to carry the sentence which had been passed on Lady Jane Grey into execution. On the 8th of February, Feckenham, the Queen's confessor, was sent to announce to her the awful tidings, that she must prepare herself to die on the ensuing day. She received the intimation with resignation, and told Feckenham that she had long expected it; he then used every argument of which he was master, to persuade her to change her religion, and construing her reply that she had now no time to think of any thing, but to prepare herself to meet her God by prayer, into a request that her execution might

be delayed, applied to the Queen, who granted her a reprieve of three days. The desire of making her a convert to the church of Rome, was in all probability the sole motive of this indulgence, which Feckenham instantly announced to her; but to his surprise, she mildly observed, "You are much deceived if you think I have any desire of longer life, for I assure you, since the time you went from me, my life hath been so tedious to me, that I long for nothing so much as death; and since it is the Queen's pleasure, I am most willing to undergo it; neither did I wish the Queen to be solicited for such a purpose." Her sentiments having been communicated to Mary, she became inflamed in an increased degree with the wish to induce Lady Jane to renounce her religion, and under colour of the most tender concern for her eternal welfare, persecuted her with the visits of priests, who disturbed her devotions, and harassed her with constant disputations: so far indeed was the attempt carried, that the offer of a further reprieve was made in order that she might in the time thus afforded, pay, what they termed, a proper regard to the welfare of her soul. In this trying scene, however, she remained inflexible, and displayed a fortitude never surpassed.

A Conference, Dialogue-wise, held between the Lady Jane Dudley and M. Feckenham, four Days before her Death, touching her Faith and Religion.*

Feckenham.—What thing is required in a Christian?

Jane.—To believe in God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

Feckenham.—Is there nothing else required in a Christian, but to believe in God?

Jane.—Yes: We must believe in him, we must love him, with all our heart, with all our soul, and all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself.

Feckenham.—Why then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not?

Jane.—Yes, verily, faith (as St. Paul saith) only justifieth.

Feckenham.—Why St. Paul saith, if I have all the faith of the world, without love, it is nothing.

Jane.—True it is, for how can I love him I trust not, or how can I trust in him whom I love not; faith and love ever agree together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Feckenham.—How shall we love our neighbour?

* The Life, Death, and Actions of the Most Chaste, Learned, and Religious Lady, the Lady Jane Grey, &c. London, 1615.

Jane.—To love our neighbour, is to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.

Feckenham.—Why, then it is necessary to salvation to do good works, and it is not sufficient to believe?

Jane.—I deny that; I affirm that faith only saveth; for it is meet for all Christians, in token that they follow their master Christ, to do good works; yet may we not say, nor in any wise believe, that they profit to salvation; for although we have done all that we can, yet we are unprofitable servants, and the faith we have only in Christ's blood and his merits, saveth.

Feckenham.—How many Sacraments are there?

Jane.—Two: the one the Sacrament of Baptism, and the other the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Feckenham.—No, there be seven Sacraments.

Jane.—By what Scripture find you that?

Feckenham.—Well, we will talk of that hereafter: but what is signified by your two sacraments?

Jane.—By the Sacrament of Baptism I am washed with water, and regenerated in the spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am the child of God: the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is offered unto me as a sure seal and testimony, that I am, by the blood of Christ which he shed

for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom.

Feckenham.—Why, what do you receive in that bread: do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

Jane.—No, surely, I do not believe so: I think at that supper I receive neither flesh nor blood, but only bread and wine; the which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunk, putteth me in mind how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross, and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits which came by breaking of his body, and by the shedding of his blood on the cross for my sins.

Feckenham.—Why but, madam, doth not Christ speak these words: take, eat, this is my body: can you require any plainer words: doth he not say, that it is his body?

Jane.—I grant he saith so; and so he saith likewise in other places, I am the vine, I am the door, it being only but a figurative speech: doth not St. Paul say that he calleth those things which are not as though they were? God forbid, that I should say that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or confess there were two bodies, or two Christs: two bodies, the one body was tormented on the cross, and then if they did eat another body, how absurd: again,

if his body was eaten really, then it was not broken upon the cross, or if it were broken upon the cross (as it is doubtless) then it was not eaten of his disciples.

Feckenham.—Why, is it not as possible that Christ by his power could make his body both to be eaten and broken, as to be born of a woman without the seed of man, and as to walk on the sea having a body, and other such like miracles, which he wrought by his power only?

Jane.—Yes, verily, if God would have done at his last supper a miracle, he might have done so: but I say he minded nor intended no work or miracle, but only to break his body, and shed his blood on the cross for our sins: but I beseech you answer me to this one question; where was Christ when he said, take, eat, this is my body: was not he at the table? when he said so he was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day; well, what took he but bread? and what broke he but bread? and what gave he but bread? look what he took he brake, and look what he brake he gave, and look what he gave that did they eat, and yet all this while he himself was at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived.

Feckenham.—You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay, both with a breath, and not upon the church, to whom you ought to give credit.

Jane.—No, I ground my faith upon God's word, and not upon the church: for if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word, and not God's word by the church: neither yet my faith: shall I believe the church because of antiquity? or shall I give credit to that church which taketh away from me a full half part of the Lord's Supper, and will not laymen receive it in both kinds, but the priests only themselves? which thing if they deny to us part, they deny us part of our salvation; and I say, that it is an evil and no good church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, which altereth the Lord's Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it: to that church I say God will add plagues, and from that church will he take their part out of the Book of Life: you may learn of St. Paul, how he did administer it to the Corinthians in both kinds, which since your church refuseth, shall I believe it? God forbid!

Feckenham.—That this was done by the wisdom of the church, and to a most good intent to avoid an heresy, which then sprung in it.

Jane.—O, but the church must not alter God's will and ordinances, for the colour or gloss of a good intent: it was the error of King Saul, and he not only reaped a curse, but perished thereby, as it is evident in the Holy Scriptures.

To this M. Feckenham gave me a long, te-

dious, yet eloquent reply; using many strong and logical persuasions, to compel me to have leaned to their church: but my faith had armed my resolution to withstand any assault that words could then use against me. Of many other articles of religion we reasoned, but these formerly rehearsed were the chiefest and most effectual.

JANE DUDLEY.

In estimating the conduct of Feckenham, we must remember that the unfavourable descriptions of his conduct towards Lady Jane Grey are handed down to us from most prejudiced sources; a martyrologist is never an impartial biographer of a priest of the religion which produced the immolation of those whose virtues he records; and judging of Mary's chaplain by perhaps the only positive evidence which exists—the interesting dialogue before us—the conclusion which it allows is, by no means what his enemies have represented.

The respite offered by the Queen was, notwithstanding its refusal by Lady Jane, confirmed by the Council, and she consequently lived to be aware that her father was brought to the same prison, for the purpose of undergoing a similar fate. That she was not acquainted with his previous arrest, is inferred from her having written her celebrated letter to him.

It was on Saturday the 10th of February,

1554, that the Duke of Suffolk, together with Lord John Grey his brother, were conveyed to the Tower; and the Monday following was appointed for the execution of Lady Jane and her husband Lord Guildford Dudley. The last evening of her life was employed by her in religious duties: having taken up a Greek Testament, and attentively perused it for some time, she discovered a few pages of clean paper at the end of the volume, "which, as it were awakening and inciting her zeal to some good and charitable office, she took her pen, and in those waste leaves wrote a most godly and learned exhortation" to her sister Katherine.

Her tormenters, worn out by a resolution which no arguments could shake, left her, as they styled it, in her obstinacy; though it is said that she was not permitted to pass the brief space of her existence which remained, without experiencing similar attempts.

It was also on this evening that she finished and corrected the following prayer:

A Prayer composed by Lady Jane Dudley shortly before her Execution.

O Lord, thou God and father of my life! hear me, poor and desolate woman, which flyeth unto thee only, in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee; and, therefore,

I, being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grieviously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of my liberty. Albeit, it is expedient, that seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited some time with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better; yet thou that saidst thou wouldst not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me, now a miserable wretch, I beseech thee; which, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much depressed with adversity; lest I, being too full, should deny thee, my God; or being too low brought, should despair and blaspheme thee, my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right

hand, that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharoah, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and keep them in bondage; let it therefore likewise seem good to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me, sorrowful wretch, for whom thy son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross, out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent?—for ever? Oh, Lord! hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure? wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy clear gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore? why dost thou make so long tarrying? shall I despair of thy mercy? Oh God! far be that from me; I am thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus; give me grace therefore to tarry thy leisure, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt deliver me, when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do; therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only, in the meantime, arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace; above all things, taking to me the

shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of thy spirit, which is thy most holy word: praying always, with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me; seeing such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot but be well all thou doest. Hear me, O merciful Father, for his sake, whom thou wouldest should be a sacrifice for my sins; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen!

Execution of Lady Jane Grey.

The fatal morning at length arrived: it was originally intended that Lady Jane and Lord Guildford should suffer together on Tower Hill, but the Council dreading the effect of their youth and innocence on the populace, changed their orders; and it was therefore determined that Lord Guildford only should be executed on that spot, and that Lady Jane's death should take place within the verge of the Tower. Guildford, on the morning of his execution, urgently requested to be allowed to bid a last adieu to the cherished partner of his heart, and although his wishes were not refused by the Queen, the gratification of them was denied him by Lady Jane:

her strong judgment at once dreaded the effects of an interview, that was likely to overwhelm them with unavailing sorrow, and thus to destroy that firmness, which was so necessary to enable them to bear the trying scene with composure: she reminded him that their separation would be but for a moment, and that they would soon rejoin each other, where their affections would be united for ever, and where neither misfortunes, disappointments, nor death, could reach them, but where their felicity would be eternal! Lord Guildford was first led to his fate, and when passing under the window of his wife, obtained one last token of her love and remembrance. What tale of sorrow, it may be asked, has ever equalled this heart-rending scene? But her cup of bitterness was not yet full; for, besides her own bodily sufferings, she experienced the agony of seeing the headless corpse of her husband conveyed from the place of his execution. The manner in which this appalling sight met her view has been differently stated: in the narrative inserted in the tract before noticed*, it is said that she encountered it on her way to the scaffold; whilst Mr. Howard, her latest biographer, follows those writers who assert that when sitting in her apartment awaiting the awful summons, she heard the cart pass under her window, and

* Life, Death, and Actions of the Most Chaste, Learned, and Religious Lady, the Lady Jane Grey.

rose, notwithstanding the efforts of her attendants to restrain her.

So soon as the closing scene of Lord Guildford's life was over, the Sheriffs announced to Lady Jane that they were ready to attend her to the scaffold: nor did this awful summons shake the fortitude which she had displayed throughout her imprisonment. The pamphlet which has been frequently cited*, describes her conduct on the occasion in the following words: "And being come down and delivered into the hands of the Sheriffs, they might behold in her countenance so gravely settled with all modest and comely resolution, that not the least hair or mote either of fear or grief could be perceived to proceed either out of her speech or motions, but like a demure body going to be united to her heart's best and longest beloved; so shewed she forth all the beams of a well mixt and temporal alacrity, rather instructing patience how it should suffer, than being by patience any way able to endure the travel of so grievous a journey: with this blessed and modest boldness of spirit, undaunted and unaltered she went towards the scaffold." She was conducted to the place of execution by Sir John Brydges, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and was entirely occupied in the perusal of a

* "Life, Death, and Actions of the Most Chaste, Learned, and Religious Lady, the Lady Jane Grey," and which appears to have been copied in the "Phœnix," No. xviii.

book of prayers, though Fox asserts that her devotions were continually interrupted by Feckenham. On reaching the scaffold, she mounted it without hesitation, and addressed the assembled crowd in a short speech, in which she admitted her crime against the Queen, but protested that she was innocent either of wishing, or procuring, the royal dignity: and after requesting those who heard her to bear witness that she died a true Christian woman, and that she expected salvation only through the mercy of God, in the merits of the blood of his son Jesus Christ, she confessed that when she did know the word of God, she neglected it, and loved herself, and that therefore the punishment had happily and worthily happened to her for her sins; she thanked God for his goodness for giving her time to repent, and concluded her speech by requesting them to assist her with their prayers. She then knelt down, and addressing Feckenham, asked if she should say the Psalm of *Miserere Mei Deus*, to which he assented, and she repeated it in English, in the most devout manner. When it was concluded, she arose and began to prepare herself for her fate, by giving Mrs. Tylney, one of her maids, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Mr. Thomas Brydges, the Lieutenant's brother; and proceeding to untie her gown, the executioner offered to assist her, but she requested him to let her alone; and turning towards

her gentlewomen, who helped her in taking it off, together with her "Frose paste, and neckercher," they gave her a handkerchief to tie round her eyes. The executioner now fell on his knees and begged her forgiveness, which she most willingly granted him; and he requested her to stand upon the straw, on approaching which the block met her view, but the sight of it did not in the least affect her resolution, and she merely requested him to dispatch her quickly. She then again knelt, and asked, "will you take it off before I lay me down?" and being answered in the negative, she tied the handkerchief before her eyes, and felt for the block, observing, "what shall I do? where is it?" One of the by-standers immediately guided her, when she laid her head on it, and stretching forth her body, exclaimed, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit:"—immediately the axe fell, and the world closed for ever on one of the most interesting women that ever adorned it*!

Lady Jane Dudley's Speech on the Scaffold.

"My lords, and you good christian people,

* The account of the execution of Lady Jane Grey, is chiefly taken from a reprint in the Archæologia, vol. xiii. p. 406, from "an exceedingly rare, if not unique, printed tract, not noticed either by Ames or Herbert, one part of which is entitled 'The Ende of the Lady Jane upon the Scaffolde:' it is without date, but contains internal evidence of having been printed immediately after that event, in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary." It differs in a very slight degree from the narrative of Fox.

which come to see me die, I am under a law, and by that law, as a never erring judge, I am condemned to die, not for any thing I have offended the Queen's Majesty, for I will wash my hands guiltless thereof, and deliver to my God a soul as pure from such trespass, as innocence from injustice; but only for that I consented to the thing which I was enforced unto, constraint making the law believe I did that which I never understood. Notwithstanding, I have offended Almighty God in that I have followed over-much the lust of mine own flesh, and the pleasures of this wretched world, neither have I lived according to the knowledge that God hath given me, for which cause God hath appointed unto me this kind of death, and that most worthily, according to my deserts; how be it, I thank him heartily that he hath given me time to repent my sins here in this world, and to reconcile myself to my redeemer, whom my former vanities have in a great measure displeased. Wherefore, my lords, and all you good christian people, I most earnestly desire you all to pray with and for me whilst I am yet alive, that God of his infinite goodness and mercy will forgive me my sins, how numberless and grievous soever against him: and I beseech you all to bear me witness that I here die a true christian woman, professing and avouching from my soul that I trust to be saved by the blood, passion, and merits of Jesus Christ

my Saviour only, and by none other means; casting far behind me all the works and merits of mine own actions, as things so far short of the true duty I owe, that I quake to think how much they may stand up against me. And now, I pray you all, pray for me, and with me."

It is rather a singular fact, that numerous as the biographers of Lady Jane Grey have been, not one of them has alluded to the interment of her body; and it is equally extraordinary that no monument of so celebrated a character, or of her husband, should exist. The presumption is, that they were both buried in the chapel of the Tower, but the historian of that fortress* has not been able to find any conclusive evidence of the place where their remains were deposited. Thus, whilst tombs have been erected, not only by the hands of private friendship, but from public esteem, and even by royal command, to perpetuate the names of individuals of much less importance, as well as of inferior moral worth, the ashes of two illustrious victims to state policy, in one of whom to royal birth was united every virtue which renders the female sex estimable, have been allowed to moulder in obscurity! That in the present age, when the spirit of inquiry has produced the exhumation of several of the celebrated dead, some pains should not have been

* John Bayley, Esq. F.R.S. F.S.A.

taken to ascertain where the bodies of Lady Jane Grey and her husband were interred, not from mere motives of curiosity, but from the better feeling of removing their remains to the tombs of their ancestors, and of erecting a monument to their memory, cannot but be a subject of surprise.

Mr. Howard*, and almost every other biographer of Lady Jane, has stated that when she descended from her room to go to the scaffold, she presented Sir John Gage, the Lieutenant of the Tower, in compliance with his request that she would bestow on him some small present which he might keep as a memorial of her, with her table book, in which she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body. One of these sentences, we are informed, was in Greek, one in Latin, and the third in English; and the purport of them was, that human justice was against his body, but the divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her own fault deserved punishment, yet her youth at least, and her imprudence, were worthy of excuse, and that God and posterity, she trusted, would shew her favor. The whole of this story, however, is not only improbable, but it is not supported by a shadow of evidence; and still more, many circumstances tend to convince us of its entire fallacy.

* Lady Jane Grey and her Times, p. 379.

If she really wrote the sentences in question, the assertion that she saw the body of her husband from her chamber window, instead of her having accidentally met it on her way to the scaffold, is confirmed: and as very much depends whether such was the fact, it is important to inquire into the truth of it. It has been before observed, that independently of the improbability of her seeking an object so calculated to excite her feelings, Grafton, who was nearly contemporary with the event, informs us that the body of Lord Guildford Dudley, lying in a car in straw, was brought into the Tower "at the same instant in which Lady Jane went to her death, within the Tower;" this statement is likewise followed in the tract reprinted in the Phœnix, as well as in the pamphlet which has been so often cited.

Hence, the most probable account is consonant to the representations of more than one writer; and it may with confidence be asked, whether it can for a moment be believed that a young and amiable girl, who on numerous occasions evinced that she was endowed with even more than her sex's usual delicacy and softness, would at any moment have written epigrams on the mutilated corpse of her husband, especially whether she would have done so within a few seconds after she had seen so ghastly a spectacle, and when even she herself was expecting a momentary summons to undergo a similar fate?

That she possessed an extraordinary firmness of character is certain; but the female who could have done what has been held up to the world as a subject of admiration, must have been little less than a monster; and instead of the esteem, would most justly have deserved the execration of posterity. But it is certain, not only from the testimony of the writers alluded to, but from other circumstances, that she was incapable of such horrible conduct; and so far from writing epigrams on her ill-fated husband, we are told, what nature and a knowledge of the female heart at once suggest must have been the case, that when she beheld Lord Guildford's corpse, "so miserable a sight was to her a double sorrow and grief*;" and according to another writer, "the spectacle a little startled her, and many tears were seen to descend and fall upon her cheeks†."

Of the lives which have been written of Lady Jane Grey, perhaps the one most deserving of credit is that by Florio, and though he states that, in compliance with the wish of the governor of the Tower, she wrote passages somewhat similar to those attributed to her on her husband, yet he informs us that they were on *herself*.

Fuller asserts, that it was reported at the time of Lady Jane's death, that she was in the most interesting situation in which a married woman

* Grafton. † Phœnix, No. 42.

can be placed; and observes, "cruelty to cut down the tree with blossoms on it; and that which hath saved the lives of many women hastened her death;" but, he adds, "God only knows the truth thereof." The same circumstance is noticed by Sir Thomas Chaloner in his well known elegy; but the point has never been determined, and as is well observed in the *Biographia Britannica*, "whereas some of our own writers seem to doubt whether Lady Jane was with child or not at the time of her decease, and foreigners have improved this into a direct assertion that she was five months gone; it seems to be improbable, since there were at that time so many busy and inquisitive people, that if the fact had been true, it must have been known, and would have been perpetually repeated in those pieces that were every day sent abroad, in order to exasperate the nation against the Queen and her ministers." Upon so delicate a question, any conjecture would at this period be ridiculous, and as there does not appear to be the least possibility of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, it would be useless to enter into any discussion on the subject.

A very interesting circumstance connected with Lady Jane Grey, occurred a few years since on making some alterations in the Tower: on converting an apartment in Beauchamp's Tower, which had formerly been the place in

which state prisoners were confined, into a mess-room for the officers of the garrison there, several inscriptions were discovered on the walls of the room. They appeared to have been made with nails, or some other pointed instrument, and the greater part of them were undoubtedly the autographs of the unfortunate tenants of the place. Amongst them, was the word

IANE IANE

and which, it has been conjectured, was written by herself, and that some latent meaning was contained in the repetition of her signature, by which she at once styled herself a Queen, and intimated that not even the horrors of a prison would force her to relinquish that title*. This suggestion is not, however, entitled to any consideration, for independently of its having been proved that she was placed in a different apartment from that where this inscription was found, her character and conduct render it extremely unlikely that motives of vanity should have had any place in her wounded mind. Another antiquary has supposed that it was written by her father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland; but the most rational idea which has been suggested on the subject is that of Mr. Bayley†, who considers it to have been inscribed by her unhappy partner,

* Archæologia, vol. xiii. p. 70, communicated by the Rev. John Brand, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries.

† History of the Tower.

Lord Guildford Dudley; for nothing is more probable than that in his separation from his wife, he should have solaced himself by marking the walls of his prison with her name. If it could be proved that it was traced by his hand, so affecting a memorial would speak eloquently of his tenderness, and we might feel convinced that the affection which has been attributed to this interesting pair unquestionably existed.

A curious engraving in a similar manner, by the Duke of Northumberland whilst in confinement, is also deserving of notice. It exhibited the device of that once powerful nobleman, and contained within a square, each side of which was about twenty inches long, a bear with a collar and chain, and a lion, the supporters of his arms, holding a ragged staff, the ancient cognizance of the Earls of Warwick; they were surrounded by a border composed of a foliage of roses, acorns, and apparently lilies; under the animals was his name,

IOHN DVDLI.

beneath which were the following lines,

YOW THAT THESE BEASTS DO WEL BEHOLDE AND SE,
MAY DEME WITHE EASE WHEREFORE HERE MADE THEY BE
WITHE BORDERS EKE WHEREIN
A BROTHERS NAMES WHO LIST TO SERCHE THE GROVND.

There is much difficulty in comprehending the meaning which the illustrious prisoner intended to convey by these lines and the device. It has

been supposed, that a pun was meant, as the *roses* easily separate themselves in the division of his brother Am*brose*'s christian name*, whilst Mr. Howard remarks, that he evidently punned upon his own misfortunes, and his brother Ambrose's name†. Neither of these conjectures appear to be strictly correct, and the following, in the absence of a more satisfactory explanation, is submitted. The third line which was either unfinished or had been partly defaced, has not, it is presumed, any connexion with the last line; in all probability it stated that the border of roses alluded to the name of his son Ambrose, and it is not impossible but that the acorns and other flowers bore some allusion to the cognizances or symbols of his other children, who were at the same time confined in the Tower; namely, John, Earl of Warwick, his eldest son, and the Lords Ambrose, Guildford, and Henry Dudley, his younger sons, though from the imperfect manner in which they were sculptured, and our ignorance of their each having adopted some particular cognizance or badge, nothing certain can be determined on the subject. The third line admits of a different interpretation, for the idea that his *brother's* name was meant by the roses, is at once set aside by the simple fact that the Duke of Northumberland never had a brother called

* Archæologia, vol. xiii. p. 70.

† Lady Jane Grey and Her Times, p. 319.

Ambrose. His only brothers were Andrew and Henry, the former of whom, Sir Andrew Dudley, Knight of the Garter*, was at that moment his fellow prisoner for the same crime, and who in all likelihood was alluded to in the last line; for no pun can be deemed too barbarous if it will explain a device of the times.

A brother's names who list to search the ground,

may be understood to mean, that as the border contained the names of his sons, his brother's names would be discovered by searching the ground on which his *hand drew* the lines and device that preceded it; this, however, will only give a pun on his baptismal name AN-DREW, but as the expression is "a brother's names," we must suppose the word DUDLEY to be supplied by the person who *searches the ground* for the solution of the riddle, exclaiming, "*Dudley's hand*

* It does not appear at what time he received the honor of Knighthood; but in 1551 he obtained a grant of the manor of Whitney, by the style of Sir Andrew Dudley, Knight. On 23 April, 5 Edw. IV. 1552, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and in October following, upon being recalled from the Castle of Guisnes, of which he was Captain, he was appointed gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, and was soon afterwards nominated Keeper of the Palace of Westminster, and Master of the Wardrobe. He joined in the attempt of his brother, the Duke of Northumberland, to place Lady Jane on the throne; and was condemned to death as a traitor the 19 August, 1553, but was reprieved, and having been pardoned, was discharged from the Tower, 18 October, 1554; the remainder of his life he passed in privacy at his house in Tothill Street, where he died in 1559. *Biographia Britannia.*

drew this," and we shall at once have ANDREW DUDLEY. This conjecture will doubtlessly be considered "far-fetched," but those who are accustomed to the quaint devices of the period, will not perhaps think it destitute of probability. The two first lines

> You that these beasts do well behold and see,
> May deem with ease wherefore here made they be,

alluded to his device of the lion, bear and ragged staff, by which he represented himself; and he justly observes, that the spectator may easily guess why they are introduced, namely, to explain his having been a tenant of that apartment; the roses are presumed to have been emblematical of his sons, and the lily was, possibly, allegorical of his beauteous daughter-in-law, Lady Jane, whilst the last line, it is here conjectured, was allusive to his brother; thus, by this device a memorial was formed of all his kindred who were at that time confined in the Tower. If, however, it be insisted that the allusion in the last line was to Ambrose Dudley, it can only be explained by supposing the device to have been drawn, not as has always been supposed by John, Duke of Northumberland, but by his eldest son John Dudley, who was styled Earl of Warwick, and who, as is before stated, was also committed to the Tower. He survived his father but a few months, having died without issue, on the 21 October, 1554, in the twenty-fourth year of his age*.

* Biog. Britann.

The fate of Lady Jane Grey's immediate kindred may be related in a few words. Her father, the Duke of Suffolk, underwent the execution of his sentence on Tower-hill, on the 23d February, 1554, eleven days after his daughter and son-in-law fell victims to his ambition: he is stated to have confessed the justice of his punishment, and to have suffered with fortitude and resignation. His widow married, secondly, Adrian Stokes, Esq. a gentleman who held a situation in her household, but by him she had no issue, and died in 1559. A warrant was issued by Queen Elizabeth to the kings of arms, to cause the royal ensigns, with a proper distinction, to be borne at her funeral, and placed on her monument, from respect to her kindred to her majesty*. The only children of the Duke and

† The following is a literal copy of the warrant alluded to, and which is introduced from its being of some interest, and because it proves that the Duchess died about the end of October 1559, whilst Mr. Howard and most other writers assert that her decease occurred in 1563:—

"By the Quene,

"Trusty and welbeloved we great you well, letting you to understand, that for the good zeale and affection wiche we of long tyme have borne to our dearly beloved cousyn the Lady Fraunces late Duchess of Suff', and specially for that she is lynyally descended from our grandfather King Henry the Sevinthe; as also for other causes and consyderations us thereunto moving in perpetuall memory of the same, we have thought it requisyte and expedyent to graunte and give unto her and to her posteryte an augmentation of our armes to be borne with the difference to the same by us assigned, and the same to beare in the place of the first quarter, and so to be placyd with the armes of her aunces-

Duchess of Suffolk that survived, besides Lady Jane Grey, were two other daughters, Katherine

tors as by the orders of our office it is manifest, according to the Skochin, by us directed unto you in that behaulf, that is to saye, our armes withe a bordure gouboney golde and azur wich shal be an apparent declaration of here consanguynyte unto us. Whereupon we will and requier you to see the same entyrd into your registers and recordes; and at this her funerall to plasse the same augmentation withe her aumcesters armes, in banners, baneroles, lozenges, and scochins, as otherwise, when it shall be thoughte mete and convenyent. And theis ours Letters shalbe your suffycyent warant and discharge in this behaulf. Geeven under our signett at our Palleis of Westmaster, the thierde daye of December, in the ye seconde Yeare of our Reigne.

"To our trusty and welbeloved Servant, Sr. Gilbert Dethicke, Knight, alias Garter, our Princypall King of Armes, and William Harvy, Esquier, alias Clarencieuix, Kinge of Armes of the Southe parte of this our Realme of England, and to either of them[1]."

The inscription on the Duchess of Suffolk's tomb in Westminster Abbey, of which a copy is subjoined, does not contain the date of her death:—

Here lyeth the Ladie Frances, Dutchess of Southfolke, daughter to Charles Brandon, Duke of Southfolke, and Mary the French Queene, first wife to Henrie, Duke of Southfolke, and after to Adrian Stock, Esquire.

In clariss. Dom. Franciscæ Suffolciæ
quondam Ducissæ.
Epicedion.
Nil Decus aut splendor, nil regia nomina prosunt.
Splendida divitis, nil juvat ampla Domus.
Omnia fluxerunt, Virtutis sola remansit.
Gloria, Tartareis, non abolenda rogis.
Nupta duci prius est, uxor post Armigeri Stok.
Funere nunc valeas, consociata Deo.

[1] MS. in the College of Arms, marked I. 9, f. 153b, and printed in Sandford's Genealogical History, p. 537.

and Mary. Lady Katherine was first married, or rather betrothed to Henry Herbert, son and heir apparent of William, Earl of Pembroke, but that union does not appear to have been consummated *; and she afterwards became the wife of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, son of the Protector. The circumstances attending this alliance, and the misfortunes which from the jealousy of Queen Elizabeth, it entailed on the Earl and herself, are too well known to require repetition. From this marriage some of the most illustrious families in the kingdom are descended; but the entire representation of the elder line of the once powerful house of Grey of Groby, and consequently of Lady Jane Grey, is now vested in the Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos.

Katherine, Countess of Hertford, died on the 26th January, 1567, after having been for nine years a state prisoner: it appears from the statement of an intelligent writer in the Gentleman's Magazine †, that she did not, as Fuller relates, die in the Tower; for although Mr. Bayley ‡

* Fuller attributes the non-completion of this marriage to political motives, for he observes of Lady Katherine Grey, "She was born at Bradgate, and (when her father was in height) married to Henry Lord Herbert, son and heir to the Earl of Pembroke; but the politic old Earl perceiving the case altered, and what was the high way to honour, turned into the ready road to ruin, got pardon from Queen Mary, and broke the marriage quite off."

† Vol. xciii. part. ii. p. 11. ‡ History of the Tower.

informs us that on the 5th September, 4 Eliz. 1562, "The Ladie Katherine Grey and the Erle of Hartford" were prisoners there, yet from the following extract from Reyce's MSS. relating to Suffolk antiquities, now in the College of Arms, and cited by the anonymous writer just mentioned, it may be inferred that she was subsequently confined at Yoxford, in Suffolk, and where it is certain she was buried:—

"There be buried in the church and chancel at Yoxford, the bowels of ye Lady Katherine, wife of Edward Seimour, Earl of Hartford. She was daughter of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and of Mary, the French Queen, the younger of the two daughters of King Henry VIII.:—of the elder, K. James and K. Charles were descended. This Lady Katherine had been committed prisoner to Sir Owen Hopton, Lieftenant of the Tower, for marrying without the Queen's knowledge, and was by him kept at Cockfield-Hall, in Yoxfield, being his house, where she died. I have been told by aged people in Yoxford, that after her death, a little dog she had would never more eat any meat, but lay and died upon her grave."

The preceding statement, though not strictly correct in the description of the Countess' connexion with the blood royal, is doubtlessly in other respects authentic, as it is corroborated

by the following entry in the parish register at Yoxford:—

"The Lady Katherine Grey buried 21st Feb. 1567."

Her death is said to have taken place on the 26th January, 1567, but it is singular if she died on that day that she should not have been buried until nearly a month afterwards.

Lady Mary Grey, the Duke of Suffolk's youngest daughter, was deformed in her person *; and Fuller, with his peculiar quaintness, remarks, that "frighted with the infelicity of her two sisters, she forgot her honour to remember her safety, and married one whom she could love, and none need fear, Martin Keyes, of Kent, Esq. who was a Judge at Court, but only of doubtful cast of dice, being Serjeant Porter." She died without issue, on the 20th of April, 1578.

The following Account of the DEATH *of* JANE GREY, *is extracted from the Outcasts.*

It was with augmented anxiety that the Duchess of Suffolk reached London, when she immediately flew to the Tower. Lady Jane was sleeping: her head lay upon a black cushion, over which her auburn hair flowed down in loose ringlets, while her pale face rested upon her breast, like a white rose in the night of tem-

* Baker's Chronicle, ed. 1657, p. 309.

pests. Her hands, fair as wax, were folded over those of Dudley, who knelt at her feet, and watched every motion of her bosom. The noise made by the Duchess entering, awoke the sleeper: she immediately got up, and saluted her dear kinswoman, but neither of them said a word. The first moments of their interview were past in speechless emotion, and, when Jane did speak, it was only to announce their separation.

"Forgive me, my dear friend, if I now part from you; a short time only remains to me and Guilford, and I have yet much to say to him."

She grasped Catherine's hand with a beseeching look, when at that moment the approaching sound of the sheriff's step froze the blood in her veins. "My God! already!" she murmured, but not a syllable escaped her lips. The sheriff announced to the young nobleman, that he was to precede his wife in execution. Guilford cast an unutterable look at Jane, who smiled, and gave him a sign that she should soon follow. Upon which he seemed to collect all his resolution, and with a stifled cry of agony left the prison.

Jane sat silent upon the cushion, and played with her tresses that hung in disorder about her neck; but, as if recollecting herself, she said to the Duchess, "Braid up my hair, for my neck must be free, and we have no more time to lose."

Catherine essayed the task with trembling fingers, which Jane tenderly kissed; at the same time presenting her with a ring, a birth-day gift from her grandfather, and then remained lost in thought, her hands folded, and her eyes fixed constantly upon the ground. On a sudden, she started up to the door, exclaiming, "It is time!" Her attendants were already there: she signed back the Duchess, who would have followed, and bade her farewell aloud; but added in a whisper, "Save yourself, for here you will not be safe much longer."

She was now led out, and seemed to float away like an angel before the multitude, who gazed after her in astonishment. A young shopkeeper, who had bought the black baize that covered the scaffold, was taken home for dead at her sight. None could bear the moving tones of her voice when she addressed the people, in the innocent confession of childish weakness allowing her own error, and the justice of her punishment, and calling on the citizens of London to be faithful to their queen. A thousand tears were shed, but no arm stirred to save her.

END OF VOL. I.

W. WILSON, PRINTER, 57, SKINNER-STREET, LONDON.

RECOLLECTIONS

OF

ROYALTY,

FROM

THE DEATH OF WILLIAM RUFUS, IN 1100,

TO THAT OF THE

CARDINAL YORK,

THE LAST LINEAL DESCENDANT OF THE STUARTS, IN 1807.

By CHARLES C. JONES, Esq.

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

" Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,
Omnia nos, itidem, depascimur aurea dicta."

Lucret.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

SAUNDERS AND OTLEY, CONDUIT-STREET.

1828.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

RECOLLECTIONS OF ROYALTY, &c.

Page

EXTRACTS FROM THE BURGHLEY PAPERS.

Henry's curious mode of impressing the Scots with the cause of the invasion of their country 1
Sir William Paget to Lord Hertford 1
Result of the wars, a summary of 1
French taunted with their defeats 4
Documents of the reign of Edward VI. 5
Thomas Lord Seymour and Catherine Parr ... 5
Jealous of the Lord Protector Somerset and Lord Seymour 5
LETTERS from the Queen Dowager to the Lord High Admiral 6
Her death in child-bed 8
Lord Seymour's character by Mr. Lodge 9
'Mestrys Archlay' and her cofferer sent to the Tower 12
Wyghtman's confession 14
The King's statement 15
Edward's want of money, &c. 17
Examination of the Marquess of Dorset admitted 18
Northampton's evidence 19
Earl of Rutland's assertion 20
Harrington's testimony 21
Elizabeth's behaviour to the Protector 22
Her narrative, &c. 22
Thomas Parry, his statement 24
Confession of Katherine Ashley 27
Confession of Elizabeth Tyrwhit 33

Page

Hypocrisy of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland 35
Sir Philip Hoby's advice to Sir W. Cecil on the gout..... 35
——————— appointed usher of the black rod 36
A seditious preacher sent to Newgate 36
Hopper, bishop of Gloucester, committed to the Fleet 37
Hugh Latimer appears before the Lords, and committed to the Tower 37
Confession and absolution of a tailor for shaving a dog 38
The Privy Council direct the constable of the Tower to permit Sir Edward Montague, a prisoner, to have open air, &c. 38
Lord Paget's letter to Sir Thomas Paget, &c. .. 39
Lord Chaloner to Secretary Cecil on Queen Elizabeth's conduct 41
Information relative to expense of posts, or special messengers, &c. 42
Lady Cecil interests herself in public affairs 42
Want of disclipline of the English army in Scotland 42
Precautions proposed for the Queen's apparel and diet, &c. 43
LETTER from Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, to his wife Margaret, &c. 46
LETTER from Cecil, with "reasons to move the Queen" to accept Charles of Austria, and the reasons against the Earl of Leicester 47
Notices of the fair Amy Robsart, the unfortunate wife of the Earl of Leicester 50
Her access to him during his imprisonment in the Tower 51

Page

Rumours respecting her tragical fate 51
Words used synonymously by the Duke of Norfolk, &c. 52
PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS 53
Davison's traffic in her death 53
——— his alliances 54
——— introduction to Court 54
——— Date of his first secretaryship 55
——— Why appointed secretary of state 55
Elizabeth's answers and communications to her parliament 56
Publication of Mary's sentence 59
Melancholy proof of the religious ferocity of the times 59
Kings of France and Scotland send ambassadors to Elizabeth to solicit mercy 60
Melville threatened by Elizabeth 60
Elizabeth's harsh reply to Melville 61
Dispatch of the warrant to Fotheringay 62
Particulars relative to assassination of Mary 62
Davison's opposition to the measures 62
Elizabeth orders the treasurer to draw the warrant 63
Orders sent privately to Davison to bring her the warrant to sign 63
Davison's conference with Elizabeth 64
Her Majesty appoints the hall of Fotheringay for the place of execution 65
She assigns her reasons for disliking the court-yard, or green of the castle 65
Her (Q. Eliz.) complaint against Sir Amias Paulett and others 66
LETTER from Sir Amias and Drury to Sir Francis Walsingham 67
Davison gets the chancellor's seal to the warrant 68

Page

Elizabeth's answer to Davison, &c. 68
Davison begins to feel an omen of his real situation 69
Elizabeth's equivoque, after the death of the Duke of Norfolk, occurs to his mind..... 69
The Privy Council take upon themselves, with Davison, the responsibility 69
Davison's first official crime 69
——— parts with the warrant to Burghley .. 70
Manœuvres of Elizabeth—her positive answer .. 71
Elizabeth's cunning and ambiguous pleasantry .. 72
——— apparent surprise and indignation, when first informed of the execution..... 73
Her indifference to Davison on the same subject, &c. 73
Davison sent to the Tower 74
His knowledge of Elizabeth contemplating private murder 74
His previous and subsequent behaviour 75
Is imprisoned three years 77
His short-sightedness as regards his royal mistress 77
QUEEN MARY'S CROSS 78
Particulars relative to Henry Stuart, the cousin and husband of Queen Mary 78
Jealousy of the Italian menial..... 79
Henry Stuart said to have been strangled with a napkin 79
The charge against Mary of murdering her husband, atrocious and improbable 79
Character of Lord Bothwell 80
Mary's good qualities 80
The nobility cast off their allegiance 81
Her procession through Edinburgh to Holyrood house 81
Nobles in her train 82
Conduct of Knox 82

Page

Her halt at Lord Morton's house 82
Addresses and adulations 82
Address of Ann Bothwell..... 84
Kirkaldy of Grange's surprise 84
Mary parts with her cross of jewels..... 85
A legendary ballad..... 86
Curious adventure.. 87
Escape of the Queen 88
Lord Maxwell's dialogue with Mary 90
Adam Hepburn 90
Treachery of the shepherd-boy 90
Rencontre with Herries and Lord Maxwell 92
Fahm, the treasurer's agent, received the cross as a share of the booty 92
Mary reconducted to Fotheringay 92
Fahm's treachery punished..... 94
Is hanged by James I. without trial..... 94
LETTER of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Lords of Queen Elizabeth's council 95
Entries found among Lord Burghley's notes of Queen Elizabeth's reign 97
Arms of England and Scotland set upon certain "cassocks," at the marriage of the King of Spain with the French King's daughter..... 98
A coloured escutcheon, with verses 98
Constable Montmorency's interference 98
Addresses to the House of Commons in favour of Mary 99
Camden's remarks 100
Mary's flight from Lochleven. 100
Regent Murray's victory 101
Despatch relative to this victory..... 101
Queen Mary continues her flight, and embarks on board a fishing boat in Galway, with Lord Herries..... 102

Page

LETTER of Lord Herrys to Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys. 102
Mary's letters in her own hand, invariably written in French..... 103
Her arrival in France 103
Education and return to Scotland 103
Letter of Q. of Scots to Sir Francis Knollys 104
A chançon of Mary's composition 106
Letter of Q. Elizabeth to stay the execution of the Duke of Norfolk..... 106
She revokes four warrants for the same, which is ascribed to dissimulation 107
Letter from Sir Nich. Bacon to Lord Burghley 108
Letters from several persons, illustrative of their feelings respecting Q. Elizabeth's progresses 109
——— Lord Keeper Bacon, Earl of Bedford, Archbishop Parker, Lord Backhurst, Mr. Hickes, Lord Burghley's secretary 110
Great costs of these progresses.. 111
Curious anecdote respecting Q. Elizabeth killing Lord Berkeley's favourite deer 112
PHILIP and MARY—particulars of their union 113
Mary's instructions to the Lord Privy Seal to obey Philip 114
After death of Mary, Philip seeks Elizabeth in marriage, who laughs at him 114
His advice to his son 115
Protestation to his confessor 115
A warrant of Queen Mary 116

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Extract from Travels of Hentzner, describing her. 117
Her fondness for handsome people 122
Origin of Raleigh's advancement..... 123
Anecdote respecting her, and secretary Cecil .. 124
Who were her suitors 125

Page
Her vanity of her own beauty 125
Curious anecdote respecting her and the Duke of Anjou, who solicited her in marriage 126
Nature of her studies 127
Her dignified conduct to a person who had insulted her 127
Her first writing-book at Oxford 127
Her answer to the Commons on one occasion 128

ELIZABETH AND HER PARLIAMENT.

They exhort her to marry 129
She evades them 129
Cause of her dislike to marry 129
Camden, Bayle, &c. quoted 129
Remark of Pope Sixtus 130
Accused of neglecting her country and posterity 131
The Peers unite with the Commons 131
Catherine de Medicis and Lamotte Fenelon 131
Sir Symonds D'Ewes' journal 132
A meeting of the Lords of the Council in the Queen's apartments 132
Duke of Norfolk's addresses to the Queen 132
Despatch from Fenelon to the French King 133
Political firmness of Elizabeth 140
Hume's eulogium of the Duke of Norfolk 140
Spirit of the Commons 140
Elizabeth's address in subduing them 141

ROYAL EXCURSIONS, &c.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S PROGRESSES.

Speech by a pilgrim 161
The wild man's speech at the tree 162
The angler's speech 165
The ploughman's song 169
Brilliant display of fireworks on the water 169
Lord Hertford's banquet, particulars of 170
Fourth day's entertainment at Lord Hertford's 171

Page

Speech of the fairy queen to her Majesty 171
Spectacle and music 172
Order of council, describing dress of a page in Queen Elizabeth's reign 172
DIALOGUE between Q. ELIZABETH and DEAN NOWELL .. 174
SUMPTUARY PROCLAMATION concerning cloaks and ruffs of excessive length and depth 177
Another relating to swords, daggers, rapiers, &c. 178
Branch or clause of a proclamation 179
LETTERS from BACON to the QUEEN on the subject of New Years' Gifts 179
A CONFERENCE between a Gentleman Huisher and a Post[man], &c. before the Queen 181
PROCLAMATION against the EARL of NORTHUMBERLAND for HIGH TREASON 186
AMULET presented by a Privy Councillor to the Queen, to prolong life 187
Consequences of the above 187
Elizabeth's sickness and decay 188
CURIOUS PARTICULARS of her irascibility 189
Her conduct and reply to the Lord Admiral.... 189
The queen of hearts found nailed through the head at the bottom of Queen's chair 189
——————— reported to be used in witchcraft by the ladies in waiting 189
Her offence at the prelates 190
Her death 190
Opening and searing the body 190
The body carried to, and watched at, Whitehall, by six ladies 190
Celebrated ring on which the life of the Earl of Essex depended 191
——————— particulars of 191
——————— by whom claimed..... 191
Description of the purse accompanying the ring.. 191

Page
From whom the real ring descended 192
In whose possession 192
Table-cloth and napkin which belonged to her Majesty exhibited to Antiquarian Society—a perquisite to Keeper of the Tower 192
In whose possession 192
BRITANNIS LACHRYMÆ, or adulatory lines on the death of Elizabeth 193
LETTERS written by Elizabeth, when princess, to her sister Mary 193
——— interesting, giving an account of execution of the SCOTTISH QUEEN 195
Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury directing the execution of the Queen of Scots.. 195
Report of the manner of the execution, with various particulars after the delivery of Her Majesty to the sheriff of the county 198
Mary's speech and observations 199
Her requests 199
Her behaviour on the scaffold 202
Dean of Peterborough's prayers 202
Her reply to the Dean 202
Her prayer for the afflicted church 203
Harsh observation of the Earl of Kent 203
The executioners desire her forgiveness 204
Her Agnus Dei taken by one of the executioners, &c. 204
Particulars during the time she was being disrobed 204
Last preparation for the block 206
Appearance of the features after decapitation... 206
Particulars relative to her little dog 207
The body removed by the sheriffs to be embalmed 207
Letter from Robert Carvyle, of Berwick, to Secretary Walsingham, after the death of the Queen .. 207

Page
The curious enclosure 209
James VI.—Observations relative to his conduct, from curious documents in British Museum 210
Royal Bill of Fare, from the Corporation Records 210
Expenses of entertaining King James II. at Coventry 210
Secret History of Charles I. and his queen Henrietta 213
Character of Henrietta... 215
Her residence at Burlington 216
Fired on by the Parliament admiral 216
Anecdote of her lap-dog 216
Extract from Madame Motteville's Memoirs 216
Sir T. Mayerne's uncourtly remark to Henrietta 217
Waller's poetical flattery of Henrietta..... 218
Description of Henrietta, from the Sloanian MSS. 218
——————— Sir Symond D'Ewes's Journal, in Harl. MSS. &c..... 218
Henrietta's political character 219
Remarkable unnoticed document, &c. relative to the death-bed religion of Charles II. and James II. 220
Henrietta arrested at Amiens on her way to England, by a legate of Rome 220
——— is requested to do penance..... 220
——— received at Canterbury by Charles .. 220
——— Her first words on meeting 221
——— Her humorous repartees at dinner-table 221
——— Observation of her confessor, and her reply 221
——— Notices by Sir Symond D'Ewes 222
Stated objects of Charles's marriage 223
Jealousies of the French and English courtiers who accompanied Henrietta..... 223
Consequences, &c. 223
Contention between Henrietta's confessor and the Lord Keeper's chaplain, as to saying grace 224

Page

Articles in the contract of marriage 227
Various curious scenes and particulars 229
Charles's want of firmness, &c. 231
Rhodomontade of the French marshal..... 232
Curious particulars of Charles's excursions into Spain for the Infanta 235
Particulars relative to the negociation for the marriage 237
Description of the Infanta 237
Charles's address in running at the Ring..... 237
Preparations made in England to entertain the Infanta, &c. &c. &c. 239
CHARLES I.—His love of the Fine Arts 240
Story of a diamond seal with the arms of England cut into it..... 241
——— Account by Davernier 242
Accomplishments of Charles 243
His knowledge in articles of vertu 247
His fine taste 247
His goods ordered to be inventoried by Parliament; articles of gold plate, jewels, &c. 249
The King's curiosities in the Tower Jewel-house, 249
The prices they were sold for..... 250
A painter and a poet 253
"Eikon Basilike" written by him during his imprisonment at Carisbrook Castle, &c..... 254
ITINERARY of Charles I. and the Royal Army—movements and other particulars relative to the Rebels—with notices of the times, from 1648 to 1652 ..... 256—282
TRIAL and EXECUTION of CHARLES 283
Appointment of a committee to bring in a charge, 283
The King conducted from Hurst to Windsor Castle, and from thence to London, by Colonel Harrison, &c. 283
His miserable appearance 284

Page
Attended only by Sir Philip Warwick 284
The King apprehensive of assassination, &c. 284
Court of justice by whom constituted 284
The King brought from London to St. James's .. 284
His trial, dignity, and deportment 285
His behaviour on the scaffold 288
Conduct of the Parliament after his execution.... 289
The Commons order a new seal to be engraved .. 289
It declared to be high treason to proclaim or acknowledge Charles Stuart, otherwise called the Prince of Wales 290
Particulars of the execution of Charles I. from the public papers of that period 290
From the "Modern Intelligencer" 290
——— "Army's Modest Intelligencer" 293
——— "Moderate Intelligencer" 295
——— "Perfect Weekly Account" 296
——— "Weekly Intelligencer"..... 297
——— "Moderate" 297
Fragment of history relative to the Revolution 298
Execution of Charles I. account of..... 309
Inventory of the goods, jewels, &c. of Charles I... 315—321
——— that part of the regalia which is now removed from Westminster to the Tower Jewel-house 321
CHARLES II. and George Downing, memorable transaction between 322
Letter from Prince Charles (afterwards Charles II.) to Sir Thomas Fairfax, &c. 329
Antonio de Verrio and Charles II. 329
Account of monies paid for painting done in Windsor Castle by Signor Verrio 331
Adventures of Charles II. 335
His escape out of the kingdom 335
Historical particulars of the Royal Oak, &c. &c. 340
Chevalier St. George, anecdote of 345

Page

Letter from Father Con to the Provincial Jesuits of Rome 347

CLARENDON'S "Diary and Correspondence," historical articles from 349

Titus Oates—his deposition to implicate the Queen in the Popish plot 351

Extract from the Memoirs of King James 353

Loss of the Gloucester 74, narrative of 361

LETTER from James Duke of York to the Lord Treasurer, on the loss of the Gloucester 367

Meeting of the Council at Edinburgh 367

Extract from Pepys's Memoirs 368

Burnet's reflections upon the Duke and Col. Legge 369

The Duke's own account of the loss of the Gloucester 370

Henry Earl of Clarendon, memoir of his political career, &c. 272

Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, memoir of his political career, &c. &c. &c. 378

DIARY of Henry Earl of Clarendon..... 387

For part of the year 1687 387

The years 1688 and 1689 387

And part of the year 1690 387

Interesting particulars, historical, biographical, and political, during these momentous periods, 387—446

THE YOUNG CHEVALIER, (Charles Edward Stuart,) his escape after the battle of Culloden 447

He follows the advice of O'Sullivan and O'Neile, 448

Arrives at Invergary, escorted by O'Sullivan, O'Neile, and Bourk 448

Changes clothes with Bourk, and arrives at Donald Cameron's 449

They proceed to Boradale, where he is joined by O'Neile 449

Embarks at Lochnannaugh, the place where he first landed in Scotland 450

Page
Is pursued by General Campbell 450
He lies weatherbound at Benbicula 451
Macleod dispatched to the Stornway, to freight a vessel for the Orkneys 451
A misadventure prevents their departure 451
The servant through drunkenness discovers for whom the ship had been hired 452
They steer southward along the coast, and are driven upon a desert island, where they subsist on fish and shell-fish 453
They put to sea, and are chased by an English man of war 453
They land upon Lochsibbert, and procure refreshment 454
Their arrival at a hut 454
They retire sixteen miles further up the country, by the advice of Clanranald 455
Macleod, who had been dispatched to the continent, returns with letters for Lochiel and Murray, whither he had been sent to procure intelligence, money, and brandy 455
Puts to sea again 456
Lands upon a small island, where he is hospitably entertained by Ranald Macdonald 457
Receives intelligence of being closely pursued.... 456
Dismisses his attendants except O'Neile, with whom he retires to the top of a mountain 456
Is reduced to the greatest straits and difficulties .. 457
They apply to Miss Flora Macdonald, who was conducted by O'Neile to the fugitive 457
Singular occurrences 458
Assumes the name of Betty Bourk 458
They procure passports 458
Hugh Macdonald's letter giving Betty a good character as an excellent spinner 458

Page

Are surprised by the unexpected intelligence of an advanced party of the Campbells 459
Narrow escape 459
They embark, and escape the impending danger.. 460
Land at Kilbridge—Miss Flora interrogated by an officer 461
Conducted to the Lord Rasay by Macdonald .. 462
The boatmen discharged 462
They arrive at Kingsborrow, Macdonald's seat, where Betty Bourk ate heartily, smoked a pipe, and went to bed 463
Lady Kingsborrow regrets the boatmen being dismissed 463
Lays by his female disguise, a suit of man's apparel being provided for him at the top of a hill, and his female dress hidden in a bush, and afterwards burnt on the alarm of a search 464
Escorted by a cow-boy to Portsey 464
Another hair-breadth escape 464
Meets with Miss Flora and Roy Macdonald at Portsey 465
Description of Rasay 465
Takes leave of Flora and Roy 465
Arrives at Glam, in Rasay 465
Procures shelter in a miserable hut 465
Sails for and arrives at Sky, where he takes up his abode in a cow-house 466
Travels as Macleod's servant, and carries their luggage 466
Their luggage described 466
Arrives at the house of John Mackinnon 467
Slips up to his middle in a bog 467
They hire a boat for the Continent 467
He proceeds in the boat with the Laird of Mackinnon 468

Page
They arrive at Loch Nevis 468
They are surprised by a party of militia 468
They land, and hide themselves on a hill 469
Re-embark, and land at Malloch 469
Arrive at Morar, and are entertained by Macdonald 469
He sleeps in a cave 470
Arrives at Glen Biasdale, where Mackinnon leaves him 470
A fresh alarm 470
He is conducted safely through the pass of the guards on all-fours 471
He narrowly escapes being dashed to pieces .. 471
Is obliged to attempt another pass to avoid being starved 472
They pass the chain of guards in safety 473
Arrive at Corriscorridill 473
Another near escape 474
They accidentally lose all their money 474
Alarmed by a party of soldiers, but elude them .. 475
They find their purse 475
Arrive at Glenmoriston almost famished, where they continue some days 475
Is found by Lochiel's messenger miserably clad.. 477
Are surprised by more soldiers 478
Removes to the Braes of Badenoch 479
Sets out for Mordart, where he arrives, and meets several friends 480
He and his friends go on board the Bellona, and set sail for France 480
Arrives at Roscou, near Morlaix 480
The Bellona afterwards captured 480
Death of Prince Charles Lewis Casimir Stuart .. 480
His will deposited in the archives of the city of Florence 481

Page

Some account of his father, James Francis, Prince of Wales, son to James II. 481

——————— mother, Maria Clementina Sobieski 482

He marries a princess of Stolberg, by whom he had no issue 482

Leaves a natural daughter, known by the title of the Duchess of Albany 482

Anecdote of the rebellion 482

Monument raised in the Vale Glenfinnyn, to commemorate the last efforts of the house of Stuart 487

The inscription 488

CARDINAL YORK, younger brother to Prince Charles—some account of 488

He leaves Rome for France, to head an army for the invasion of England 488

The affair at Culloden causes him to abandon the enterprize—he takes holy orders, and is made a cardinal by Benedict XIV. 489

After Rome had fallen into the hands of the French, he retires to Venice, in reduced circumstances 489

His destitute situation made known to his late Majesty, when a present is remitted to him .. 489

An annuity granted him 489

Account of the medal that he caused to be struck on the death of his brother Charles, on which he styles himself Henry IX. of England 490

Court Fragments;

OR,

RECOLLECTIONS OF ROYALTY.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BURGHLEY PAPERS*.

The period to which this collection of state papers refers is one of the most important in British history; and there can be no difficulty in believing that the official correspondence of a man who was connected with the events which it describes, must be of more than ordinary value to the historian, and of more than common interest to all who prefer deriving information from pure and unadulterated sources, to receiving it filtered through the minds of the writers who have made the epoch in question the subject of *their* labours.

In extracting from these papers, we shall, as

* A Collection of State Papers relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, from the Year 1542 to 1570; transcribed from original Letters and other authentic Memorials, never before published, left by William Cecill, Lord Burghley, and now remaining at Hatfield House, in the Library of the Right Honourable the present Earl of Salisbury.—By Samuel Haynes, M.A., Rector of Hatfield, in Hertfordshire. London, 1740, folio, pp. 6[illegible].

we have hitherto done, notice the particular points of biography and history which are illustrated in them, rather than expatiate. Our selections will be made from letters which are of general interest, but which are not so intimately connected with any particular event as to require that a long essay should be introduced to explain in what way they derive their importance.

By these papers, Henry appears to have adopted rather a curious mode of impressing the Scots with the cause of the invasion of their country. Sir William Paget tells Lord Hertford, that it was the king's opinion, it would be advisable that a notice to the following purport should be affixed to the church-doors of all places which the English might lay waste: "Youe may thank your cardinal of this: for if he had not bene, youe myght have bene in quiet and rest, for the contrary whereof he hath travailed as muche as can be to bring you to sorow and trowble*." The result of the wars in Scotland, from July to November, 1544, is evinced by the following summary:

"Towns, towers, stedes, barnekyns, paryshe churches, bastell houses, 192; Scotts slain, 403; prisoners taken, 816; nolt [black cattle, but more properly oxen], 10,386; shepe, 12,492; nags and geldings, 1296; gayt [goats], 200; bolls of corn, 850; insight geare, ; and 287

* P. 12.

fortresses, abbeys, walled towns, villages, &c. were burent, razed, and cast downe, between the 8th and 23d September, 1545, of which 7 were monasteries and frear houses, 16 castles, towres, and piles, 5 market towns, 243 villagies, 13 mylnes, and 3 spytells or hospitals*."

This statement is followed by one of the few interesting articles which occur in that part of the volume. Viscount Lisle, the Lord High Admiral, informed the King of a stratagem which he had devised for inducing the French fleet to put to sea, under circumstances which were likely to produce its destruction; and after saying that he would not presume to undertake such an enterprise without "being fyrst well instructyd from your Highnes," he concludes with this piece of flattery:

"For yf I have any knowledge how to serve you in any kinde of thing, I have received the same frome your sillfe; and being so nere the fontayne, and wold dye for thirste yt were little joye of my liffe†."

Of the other papers of that reign, the only one to which we shall refer is entitled, "Answers to be made by the king's Majestie's Commissioners to the Cardinal;" for it is a memorable specimen of the boldness and spirit with which Henry could treat proposals that were offensive to him. To an observation of the Cardinal's, he ordered the Commissioners to reply, that

* Pp. 51—54. † P. 52.

" Yf they come not of otherwise now than hitherto they have, his Majestie purposeth no longer to herken to those wayes, not doubting, with God's grace, or long tyme, to here them sing another song."

But he reserved it to the last article to taunt the French with the defeats they had received from him; and perhaps the annals of diplomacy cannot furnish a more insolent communication:

" To the Cardinall's private talke with Mr. Paget, touching the French king's forces, &c. you shall aunswer, as touching his forces by land, his Majestie doubteth not, but that it is knowen, how shamfully they ran their way from their enterprizes, both of Base-Bulloyn, and Guysnes, and yet with no small losse both of many gentlemen and other, whose weapons and bodies remayn with his Majestie. And as for the seas, though they stale on his Majestie, or his Highnes wer aware, and thereby took some pore sick men and horses, his Majestie doubteth not by Godd's grace, yf they dare abyde it, to make them spynne as fast away with sayles, as by land they did with horse and heelys; and yet when they were in their chief pride on the see, his Majestie's poor fyshermen tooke up a hundred tonne of their wynes for Monstrell, and his Majestie hath vittayled both Bulloyn and Calleys; and this is all their gayn they had hitherto, thanked be God."—P. 60.

The letters and other documents of the reign

of Edward the Sixth occupy nearly one hundred pages, and are beyond comparison the most curious articles in this or any similar collection: from these the greater part of our extracts will consequently be taken.

Few require to be told that Thomas Lord Seymour of Sudley, the Lord High Admiral of England, brother of the Lord Protector Somerset, and uncle of Edward the Sixth, married Katherine Parr, who retained the title of Queen Dowager; and it is scarcely more needful to observe, that the utmost jealousy subsisted between the brothers. Of the manner in which that jealousy was evinced, and of its effect upon one of the parties, we shall have occasion to speak. The first two letters in the reign of Edward are from Queen Katherine Parr to her husband the Lord Admiral, and which we shall copy at length, since any abridgment would destroy their characteristic traits. The Protector, whom the Queen describes as "my Lord your brother," had given her offence in withholding some jewels which Henry had presented to her, upon the pretence that they were only lent for a special occasion; and her enmity to the Duchess arose from a dispute about precedence.

THE QUEEN DOWAGER TO THE LORD ADMIRALL*.

My Lord,

Thys shalbe to advertysche yow, that my lord your brother hathe thys afternone a lyttel made me warme. Yt was fortunate we war so muche dystant; for I suppose els I schulde have bytten hym. What cause have they to feare havyng suche a wyff? Yt is requysyte for them contynually to pray for a schorte dyspatche of that hell. To morowe, or els apon Satterday at afternone about thre o clocke I wyll se the Kyng, wher I intend to utter all my coler to my lord your brother, yf yow schall not gyve me advyse to the contrary; for I wold be lothe to do any thynge to hynder your mater. I wyll declare unto yow, how my lord hathe used me concernyng Fausterne, and after I schall most humbly desyre yow to dyrecte myne answer to hym in that behalf. Yt lyketh hym to day to send my chancelour to me, wyllyng hym to declare to me, that he had brought Master Longes lese, and that he douted not but I wold lett hym injoye the same to hys comodyte, wheryn I schuld do to hys successyon no small pleasur; nothyng consyderyng hys honour wyche thys mater toucheth not a lytel; for so muche as I at sundry tymes declared unto hym the only cause of my repayre into those partyes, was for the comoditie of that parke, wyche els I wold not have done; he not-

* From the originals.

wythstandyng hathe so used the mater with gyvyng Master Long suche courage, that he refuseth to receyve such cattell as are bought for the provysyon of my house; and so in the meane tyme I am forced to comytt them to fermers. My Lord, I beseche yow send me worde with spede, how I schall use my self to my new brother. And thus I take my leve with my moost humble and harty commendatyons, wyschying yow all yowr godly desyres, and so well to do as I wold myself and better. From Chelsey in grett haste. By your humble true and lovyng wyfe in her hart,

KATERYN THE QUENE, K. P.—P. 61.

My Lord,

Thys schalbe to desyre you to receyve my humble and moost harty recommendatyons and thanks for your letter, whyche was no soner come than welcome. I perceyve ye have had no lytell trobell and busyness with your mater: I never thowght the contrary, but ye schuld have muche ado to brynge yt to passe as ye wold have yt, neverthelesse I supposed my Lorde Protecteur wold have used no delay with his frend and naturall brother in a mater wyche ys upright and just, as I take yt. What wyll he do to other that be indyfferent to hym I juge not very well. I pray God he may dysceyve me; for hys owne welthe and benyfete more than for myne none. Now I have uttered my coler, I schall desyre yow, good my Lord, with all hart not to unquyett yourself

with any of hys unfrindely parts, but bere them for the tyme as well as ye can; wyche I knowe ys moche bettre than ether myne advyse or doyng can expresse. I am very sory for the newes of the Frenche men: I pray God yt be not a latte to our journey: as sone as ye knowe what they will do, good my Lord, I beseche yow lett me me here from yow, for I shall not be very quyett tyll I knowe. I gave your lytell knave yowr blessing who lyke an onest man styred apase after and before; for Mary Odell beyng a bed wyth me had layd her hand upon my belly to fele yt styre. Yt hathe styred thyse thre dayes every mornyng and evenyng, so that I trust whan ye come, it wyll make you sum passe tyme. And thus I end, bydding my sweet hart and lovyng husband better to fare than my self.

From Hanworth thys Saterday in the morning.

My Lord, I thanke yow with all my hart for Master Hotton, desyryng yow to contynewe hys good, or els I fere me he schall never lyve in quyet with my Lord Dacres, to whom I pray yow make my recommendatyons, asseuryng hym that I wyll be hys frend, in case he use Master Hotton well; or els hys ennemy.

By your most lovyng obedyent and humble wyff,

KATERYN THE QUENE, K.P.—P. 62.

The "little knave," to which her Majesty so delicately alludes, caused her death, as she died in childbed on the 5th of September in the same

year, though some writers have had the confidence to assert that she was poisoned by her husband. The child proved to be a girl, and was born in September, 1548: it survived both its parents, but died an infant. With the exception of a few documents relating to Sir William Sherington, Vice-Treasurer of the Mint at Bristol, who was suspected of malversation in that office, the next relate to the conduct of the Lord Admiral. Before we allude more particularly to them, a short review must be taken of that nobleman's career, since some knowledge of it is necessary to understand the passages which will be extracted.

In a memoir of Lord Seymour by Mr. Lodge, a most unfavourable view is taken of his character. Those opinions have been chiefly, if not entirely, formed from the confessions of his servants, which were for the first time printed in this volume. That Seymour was jealous of his brother's power, is already admitted; nor are we disposed to deny that he was endowed with a boundless ambition. The story that he poisoned his wife, Katherine Parr, is one of those idle fables which are unworthy of a moment's credit; and the suspicion of it, as well as of his unkindness to her, rest only upon the equivocal testimony of Lady Tyrwhit. Until the death of Henry the Eighth, the Lord Admiral and his brother had, to use the words of the distinguished biographer whom we

have quoted, "manifested a mutual cordiality and confidence. The constant favour of Henry had left no room for alarm in the timid breast of the one, and the haughty strictness of his rule had curbed the swelling pride of the other; but the death of that imperious prince was the signal for their total disunion." According to Mr. Lodge's representation, from that moment Seymour, who was soon afterwards created Lord Seymour of Sudley and Lord Admiral, devoted himself to the attainment of his ambitious designs. His first step was to gain the hand of the widow of his late sovereign; but higher hopes speedily dawned upon him; and it has been said that the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and Lady Jane Grey, were the successive objects of his attention; that with the Princess Elizabeth he was on terms of improper familiarity during his wife's life-time, whom he removed by a violent death, that she might be no obstacle to his wishes; that he used every effort to form a powerful party to oppose his brother the Protector's authority, and strove to gain the favour of the young monarch by presents of money, and to prejudice him against his eldest uncle. Of nearly all these offences his biographer has found proof in the "confessions," as they are termed, of his servants, his friends, and his sovereign; and as the most material parts of their statements will be abstracted, our readers will be able to judge for

themselves of the correctness of those accusations, without our being obliged to deviate so much from the object of this review as to enter into a discussion on the subject. Even if the extraordinary historical facts which they develop do not justify the devotion of so much space as they will occupy, the private anecdotes which they present of Edward the Sixth, the Princess afterwards Queen Elizabeth, Lady Jane Grey, the Protector, and the principal individual concerned, Lord Seymour, as well as of other illustrious personages of the times, undoubtedly do so. The first "confession" which occurs is that of Wyghtman, one of the Lord Admiral's servants. He merely stated that frequent conferences had been held between Thomas Parry, the cofferer to the Princess Elizabeth, and the Lord Admiral; that Nicholas Throkmorton and himself had discussed his master's prospects since the death of the Queen; and that he had endeavoured to restrain him from "offring such extremity" to some persons with whom he had disputes about "his owne private gayne;" and also "frome wryting of suche sharpe and unsavery letters to my Lord Protectour's grace;" but without effect, he adds, "for if he had oones conceyved opynion by his owne perswasions, neyther lawyer nor other could turne him *." Sir Robert Tyrwhit, in his letters to the Protector, dated at

* Pp. 68—70.

Hatfield, on the 22nd of January, 1548-9, asserts, that when the Princess Elizabeth knew

"That boyth Mestrys Aschlay and her cofferer was put into the Towre, she was marvelous abashede, and ded wepe very tenderly a long tyme, demandyng of my Lady Browne, wether they had confessed eny thyng or not; which my Lady Browne incontenley declared unto me. Whereupon her Grace dyd sende for me, who at my comyng declared, that she had forgottyne sertayne thyngs to be opened to my Lord grett Master and Master Denne, wych she wold opyne unto me, and alle other thyngs wych she coulde call to her remembranse that she donne; the affect whereof was no more but concerning a letter that she had wryttene to my Lord Admyrall in the favour of her chaplayne Alene; and in the end of the same she mayd request to credyt her trusty servant, her cofferer, in all other thyngs. But she sayth she dyd meyne in that point that my Lorde Admyrall shuld be sewter to her grace for Durhame Place; the sayd letter beyng wryttene and devysed by the cofferer, and delivered by hyme to my Lord Admyrall. And the other ys thys, that her cofferer dyd wrytt to Mestrys Aschlay, that my Lorde Admyrall wold se her in hys way goyng to Sewdley; wherin Mestrys Aschlay dyd answer by her letter agayne, that he shuld in no weye come hether for feyr of suspicyon: she declarynge the affect of her letter

to my Lady's Grace; her Grace was mych offendyd with her, and advysed her not to wryte so, because she wold not have her to take apone her the knowledge of eny sych thyng. After all thys, I dyd requyre her to consider her honor and the parell that myght insewe, for she was but a subject: and I further declared what a womane Mestrys Ashlay was, with a long syrcumstance, saying, that yf she wold opyne all thynges her selffe, that all the eyll and shayme shuld be ascrybyd to them, and her yowth consedered bowth wyth the Kyng's Magesty, your Grace, and the hool consell: But in no waye she will not confesse eny practys by Mestrys Aschlay or the cofferer, consarnyng my Lord Admirall; and yet do I se yt in her face that she ys guylte, and do parsav as yet, she will abyd no stormys, or she ackews Mestrys Aschlay. Upone sodene news that my Lorde grett Master and Master Denne was arrived at the gatt, the cofferer went hastely to his chamber, and sayd to my lady hys wyffe, I wold I had never beyne bourne, for I am undone, and wrange hys hands, and cast away his cheyne from his necke, and hys ryngs from hys fingers. Thys ys confessed by hys owne servant and dyvers wytnes of the sayme. My lady hys wyffe ys at London, wher yowr grace may caws her to be examyned. Another of his servants doth confesse that at hys comyng into his chambre, he loked very pall and sorrow-

full, and dyd marvell much at the same. At thys present I can fynde no mor matter wurthe the wryttyng, but comyt your Grace to the levyng God wyth mych honor."—Pp. 70, 71.

In his next letter, dated at Hatfield on the following day, he informs his employer, that "by gentyll perswasione" he had begun "to grow with her in credit," and that in reply to his question whether, if the council consented she would marry the Lord Admiral, she replied with a spirit, that "she would not tell him what her mind was therein;" but demanded "what he meant, and who bade him ask that question;" and he concluded by assuring the Protector, that "she hath a very good wytt and nothyng ys gottene off her, but by gret pollyse." It is material to remember, that at that time Elizabeth was fifteen years and four months old, and had just completed her fifteenth year when Seymour was accused of maintaining an improper intercourse with her.

Wyghtman made another "confession" on the 23rd January; but it merely states that the Lord Admiral had written numerous letters, chiefly about recovering the jewels which Heury the Eighth had given to Katherine Parr, and that among others he had addressed the Princess Mary on the subject. A copy of that letter, which was dated on the 17th of December, is inserted. He begs her Highness to tell him whe-

ther the King had given Katherine the jewels, or only lent them to her for the occasion; and in accordance with the manners of the age, supports his request by a gift:

"I have sent your Grace this bearer to wayte upon you this Christenmas and to renewe and bring to your remembraunce suche lessons as I thinke youe have forgotten, because at my late being at St Jones I saw never a payre of virgynalls stirring in all thole house; wisheng that I had soome other thing that might be more pleasaunte and acceptable unto your Gracc."—P. 73.

The next statement is that of the King, and which is too interesting in itself, and too important with respect to the accusations brought against Seymour, to be abridged:

"The Lorde Admyrall cam to me in the tyme of the last Parliament at Westminster, and desyred me to wryght a thyng for hym. I asked hym what: He sayd it was no yll thyng, it is for the Quene's Majesty. I sayd if it were good, the Lords wold allow it; if it were yll, I wold not wryght in it. Then he sayd they wold take it in better parte if I wold wryght. I desyred hym to lett me alone in that matter. Cheke sayd afterwards to me; ye were not best to wryght. At another tyme within this two yere at lest, he sayd, ye must take apon you yourself to rule, for ye shall be hable enough as well as other kyngs; and than ye may geve your men sumwhat; for

your unkeil is olde, and I trust wyll not lyve long. I answered, it were better that he shuld dye. Than he sayd, ye ar but even a very beggarly kyng now, ye have not to play or to geve to your servaunts. I sayd, Mr. Stanop had for me. Than he sayd, he wold geve Fowler money for me, and so he dyd, as Fowler told me. And he gave Cheke money as I bad hym; and also to a boke-bynder, as Belmayn can tell; and to dyverse others at that tyme, I remembre not to whom. The Lord Admirall tolde me theise thyngs before at diverse tyme, twise or thrise. Fowler oftentymes sayd to me, ye must thanke my Lord Admirall for gentylnes that he shewed you, and for hys money, and was alwey praising of him.

EDWARD *."

"In the month of September, Anno Dŏmini 1547, the Lord Admirall told me, that my Lorde Protectour went to Scotland, but that he shulde never passe the Pease without losse of a great nombre of men, or of hymself; and therefor that he spent a great summ of money in vayn. At the returne of my Lorde my uncle, the Lord Admirall sayd, I was to bashfull in myne owne matters, and asked me why I did not speak to beare rule, as other kynges do. I seyd I neded not, for I was well enough. When he went into hys contrey, he desyred me, that yf any thing

* From the original, signed by the King.

were sayd agaynst hym, that I shuld not beleve it, tyll he cam hymself. EDWARD."—P. 74.

A singular proof of the want of money which the young monarch experienced is afforded by a letter from Fowler to the Lord Admiral, dated at St. James's, on the 26th of June, 1547, but which the editor has erroneously assigned to the year 1548. After acquainting him with the perfect state of Edward's health, he says he is desired by the King to tell him,

"That hys mynd and love, notwithstanding your absens, is towards your lordship as mouche as to any man within Ingland; also his Grace willid me to wrytt to your Lordship dissierring yow, as your Lordship has willed him to do, if he lak any monny, to send to your Lordship. His Grace dessiers you, if you conveniently may, to let him have summ monny; I askid his Grace, what summ I shuld wrytt to your Lordship for; his Grase wold name no summ, but as it pleasid your Lordship to send him; for he determines to gyve it away, but to home he wooll not tell me as yet." "The King's Majesty dissiers your Lordship to send him this monny as shortly as you can; and bycause your Lordship may credit me the better, his Grace has wrytten in the beginning of my letter himself."—P. 75.

Edward wrote,

"I commende me to you, my Lord, and praie you to credit this writer, EDWARD."

The Marquess of Dorset, in his examination, admitted,

"That the Kinges Majesty hath divers tymes made his mone unto hym, sayng that my unkle off Somerset deyleth very hardly with me, and kepyth me so strayt, that I cane not have mony at my wylle: but my Lord Admyrall both sendes me mony and gyve me mony;"

and that nobleman

"Spak thys wordës, my Lord C[linton] beyng behynd me, Iff I be thys usyd, they speak off a blak parlament, by Goddes presyous sole, I wol make the blakest parlament that ever was in Ingland. To whom my Lord C[linton] answered yff you spek such wordes you shall lose my Lord uterly and undo your selffe; who then stayng hys moyll turnyd to my Lord Clynton saying I wold you shuld knowe by Gode's precyus sole I may beter lyve without him, then he without me. Well sed, my Lord, who so ever shall go about to spek evyll of the Quene, I wyll tak my fyste from the first ears to the loest."—Pp. 75, 76.

The correspondence between Seymour and the Marquess of Dorset, though extremely curious, has been frequently printed. Dorset's testimony tends chiefly to establish that Seymour had seduced him to his interests by the promise that his daughter, Lady Jane Grey, should marry

the King; and had questioned him in a very suspicious manner about his power in the country, and the situation of his houses. There can be no doubt that the Marquess was a man of very weak understanding, and that Seymour had actually bribed him to allow Lady Jane to remain in his house and under his protection; a monstrous fact, which, unless it stood on the authority of her father himself, would not receive a moment's credence.

But Dorset was not the only nobleman who suffered himself to be influenced by presents. The Marquess of Northampton confessed that he had received from him "certain specialties of good value, and otherwise in store and plate showed me mych frendship and kyndnes;" and this too on an occasion when he had inquired into the extent of his estate, and the number of his retainers and tenants; "a discourse" which, he does not deny, arose from his "supposing for diverse causes that I was not contented and pleasid, as he knew well enough the cawse why he shuld think so*."

Northampton's evidence also shows the jealousy which the Protector entertained of his brother's designs upon the Princess Elizabeth; for he says that Seymour told him "he was credibly informed that my Lord Protector had sayd he wolde clappe him in the Tower if he

* Pp. 78, 79.

went to my Lady Elizabeth," and added, in reply to a remark of Northampton's,

"There was no woman lyving that he went abowte to marye; but he sayd he wolde shortly go home to hys howse, at which tyme he sayd he wolde aske my Lord Protector, whyther he wolde commande hym any service to my Lady Elizabeth, for he wolde take Hattefylde in his waye homewarde, and by thys meanys, he said, he shoulde feale my Lord his brother's meaning towards hym; for he thowght thereby my Lord Protector wolde breke with hym in the matter, and then he said he wolde be playne with hym." —P. 80.

The Earl of Rutland asserted that the Admiral advised him

"To make myche of the gentyllmen in my contry, but more of syche honest and wellthy yemen, as were ryngledereres in good townes; for he seyd as for the Jentyllmen ther is no gret trust to be to them; but for the other, makyng myche of them, and sumtymes dynyng lyk a good fellowe in on of ther howses, I showlde by that jentyll entertaynment alure all ther good wylles to go with me, whether I wolde leade them."— P. 82.

Though he opened his designs very freely to the Earl, they only extended to depriving his brother of the office of Protector, and of placing the royal authority in the King's hands. He

remarked, " I wold not disyre my Lord my brother's hurte, marry, I wolde wyche he schwold rule, but a cheve counseler."

Harrington's testimony wholly clears Seymour from any treasonable intentions, though he complained that he was not admitted to a share of the power which his brother monopolized. The interrogatories which were to be put to him are inserted, but the only answer to them is a denial that he had conferred with any person excepting the Earl of Rutland about a change in the government of the King's person, and then only " upon occashon of talk of the Kyng's Magyste's towardness, whom I sayed wold be man thre yeres before onny chyld levyng;" an observation on the precocity of his understanding, which every memorial of him that exists, and more particularly his extraordinary Journal, fully corroborates. In a letter to the Protector the next day, Lord Seymour relates a conversation that he had with the King, which is too interesting to be omitted, since it shows the singular prudence of the prince in not pledging himself as to his future conduct. He says that he had since remembered,

" That when I came first to Hamptoun Court with your Grace out of Wylshere on nyght as the Kyng's Majeste walked in the gallery, I began to sey unto his Grace, that sene I sa hyme last, he was growen to be a goodly gentyllman,

and trusted that within three or four yeres he shuld be rewler of his own thyngs; whareunto his Highnes sayed nay. I marvelled thar at to my self, and began to nomber his yeres, and sayed, within this four yeres his Grace shuld be sixteen yere old, and sayed, that I trusted be that tyme his Grace shuld helpe his men hymself, wyth such thyngs as fell in his Grace's gyft, or lek wordes in effect; whare at his Grace sayed nothing. And then I fell in other talke of other materes, but what I remember not."—Pp. 87, 88.

Tyrwhit frequently communicated his observations on Elizabeth's behaviour to the Protector, to whom he made such reports as his honourable office of spy upon the Princess's household imposed upon him: but they are of slight value.

At the request of the Protector, Elizabeth, in a letter to him, dated at Hatfield on the 28th January, 1549, related what had taken place between her and Lord Seymour. Her narrative, besides confirming what Tyrwhit had before stated, merely tends to exculpate Katherine Ashley from the charge of having advised her to marry him: the conclusion is not a little remarkable.

"Thes be the thinges wiche I bothe declared to Master Tirwit, and also wherof my conscience berethe me witnis, wiche I wold not for al earthely thinges offende in any thinge; for I knowe I have a soule to save, as wele as other

fokes have, wherfore I will above al things have respect unto this same. If there be any more thinges wiche I can remember, I wil ether write it my selfe, or cause Master Tirwit to write it. Master Tirwit and others have told me that ther goeth rumers abrode, wiche be greatly bothe agenste my honor and honestie (wiche above al other thinkes I esteme,) wiche be these: that I am in the Tower, and with childe by my Lord Admiral. My Lord, these ar shameful schandlers, for the wiche, besides the grete desire I have to see the Kinge's Majestie, I shall most hartely desire your Lordship that I may come to the court after your first determination, that I may showe my self there as I am*."—P. 90.—From the original.

Having already approached so near to the bounds within which it is necessary we should restrict ourselves, we can only afford space for the most extraordinary of the depositions: these

* A letter on the subject of her reputation occurs in Mr. Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, vol. ii. p. 157, dated on the 21st of February, 1549. The Council had, it appears, promised to punish any one she might point out who had slandered her, but which she declined, "because it was her own cause," and that "shulde be a briding of a ivel name of me that am glad to ponesse them, and so get the ivel wil of the people, wiche thinge I wolde be lothe to have." She suggested to Somerset and the Council, however, that if they would "sende forthe a proclamation in to the countries that they refraine ther tonges, declaringe how the tales be but lies, it shulde make bothe the people thinke that you and the Counsel have great regarde that no suche rumors shulde be spreade of anye of the Kinges Majesties sisters."

relate to the Lord Admiral's amorous conduct towards the Princess Elizabeth. It was before observed, that he has been charged with wishing to obtain possession of her person, with the view of compelling her to consent to marry him; and the following statements afford some grounds for the idea. For any indelicacy which the fastidious may find in them, we are of course no otherwise responsible than for placing them in our pages: if, however, such documents were rejected, there would be an end to any successful inquiry into historical events, into personal character, and more especially into the manners of former ages. The individual to whom they refer is one of the most renowned in the English annals; and it would be absurd to confine such curious notices of her early life to the few people who possess the rare and expensive volume in which they are to be found.

The cofferer of her Highness's house, Thomas Parry, stated that Mrs. Ashley, of whose concern in this memorable business we shall adduce striking evidence, told him

"How that my Lady Somerset hadd fownde great faults with her, for my Lady Elizabeth's goyng in a nyght in a barge upon Themes, and for other light partes; whereuppon she shuld say to the said Mrs. Asheley then, she was not worthy to have the governance of a king's daughter, and many other things, wherefore she durst not speke

of thes matters; and so fell agane in praysing the Admirall. Then I chaunced to say to her, that for all that, I hadd harde moche evill reporte of the Lord Admirall, that he was not onely a very covetouse man, and an oppressor, but also an evill jelowse man; and how cruelly, how dishonourably, and how jelowsly he hadd used the Quene. Tushe, tushe, quoth she, that is no matier, I know him better than ye do or those that so reporte him; I know he will make but to moche of her, and that she knowes well ynough. And as for that jelowsy of my Lord Admirall I will tell yow: as he came upon a tyme up a stayres to see the Quene, he met with a grome of the chambre upon the stayres with a cole basket, comyng out of the chambre, and bicause the dore was shytt, and my lord without, he was angry, and pretended that he was jelowse. By my faithe, quoth I, all the world speke evill of him, for all this. No no, quoth she, I wold wishe her to none before him, for all that. I do remembre also she told me that the Admirall loved her but to well, and had so done a good while, and that the Quene was jelowse on hir and him in so moche that one tyme the Quene suspecting the often accesse of the Admirall to the Lady Elizabeth's Grace, cam sodenly upon them wher they were all alone (he having her in his armes,) wherfore the Quene fell out bothe with the Lord Admirall and with her Grace also.

And hereupon the Quene called Mrs. Ashley to her, and told her fansy in that matier; and of this was moche displesure. And it was not long, before they partid asondre ther famylies; and as I remembre this was the cause why she was sent from the Quene; or ells that her Grace pertid from the Quene; I do not perfectly remembre wether of both she seid, she went of herself, or was sent awaye. Why, quoth I, hath there bene such famyliarytie between them? And with that she sighed and said, as I remembre, I will tell you more another tyme; and all this, as I remembre was on twelf eve last that she told me thes thyngs, and at the same tyme that she told that he myght compasse the cownsell if he wold. I remembre she said more, that if the King's Majestie, that dede is, had lyved a litell longer she should have bene his wief. But after that she hadd told me the tale of the fynding her Grace in his armes, she semed to repent that she hadd gone so farre with me as she did; and prayed me in ony wise that I wold not disclose these matters: and I said I wold not: and agayn she prayed me not to open yt, as ever she myght do for me, for her Grace shuld be dishonored for ever, and she likewise undone. And I said I wold not; and I said I had rather be pulled with horses thene I wold; or such like words." —P. 96. From the original, written and signed by himself.

Remarkable as these sfatements are, they are exceeded by the "confession" of Mrs. Katherine Ashley herself, upon which comment is unnecessary.

"What familiaritie she hath knowen betwixt the Lord Admirall and the Lady Elizabeth's Grace?

"She saith at Chelsy incontinent after he was maried to the Quene he wold come many mornyngs into the said Lady Elizabeth's chamber before she were redy and sometyme before she did rise. And if she were up, he wold bid her good morrow and ax how she did, and strike hir upon the back or on the buttocks famylearly, and so go forth through his lodgings, and sometyme go through to the maydens and play with them, and so go forth. And if she were in hir bed he wold put open the curteyns and bid hir good morrow, and make as though he wold come at hir: and she wold go further in the bed, so that he could not come at hir. And one mornyng he strave to have kissed hir in hir bed: and this examynate was there and bad him go away for shame. She knoweth not whither this were at Chelsy or Hanworth. At Hanworth he wold likewise come in the mornyng unto hir Grace; but as she remembreth, at all tymes, she was up before, savyng two mornyngs, the which two mornyngs the Quene came with hym: and this examynate lay with hir Grace; and thir thei

tytled my Lady Elizabeth in the bed, the Quene and my Lord Admyrall. An other tyme at Hanworth in the garden, he wrated with hir, and cut hir gown in an hundred pieces, beyng black cloth; and when she came up, this examinate chid with her; and hir Grace answerid, she could not do with all, for the Quene held hir, while the Lord Admiral cut it. An other tyme at Chelsey the Lady Elizabeth heryng the pryvie lock undo, knowyng that he wold come in, ran out of hir bed to hir maydens, and then went behynd the curteyn of the bed, the maydens beyng there; and my Lord tarried to have hyr come out. She can not till how long. This examinate hard of the gentlewoman. She thinks Mr. [query Mrs.] Power told it her. And then in the galery this examinate told my Lord that these things were complayned of, and that my Lady was evill spoken of: the Lord Admyrall swore, God's precious soule he wold tell my Lord Protector how yt slawnderid hym, and he wold not leave it, for he ment no evill. At Seymor Place when the Quene lay there he did use a while to come up every mornyng in his night gown bareleggcd in his slippers, where he found commonly the Lady Elizabeth up at hir boke: and then he wold loke in at the gallery-dore and bid my Lady Elizabeth good morrow, and so go his way. Then this examinate told my Lord it was an unsemly sight to come so bare leggid to a

mayden's chambre; with which he was angry, but he left it. At Hanworth the Quene told this examinate that my Lord Admirall loked in at the galery wyndow, and se my Lady Elizabeth cast hir armes about a man's neck. The which heryng, this examynate enquyred for it of my Lady's Grace, who denyed it weepyng, and bad ax all hir women: thei all denied it; and she knewe it could not be so, for there came no man, but Gryndall, the Lady Elizabeth's scholemaster. Howbeit, thereby this examinate did suspect that the Quene was gelows betwixt them, and did but feyne this, to th'entent that this examinate shuld take more hede, and be, as it were, in watche betwixt hir and my Lord Admirall. She saith also, that Mr. Ashley hir husband, hath diverse tymes given this examinate warnyng to take hede, for he did fere that the Lady Elizabeth did bere som affection to my Lord Admirall, she semyd to be well pleased therewith, and somtyme she wold blush when he were spoken of: and one other told her so also: but she cannot tell who it was.—KATERYN ASCHYLY*."

Her answers to the questions, of "what communication she hath with any person as touchyng the mariage betwixt the Lady Elizabeth and my Lord Admyrall?" and of "when she did talk with my Lord Admyrall last? and how often she

* From the original, written by Mr. Thomas Smith, and signed by Kateryn Aschyly.

hath written unto hym sith the death of the Quene?" contain nothing of much consequence, excepting that

"Mrs. Cheke, about a sevenight before Christmas did say to this examinate, that my Lord Admirall had been recommendid unto hir, and that he wold com to se my Lady Elizabeth, but he fearid it wold be sayd, that he cam a woeng; and that ther was a sayeng that he did not use my Lady Elizabeth well when she was in his house; and axid her how he did use hymself; and she aunswerid, that she never see, but that he did use himself well. To this, this examinate laughid, and sayd, Why do thei say so? John Semar bryngyng my Lady Elizabeth's Grace to Hatfield, told this examinate, that my Lord Admirall had hym recommendid to hir, and bid him ax hir, whither hir great buttocks were grown eny les or no?"

And, that in the various conversations she had with Elizabeth, when she expressed her wish that the Lord Admiral and her Highness were married, the latter never "did adjoyne unto it, if the Counsell were content."

Well indeed might Tyrwhit tell the Protector, in a letter dated at Hatfield on the 5th of February, but which is stupidly placed in the volume before the document to which it refers, that

"At the redynge of Mestrys Aschlay's letter, she was mych abashed, and halffe brethles or she

could rede yt to an end, and parussed all their namys partfyly, and knewe both Mrs. Aschlay's hand and the cofferer's with halff a syght; so that fully she thynketh they hav boyth confessed all they knowe. When I declared to her that Mestrys Aschlay would utter nothynge unto [untill] Parry and she war brought face to face, wych he stoode faste to, of all he had wryttene; she seynge that, shê called hym 'false wretche,' and sayd that he had promyssed he wold never confesse yt to deyth. Her answer was to thys, 'That yt was a grett matter for hyme to promys sych a promys and to brake yt.'"

The whole of her Highness's "confession" relates to conversations with Mrs. Ashley* about

* This lady, who was the governess to Elizabeth until she was displaced for her conduct respecting Lord Seymour, did not entirely lose the Princess's favour; for in March following she wrote to the Protector, entreating him, and the rest of the Council, "to be good unto her," and states three reasons for her request. "First, because that she hathe bene with me a long time, and manye yeres, and hathe taken great labor and paine in brinkinge of me up in lerninge and honestie, and therfore I oughte of very dewtye speke for her, for Saint Gregorie sayeth, that we ar more bounde to them that bringeth us up well than to our parents, for our parents do that wiche is natural for them, that is, bringeth us into this worlde, but our brinkers up are a cause to make us live wel in it. The second is, because that whatsoever she hathe done in my Lorde Admiral's matter, as concerninge the marijage of me, she dide it because knowinge him to be one of the Counsel, she thoght he wolde not go about any suche thinge without he had the Counsel's consent therunto; for I have harde her

the Lord Admiral's wish to marry her, and contain little more than confirmations of the statements of Parry. At the end she added in her own hand,

"My Lorde, thes ar the articles wiche I do remember, that bothe she and the coferar talked with me of; and if ther be any moe behind wiche I have not declared as yet, I shall most hartely desire your Lordship and the rest of the Counsel, not to thinke that I do willingeli concille them, but that I have indide forgotten them. For if did knowe them and did not declare them, I wer wonderfullye and above al the rest to be rebuked, consideringe how frindely your Grace has bothe writen to me in letters and conselled me by messages, to declare what I knowe hirein. Also I assure your Lordship, that if ther be any more whiche I have not tolde,

manye times say that she wolde never have me mary in any place without your Grace's and the Counsel's consente. The thirde cause is, because that it shal and doth make men thinke that I am not clere of the dide myselfe, but that it is pardoned in me bicause that she I loved so wel is in such a place. Thus hope prevailinge more with me than feare, hath won the battel; and I have at this time gone furth with it. Wiche I pray God be taken no other wais than it is mente." To this petition she added one in favour of Mrs. Ashley's husband, because he was her kinsman. Ellis's *Original Letters*, First Series, vol. ii. p. 154, 155. The learned editor of that valuable collection, with a tenderness for royal indecorum truly edifying, describes the Lord Admiral's conduct to the Princess as being merely "*most unusually familiar!*"

wiche I think there be not) I wil sende you worde of them as the come to my minde.

"Your assured frende to my litel power,

"ELIZABETH."

Another document on this subject is entitled the "Confession of Elizabeth Tyrwhit," and gives an affecting description of the last illness of Katherine Parr:

"A too dayes afor the deth of the Quen, at my cumyng to har in the mornyng, she askyd me wher I had ben so long, and sayed unto me, she dyd fere such thinges in harself, that she was suer she cold not lyve: whereunto I answaryd, as I thowght, that I sawe na lyklyhood of deth in har. She then haveyng my Lord Admyrall by the hand, and dyvers others standyng by, spake thes wardys, partly, as I tooke hyt, idylly, 'My Lady Tyrwhyt, I am not wel handelyd, for thos that be abowt me caryth not for me, but standyth lawghyng at my gref; and the moor good I wyl to them, the les good thay wyl to me.' Wherunto my Lord Admyrall answeryd, 'why swet-hart I wold you no hurt.' And she saed to hym agayn alowd, 'no my Lord, I thinke so and imedyetly she sayed to hyme in his ere; but my Lord you have geven me many shrowd tauntes.' Thos wordys I parsavwyd she spake wyth good memory, and very sharply and earnestly, for har mynd was sor unquyettydd. My Lord Admyrall

parsevyag that I hard hyt, callyd me asyd, and asked me what she sayd; and I declared hyt plainly to him. Then he consowltyd with me, that he wold ly down on the bed by har, to loke if he could pacyfy har unquyetnes wit gentyll comynycacyon; wharunto I agred. And by that tyme he had spoken thre or four wordes to har, she ansuered him very rowndly and shartly, sayeng, 'my Lorde, I wold have geven a thousand markes to have had my full talk wyth Hewyke, the fyrst day I was deliveryd, but I doorst not, far displesyng of you;' and I heryng that, parcevyd har troble to be so gret, that my hart would sarve me to her no mor. Sych lyke comunycasyon she had with him the space of an owr; wych thay dyd hear that sat by har bed syd. ELIZABETH TYRWHYT*."

It is from these remarks of Katherine that the opinion was formed that the Lord Admiral had poisoned her; but so serious a charge was surely never before founded upon such evidence.

With few exceptions, the other articles of the reign of Edward the Sixth possess little interest. To such of our readers as are afflicted with the gout, Sir Philip Hoby's advice to Sir William Cecill, afterwards Lord Burleigh, who had acquainted him on the 18th August, 1552, with his intention of going to Bath in the ensuing month, "to amend his legges," may be useful: In his

* From the original.

letter dated " from the Tower, even in the time of my fitt, the 21st of August, 1552," he says,

" I ought to knowe what Bathes be: in dede if it were so hott here in that month as it is in other countries, then Bathes were very good; but forasmoch as that moneth is cold here, and hott in other countries, Bathes here in my opinion cannot be good to amende your colde leggs againste winter. Rest and libertie, if ye might obteyne it, and be spared to travaill at your pleasure, as ye cannot, were better of both in my fancy, but yf you go ot the Bathes for lack of libertie (which wer no doubt better for you) God send you better luck, then I have by remayneng here in the towne, for two fitts of the ague have I had alredy, and at the thirde, I trust to ridde him awaye, which assuredly cometh through ill eyeres, being here nothing ells."

The affected humility of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who fell a victim to an almost insane ambition, is as fine a specimen of hypocrisy as the life of any statesmen of any age can produce:

" His Majestie's choyse of counseller's ys, in my opynyon, very well apoynted, all save my selffe, who nether hath understanding nor wytt mete for the association, nor body apt to render his duty any wayes as the wyll and hart desireth. And as yt ys a most greate grief to me to think yt, so I cannot but lament yt that yt ys my chaunce to occupy a roome in this common well mete for

a man of moche wytt and gravite ; but as Crist in the gospell dyd allow the myte or farthing of the peore woman, wherin she shewyd the good zele and wyll that was in her, so I trust the same Crist, thorro the work of his grace, wyll put in the hart of his Majestie to except the ernest wyll and good hart that remaynith in me, tho therbe no other thing, as in deid I of force am dryven to confess!"

On the 17th of March, 1552-3, Sir Philip Hoby was appointed Usher of the Black Rod, and on the 22nd of April, in that year, in a letter to Sir William Cecill, from Brussels, he thus acknowledges the receipt of the badge of that office :

" I have receaved your lettre, and the Rose withall, which according to your advertisement, I have tied to a lace, and do carie about my necke in token of myne office."

The documents relating to the reign of Queen Mary are neither numerous nor important. The principal one is the Journal of Proceedings in the Privy Council from the 16th July, 1553, ten days after her accession, to the 3rd of November following, which, as it must be supposed, contains some curious entries. On the 13th of August, we find that an order was issued, in consequence of a tumult at Paul's Cross, in which the Mayor and Recorder of London are enjoyned to declare, " in the best words they can devise," to a Common Council,

" The Quene's Highnesse's determination and pleasure uttered unto them [the Privy Council], by the Quene's owne mouthe, in the Toure as yesterdaye, being the 12th of this instant, whiche was, that albeit her Grace's conscience is stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compell and constreyne other menne's consciences, otherwise then God shall (as she trusteth) putte in their harts a persuasion of the truthe, that she is in, thorough the opening of his warde unto them by godlye, vertuouse, and lerned preachers."

Of the manner in which her " gracious meaning was evinced, we have proof on the 22nd of the same month:

" This daye one Fisher, parson of Ammersham, made his apparaunce before the Lords, and hathe to morrowe, in the forenoone, to bringe in a note of his late sermon!"

And on the 24th, " a very sediciouse preacher" was sent to Newgate as a close prisoner, and the Mayor of Canterbury was ordered to place the vicar of St. Dunstan's, near that city, " on the pillorye*."

On the 1st of September, Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, was committed to the Fleet; and, on the 13th of that month, that illustrious martyr

" Hugh Latymer, clerke, appeared before the Lordes, and for his sedicyous demeanor was

* P. 174.

comytted to the Toure, there to remaine as close prisoner, having attending upon him Austeyn his servaunte."

Another entry connected with religious persecutions is, that

"Robert Mendham, of the parishe of St. Giles in the Field, tailor, for shaving a dogge in despight of priesthod, appearing this day before the Lordes, was appointed to repaire on Sunday next to the parishe church of St. Giles aforesaid, and there openly confesse his folly, according to thorder prescribed unto him."

A letter was sent by the Privy Council to the Constable of the Tower, ordering him to permit Sir Edward Montague, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who was a prisoner in consequence of having supported the title of Lady Jane Grey, "to have open aire at his discrecion, and to suffer the Ladie his wife, in consideracion of his weaknes, to repaire unto him at convenient tymes, to dress his meate* !"

Notwithstanding that the correspondence of the reign of Queen Elizabeth occupies nearly two thirds of the Collection, it admits of but few extracts; for though it affords valuable data for historians, the letters are in general so intimately connected with each other, that selections would in most cases be unintelligible. Upon every public transaction of the times to which they

* P. 174.

belong; namely, from 1558 to 1570, they throw great light, and have been copiously cited by historians of all kinds, from the sagacious Lingard, to those whom Cleveland happilly terms the "subalmoners of history." The little which admits of being transplanted we shall introduce without further preface. Lord Paget, in a letter to Sir Thomas Parry, in April, 1559, after complaining of the treatment he experienced from Lord Hastings of Loughborough, who was Master of the Horse to Queen Mary, and the Lord Admiral, indignantly exclaims,

"The greatest honor a prince can have is to raise men of nothing, whome they think worthy, to placis of honor and reputation, as the King her father and brother did me; and if her Majestie think me not a man mete to contynue in the place wherin I am, then I wold be a suter unto her Majestie to have a writ of dotage, whereby I shall have liberty to absent my self from all parliamentis, and other functions of a nobleman, and so live solitarily, and be no more an eyesore to them."

It is a singular circumstance, and which has escaped the biographers of Paget, that in the same letter he should say that Queen Mary hated him, since it has been uniformly supposed that he possessed her favour in the highest degree. She restored him to the order of the Garter, appointed him her ambassador to treat for her marriage,

and bestowed other marks of her confidence upon him, which he enjoyed as early as 1549; for on his appointment as ambassador to the Emperor in that year, she wrote a strong letter of recommendation of him to his majesty, in which she speaks of him as her "bien bon amy."

These facts can scarcely be reconciled with his saying to Parry, in allusion to his being disliked by several persons about the court:

"I meane specially the Lord Admyrall and the Lord Hastings of Lougborough, who cease not, if there be any maner occasion of grudge in tymes past betwixt any nobleman and me, to renew it, but also to devise matter of malice of new therby to raise false sklaunders and opprobrious words of reproche against me: the Lord Admyrall for no cause I think, but for that I have done him many a great good torne; and the other, because the Qwene his old mistress decessed hated me."

Whether this hatred, on the part of Mary, arose from his witty question in the House of Lords, of "Pray who shall sue the King's bond?" when Philip applied to Parliament, on the occasion of the Queen being considered pregnant, for an act to constitute him Regent until the child should be of age to govern, and proposed to give security for his surrender of the regency when that period might arrive, is uncertain; but

to no other cause can it, with so much probability, be attributed.

In a letter from Sir Thomas Chaloner to Secretary Cecill, in December, 1559, he alludes to some reports on Queen Elizabeth's conduct, and advises that she should be immediately married. Chaloner was at that time ambassador to the Emperor of Germany: his observations merit attention.

" I assure you, Sir, thies folks ar brode mowthed, where I spake of oon to muche in favour, as they esteme. I thincke ye gesse whome they named; if ye do not, I will apon my net letters write furder. To tell you what I conceyve; as I count the slawnder most false, so a yong Princesse canne not be to ware, what countenaunce or familiar demonstration she maketh more to oon, then an other. I judge no oon mannes service in the realme woorthe the enterteignement with suche a tayle of obloquie, or occasion of speeche to suche men as of evill wyll ar ready to finde faults. This delaye of rype tyme for maryage, besides the losse of the realme (for without posterite of her Highnes what hope is lefte unto us) mynistreth matter to theis lewde towngs to descant upon, and breedith contempt. I would I had but oon howres talke with you. Thincke if I trusted not to your good nature, I wolde not write thus muche, which

nevertheless I humbly praye you to reserve as written to yourself."—P. 212.

Of the expenses of posts or special messengers, in 1559, we have the following information: the Council in the North observe in a letter to Cecill,

"We pray you to take order that the posts may use more diligence in conveyaunce of the Queen's Majesty's lettres, wherein they be very negligent: the onely remedy whereof is to give them their old ordinary wages of two shillings per diem, for nowe having but twelve pence and ill paid (whereof they much complayne, specially the posts dwelling in thes North partes) they cannot be hable to keep horses to serve the torne: and therefore yf that be not holpen, your lettres woll passe with slow spede."—P. 241.

Some letters from Scottish noblemen and gentlemen to Lady Cecill prove that she interested herself in public affairs. She was the Secretary's second wife, and was the daughter of Sir Anthony Coke of Giddy Hall in Essex, the tutor to Edward the Sixth. Her talents and learning, as well as those of her sisters, have been frequently commemorated.

Of the want of discipline in the English army in Scotland, in 1560, we have strong evidence. Sir William Cecil remarks,

"Here is such abominable robberyees in the camp by our old captayns, that it wold make any

prince wery to have victory with their service. Comenly they lack not only a half part, but three parts; and they also infect our contrey captaynes. It hath bene no small fault of Sir J[ames] C[roft] which is now there both to gyve example and to nourish them therein. Suerly his faults in that part be to evident in this towne, whereof I am sorry."—P. 327.

The precautions proposed "for the Queen's apparel and dyet" against danger, by Cecill, are amusing:

[From a Minute of Secretary Cecill.]

"We think it very convenient that yowr Majestie's apparell and specially all maner of thyngs that shall touche any part of your Majestie's body bare, be circumspectly looked unto; and that no person be permitted to come nere it, but such as have the trust and charge thereof.

Item, That no manner of perfume, either in apparell or sleves, gloves or such lyke, or otherwise that shall be appoynted for your Majestie's savor, be presented by any stranger, or other persone, but that the same be corrected by some other fume.

Item, That no forrayn meate or dishes being dressed out of your Majestie's court be brought to your foode, without assured knowledge from whom the same cometh; and that no use be had hereof.

Item, That it may please your Majesty to take the advise of your Phisician for the receaving wekely twise, some preservatiff *contra pestem et venena* as therbe many good thyngs *et salutaria.*

Item, It may please your Majesty to gyve order who shall take the chardge of the back doores to your Chamberors chambers, where laundressees, taylors, wardrobers, and such, use to come; and that the same doores may be duely attended uppon, as becommeth, and not to stand open but upon necessite.

Item, That the privie chamber may be better ordered with an attendance of an Usher and the Gentillmen and Gromes."—P. 368.

About the middle of 1561, prints were sold in London by "sondry bookebynders and stetioners" of the Queen's portrait with that of the King of Sweden; and a letter was written to the Lord Mayor, on the 21st of July in that year, by Cecill, in which he says,

"And although hir Highnes is not miscontented that ether hir owne face or the sayd Kyng's should be prynted or portracted; yet to be joyned in one paper with the sayd King, or wyth any other prynce that is knowne to have made any request for mariadg to hir Majesty, is not be allowed."

The Lord Mayor was accordingly directed to send for the wardens of the company, that

" All the sayd papers shuld be taken and packed upp together, in sort as none of them be permitted to be seene in any place, for otherwise hir Majesty might seme to be tooched in honor by her owne subjects that wold in such papers declare an allowance to have hir self joyned, as it wer, in mariadg with the sayd Kyng, where indede hir Majesty hitherto cannot be induced (whereof we have cause to sorrow) to allow of any mariadg with any manner of person."—P. 368.

The luxury of the present times does not equal, in one article at least, that of the sixteenth century. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the Queen's ambassador at Paris, in a letter to Sir Thomas Chaloner, the ambassador at Madrid, in June, 1562, says,

" I pray you good my Lord Ambassador sende me two paire of parfumed gloves, parfumed with orrange flowers and jacemin, th'one for my wives hand, the other for myn owne; and wherin soever I can pleasure you with any thing in this countrey, you shall have it in recompence thereof, or els so moche money as they shall coste you; provided alwaies that they be of the best choise, wherein your judgment is inferior to none."—P. 387.

A letter from Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, to his wife Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Angus, by Margaret, sister of Henry the

Eighth, is so interesting in itself, and relates to individuals of such historial importance, that it is impossible to resist transferring it to our pages. The King, his son, was Henry Darnley, husband of Mary, Queen of Scotland, and the child of which she was enceinte, was James, afterwards King of Scotland, and of this country, who was born ou the 19th June, 1566. These facts fix the date of the letter to the 19th December, 1565.

TO MY WYF, MY LADY MARGARET.

My swet, Mage,

After my most harty comendacions. If ye shuld take unkyndly my slownes in wryttynge to you all thys whyll, as I can not blame you to doo, God and thys berrar owr owld servant Fowller, can baist wytnes th'ocasyone therof; it beygn not a lyttyll to my grefe now to be debarred, and want the commodety and comfort of intellegens by lettyrs, that we war wont to have passynge between us durrynge our absens: But what then? God send us pacyens in takynge all thyngs acordyngly, and send us a comfortable mettynge, and then we shall talk farther of the matter. My Mage, we have to geve God most harty thanks for that the Kyng our son continews in good helth and lykynge, and the Quene great with chyld, God save them all; for the wyche we have great causs to rejeys maire:

Yet of my part, I must confess I want, and fynde a lake of my chefest comfort, wyche is you; whom I have no causs to forget for any great fellysety or welthe, that I am in; but I truste it will amende. Altho I doo not dowt but there Majesties forgetethe you not, yet I am styll remembryng them for your dyllyverans, to worke therin as muche as they can, as I dowt not but their Majestys wyll, els, er ye shuld tarry there any longer, I shall wyshe of God that I may be with you, our lyfe beynge sayf. Thys beynge forset to make no longar letter for want of tyme, as thys berrar knowithe, who wyll declare unto you all thyngs at more lengthe, beynge most sorry of hys desertyng out of the Kynge hys Majestie's servece for syndry respects, I byd myn own swet Mage most hartylly fayrwell, bessyching Almychty God to presarve you in helthe, longe lyf, and send us with our chyldren a mery mettynge. From Glascow, the 19th day of Desembar.

Your owne Mathiu, and most lovynge husband*.—P. 443.

An article occurs in the hand-writing of Cecill, in April, 1566, in which the "reasons to move the Quene" to accept Charles of Austria, and "the Reasons against the E[arl of L[eicester]" are placed opposite to each other. The former

* From the original.

are not worth copying, but we must not omit the latter:

"Reasons against the E. of L———

"I. Nothing is increased by marriadg of hym, either in riches, estimation, power.

II. It will be thought that the slanderooss speches of the Quene with the Erle have been trew.

III. He shall study nothing but to enhanss his owne particular frends to welthe, to officees, to lands, and to offend others. Sir H. Sydney, Erl Warwyk, Sir James Croft, Henry Dudley, Sir Fran. Jobson, Apleyard, Horssey, Layghton, Mollynex, Middlemore, Colshill, Wyseman, Killegrew, John Dudley; ij Christmas, Fostar, Ellyss, Middleton.

IV. He is infamed by deth of his wiff.

V. He is farr in dett.

"VI. He is lyke to prove unkynd or geloos of the Quene's Majesty."—P. 444.

That Queen Elizabeth sometimes honoured Cecill with her presence at his table, in a private manner, is manifest from a passage in a letter, dated on the 27th May, 1567, to Lord Cobham.

"My Lady Clynton hath underhand procured my wiff to make hir a supper to morrow, wher she sayth a gretar person will be covertly, as she is wont. I meane not to take knolledg, but shall

be glad to see hir content with my poverty."—P. 449.

We learn from the Bishop of London's certificate, that, in December, 1567, there were then in London and its immediate vicinity, or places which are now included in the word "London," 3838 Dutchmen; 720 Frenchmen; 137 Italians; 10 Venetians; 56 Spaniards; 25 Portuguese; 2 Grecians; 2 Blackmores; 1 Dane; and but 58 Scots! making a total of 4851 foreigners.

A great part of the remainder of the volume is occupied with the Queen of Scots's affair; we can only therefore refer to an excessively interesting account of the interview which a Mr. White had with her in February, 1568-9, at Tutbury. The manner in which she passed her time, her pursuits, and her conversation, are detailed at considerable length.

To find one nobleman suggesting to a minister to send a spy into the house of another, exhibits a frightful picture of the state of society. The Earl of Huntingdon, in 1570, after speaking of the suspicious conduct of the Earl of Derby, who, he says, was surrounded by "mannye wycked counsellors and sum to neare hym," and that "there is one Broune a conjurour in hys housse kepte secretly," adds,

"And surelye in my symple opynyone, yf you send sum faythfulle and wyse spye that woulde

dyssemble to cum from D'Alva, and dyssemble popefye, you might understand all."—P. 603.

Many papers are inserted relative to the duke of Norfolk, who was committed to the Tower, and ultimately executed for some supposed treasonable designs, the most heinous of which, in Elizabeth's eyes, was his wish to marry the Queen of Scots. The extent to which he offered to be regulated by Elizabeth in choosing a fourth wife, though he was then only thirty-three years of age, is not generally known: after promising never to prosecute his suit to Mary, he observes, "And as for maryage eyny other wher, althowh att thys tyme my yll helthe and thys place ys unfyte to thynke of any suche matter yeat herafter as I schall fynd that ytt may best-content your Hyniesse apon seeing and consydering off fytte persons, I wyll the soner applye my selfe thereto for your Majestyes better satysfactyon."—P. 571.

The admirers of "Kenilworth" will be gratified with the notices, which are to be found, of the fair Amy Robsart, the unfortunate wife of the Earl of Leicester.

During his imprisonment in the Tower, in September, 1553, she was ordered to be allowed access to him *; but the subjoined letter describes the rumours which were then afloat respecting

* P. 182.

her tragical fate; and which, as we have seen, Cecill includes among his objections to the Earl's marrying the Queen.

Unto the Right Honourable Sir Francis Knoils and Sir William Cecill, Knights, and to either of them be these dd.

The grace of God be unto your honors, with mi humble commendations, and harte thanks in Christ for that it hath pleased God to place you in autorite with wisdome, and willes to advance his glore, the Quene's Majestie's godli honor, and the peaceable welthe of this realme; and that also I am well assured of your favorable minds towards me, to take in writing according to mi meaning faithfulli, reverentli, and lovingli. Therefore am I moved, and boldned bi writing to signifie unto you, that here in these partes semeth unto me, to be a grevous and dangerous suspition, and muttering of the death of hir, wich was the wife of my Lord Robert Dudlei. And now mi desire and trust is that the rather bi your godli, discrete devise and diligence through the Quene's Majesties autorite, ernest searching and triing out of the truethe with dwe ponishment, if ani be founde gilte in this mater, mai be openli known. For if no search nor inquire be made and known, the displeasure of God, the dishonor of the Quene, and the danger of the whole realme is to be feared; and bi dwe inquire and justice

openli known, sureli God shalbe well pleased and served, the Quene's Maiestie wortheli commended, and her loving subjects comfortabli quieted. The Lord God guide you by his grace, in this and all other your godli travels, as he knoweth to be most expedient in Christ. Scriblet at Coventre the 17th of Septembre bi youre faithfulli in Christ,

THOMAS LEVER*.—P. 362.

Our selections from these papers will be concluded by pointing out two or three words which have struck us as being singular. The Duke of Norfolk used the word "brag" synonymously with proud, vain; and of which Archdeacon Nares has cited an example:

"Thus being here in the rewle of oure newe captain, whom I dare in no wise displeasure, for that he is so *brägge* of his new offyce."—P. 275.

But "redubbe" has, we believe, escaped our lexicographers. In a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Lord Grey and the council in the North, in 1560, she says,

"This doth much greve us, that any such occasion shuld be given to them; and we mervell much that any maner of person of our army shuld notefye to the Scotts any lack or doubt of our proceding either for want of money or such lyke: wherefore we require you all by the best meanes

* From the original.

that ye can, to *redubbe* this, and to establish the Scots in good comefort."—P. 292.

And the Privy Council, speaking of the same subject, observe,

"And lyke as hir Majestie wryteth presently to yow, how much this miscontenteth hir, for respect of hir service; so have we thought mete, after our harty thanks gyven to yow all, for your great paynes and aventures in this service, to advertise yow that it is necessary to *redubbe* this wound gyven."

INTERESTING PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE UNFORTUNATE MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS*.

Davison's well-known traffic in the death of the friendless and wretched Mary, naturally excites inquiries into motives of others with whom he acted, or appeared to act, as our only clue to a knowledge of his attributed delinquency, as well as of his moral character. His royal mistress thus fairly becomes subject of remark, and we accordingly find her, in the volume whence we have made this extract, analyzed closely, and at much length: in reference, however, to the

* From the Life of William Davison, Secretary of State, and Privy Counsellor to Queen Elizabeth. By Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq. of the Inner Temple. 8vo.

single circumstance which involves the reputation of Davison. In all Elizabeth's professed sorrow towards her rival, not forgetting her obstreperous grief after the appearance of the last messenger from Fotheringay, she shewed such a mixture of the tiger, cat, and the fox, as perhaps was never or since been paralleled in the human heart. Her persecution also of her secretary, Davison, for his instrumentality in Mary's death, was unjust and unprincipled, and the Star-Chamber passed, at her instance, a wrong towards the man, and a flagrant perversion of justice.

Of this said Davison little is known, either of his ancestry, time of birth, or native place: mere conjecture makes him a Scot. The cause of his introduction to court is also unknown. By marriage, he was allied to Leicester, Burleigh, and Killegrew; with the last he began his diplomatic life; but it is unlikely he was married sufficiently early to allow his first appearance as a public man to have been derived from his friends. His talents, nevertheless, recommended him to Elizabeth's particular notice; and, in 1586, he was one of her Principal Secretaries of State, and her Privy-Counsellor*. Davison was, as we

* Here the author combats the generally received opinion of Camden, that Davison was appointed secretary of state solely to be made the instrument of Mary's death; and afterwards himself to fall a victim to the hypocrisy of Elizabeth. He next assumes

have seen, connected by marriage with the principal members of the Council; and it is very unlikely *they* should have CHOSEN as their dupe a man, whose disgrace would extend to themselves.

Davison first acted as secretary early in October 1586, and the commission for Mary's trial bears date the 6th of October *of the same year*. The author enumerates the "distinguished characters" to whom it was addressed. Three extant letters of Davison, in reference to forms of the commission, are next glanced at: some suggestions of Elizabeth are set forth in them; and he encloses the privy seal for the £1000 which he (Davison) was to employ as his "*lordship*—Burleigh—knew"——

"He also acquaints his lordship that he had just seen a Dutchman, newly come from Paris, who was familiar with the Queen-Mother, her jeweller, who adviseth her Majesty to beware of one that will present her a petition on her way to chapel, or walking abroad, without specifying other particulars, and *suggests to the Treasurer to write to the Queen* 'to pray her to be more circumspect of her person, and to spare to shew herself publicly, than she is, till the brunt of the business now in hand be well overblown'."

The commissioners proceeded to trial at

for him an inflexible integrity, well known to all, which must have rendered Davison an unfit subject for the dishonourable use intended to be made, according to Camden's assertion.

Fotheringay, 11th of October. Elizabeth's written instructions to them to suspend their sentence till they had reported to her, finds a place. On the 25th her sentence was pronounced in the Star Chamber. Davison was not present at the trial nor sentence; and this circumstance, his biographer endeavours to turn to his account. Nov. 12, both Houses of Parliament addressed the Queen to execute the sentence, "urging their request by the example of God's displeasure on Saul for saving King Agag, and on Achab for preserving Benadab."

Elizabeth's answers and communications to her parliament on this subject, no less curious than important, are strongly characterized by cunning and dissimulation: if they do not confirm, they afford no contradiction to, the opinion that the reluctance which she expressed to carry the sentence against Mary into execution was entirely feigned, for the purpose of removing from herself the obloquy which she knew would attend the death of that princess, and of persuading the world that she sacrificed her own personal feelings to the safety and welfare of her subjects. At the same time in which she assured the House of Commons of her merciful disposition towards her kinswoman, it is to be observed, that she gravely recapitulated the crimes imputed to her, and rather aggravated than softened their nature and object; after several

eulogia on her own magnanimity, she took care plainly to insinuate, that Mary's existence was incompatible with the safety of their religion, and inflamed their animosity towards her rival by informing them of a new and determined plot against her own life. The motive of her writing to the Queen of Scots, advising her privately to confess her treasonable intentions, was in all probability an artifice to obtain her own admission of her guilt, and of which, perhaps, immediate advantage would have been taken; and she impiously appealed to Providence to guide her conduct, when there can barely be a doubt that her resolution had long been irrevocably fixed. In her reply to the second address from the parliament, she anticipated the opinion which posterity has formed, that her clemency was fictitious, and that it was not only unfelt, but the result of a cold and selfish policy; and so far did she carry her hypocrisy, that she did not even then think it proper positively to grant their petition, but left them in uncertainty what might be her final determination. Her assurance that she had ordered her ministers to instruct them to act according to the dictates of their consciences, renders it likely that she thought a *permission* to that effect was necessary; but the disposition which the parliaments of Elizabeth generally shewed to make her will the guide of their proceedings, might in some degree induce

us to consider their repeated requests that she would complete the sentence passed on the ill-fated Mary, as presumptive evidence of their being well aware that their petitions were consonant to her inclination; and this fact is also apparent from the peculiarly gracious manner in which she received them, and the praises which she lavished on their conduct.

In her second answer there is a singular expression, which is worthy of remark. After informing them that she is aware of the danger in which her life is placed, she says, '*but this she considers, that many a man would put his life in danger for the safeguard of a king*, but prays them to believe that *she hath thought upon it.*' There is great difficulty in determining the exact import of this assertion; but when it is compared with the preceding passages, it may without violence be thought a distant allusion to the wish, which she afterwards more fully expressed, that Mary might be privately put to death, in order to conceal her agency in that event. If Elizabeth had been sincere in the disposition which she expressed to save her rival's life, would she not have represented her conduct in the most favourable view,—have concealed the plot she had discovered,—and used every argument to convince her parliament that no necessity existed for so fatal a measure? We have seen how perfectly opposite was the conduct she pur-

sued; and hence it is hardly possible to attribute any other motive to her, than that she was desirous of hiding her real disposition of heart, under the mask of sacrificing her own humane feelings to those of the purest patriotism.

Dec. 21.—Mary's sentence was published and proclaimed with great pomp. The Lord Mayor, attended by several noblemen, together with the aldermen and principal officers of the city, the majority of the gentry in the neighbourhood, and about eighty citizens, dressed in velvet, and wearing gold chains, all on horseback, assembled at about ten o'clock in the forenoon, when the sentence was publicly read by Mr. Sebright, the town-clerk, at the cross in Cheapside, at the end of Chancery-lane opposite the temple, at Leadenhall-corner, and at St. Magnus'-corner, near London-bridge. Similar processions were formed in Middlesex, and, says one of our old chroniclers, 'to the great and wonderful rejoicing of the people of all sorts, as manifestly appeared by their eager running after the portly train, their thronging to hear the sentence published, their ringing of bells, making bonefires, and singing of psalms in every street and lane of the city.'

This melancholy proof of the religious ferocity of the times is quoted that we may have occasion to congratulate ourselves upon its disappearance at the present day. Immediately after the sen-

tence had been pronounced, Lord Backhurst, and Mr. Robert Beale, clerk of the council, were sent to Mary with instructions from Elizabeth, by the general style of which it appears, that their real object was to induce Mary into some acknowledgment of guilt, a point Elizabeth was most anxious to gain, although clemency slightly covers the motive. The short delay that preceded the execution of Mary must be imputed to Elizabeth's desire of preserving still longer the appearance of reluctance; and perhaps to her expectation that some of her courtiers would imitate those of Henry II. and employ the same means for removing the Queen of Scots, as had been used on the celebrated Becket.

In the interval the Kings of France and Scotland sent ambassadors to Elizabeth, to solicit her mercy for the wretched victim. Hume has questioned the sincerity of Henry IV.; James's appeal for a parent cannot be so treated. He first sent Sir William Keith; and afterwards the master of Gray and Sir Robert Melville; he also wrote with his own hand to Douglas and Elizabeth. Elizabeth waxed indignant at a kind of cowardly threat in James's epistle. His ambassadors proposed, that he should give his chief nobility as hostages to secure Elizabeth from any attempts of his mother, who should resign in favour of her son, and that this should be guaranteed by foreign princes; all of which was

contemptuously rejected; and her answers supply the strongest proof of her determination to put Mary to death, and, consequently, the odious dissembling of her professions of mercy and sympathy. For, as it has been well observed, Elizabeth's dissimulation always failed her, when she was petitioned in favour of the Queen of Scots, either by James or by foreign courts; she then seemed firmly resolved to execute the sentence against her; but when her ministers or parliament prayed her not to delay it, her affectation of respect for the dignity, and of compassion for the misfortunes, of her prisoner, invariably returned. To James's ambassadors she remarked, how sorry she was that no means could be found to save their King's mother, and secure her own life.

Melville, acting under his instructions, used strong language, upon which good Queen Bess threatened his life, and would have kept him a prisoner, had not his colleagues interfered. But Elizabeth's true disposition was more strongly evinced by her reply to the Master of Gray, who, in his letter to James, dated January 12, 1586 (1586-7), giving a relation of the particulars of his audience, says—"And I spake craving of her that her life may be spared *fifteen days*; she refused; she said 'Not for an hour;' and so goed way."

The dispatch of the warrant to Fotheringay

forms the well known act of Davison's life for which he has been hitherto censured, and which his biographer again strives to vindicate. The exposure of Elizabeth's fixed intentions to put Mary to death is the general ground of defence chosen; and as a proof of Davison's integrity, we are furnished with the following particulars. The occasion which elicited it is one of intense interest, and will startle many readers.

"Before her Majesty had resolved on allowing the Queen of Scots to fall by the axe of the executioner, it is almost certain that it was deliberated in her cabinet, whether it was not preferable that she should perish by the hand of an assassin. Elizabeth's wishes were decidedly for the latter course, because it would remove the odium of Mary's death from herself, and have enabled her to sacrifice those who employed him, as a confirmation of her total ignorance of the transaction. Her disposition was supported by the Earl of Leicester, who proposed to poison her; and it was said, that he privately sent a divine to Sir Francis Walsingham, to persuade him of the legality of the act. Davison, to his eternal honour, opposed himself with uniform firmness to these propositions; and it is more than probable that his arguments caused the forms of law and justice to be followed, in concluding this tragical affair."

Let the reader here bear in mind, although the

biographer of Davison does not allude to the facts in our view, that Walsingham, perhaps from a knowledge of Elizabeth's duplicity, and his anticipation *that the person who was officially employed in the conclusion of this proceeding* WOULD BECOME A VICTIM TO HER INTRIGUES, withdrew from court, *under the pretence of illness*, and consequently the responsibility FELL ENTIRELY ON DAVISON.

Soon after Elizabeth had been petitioned by her parliament to proceed against Mary, she ordered the Lord Treasurer to draw the warrant, who, on the morning after he had done so, sent for Davison to Richmond*. He found Burleigh prepared with the warrant; and received from him her Majesty's commands to get it engrossed, and then submit it for her signature;—it was accordingly delivered into Davison's hands. In a few days he presented it to Queen Elizabeth, who then refused to sign, on account of the solicitations of Henry and James, but commanded him to keep it "till a more convenient season." He held it back during five or six weeks, for which Leicester once reprimanded him *in the queen's presence*. On the first of February she sent privately for Davison to bring the warrant to her to sign.

* The narrative of Davison's acts, from this to the close of his career, are chiefly supplied on his own authority, in the shape of statements under his hand, printed, it is presumed, for the first time, from the original MSS. in the British Museum.

Davison immediately went to his apartment to fetch the warrant and some other papers, and on his return he sent to announce to the Queen that he was in attendance, and she shortly afterwards gave him an audience. She received him most graciously, enquired whether he had been out that fine morning, advised him to use more exercise, and evinced considerable interest in his health: she then asked him what he had in his hand, and when he informed her that it was different warrants and other things for her signature, her Majesty demanded if the Lord Admiral had not ordered him to bring up the warrant for the Queen of Scots' execution: and on Davison's replying that he had spoken with his Lordship in the Privy Chamber, and understood from him that it was her pleasure that he should bring the warrant to her to sign, Elizabeth asked for it: and immediately after reading it, called for pen and ink, signed it, and laid it down by her on the mats, and explained to him that the motive which had induced her to delay it so long, was her regard for her own reputation, that the world might perceive that however justly she felt provoked at Mary's offences, yet that if any other means could have been devised for the security of her own person and of the state, she would have felt extremely sorry to have taken such a course; and that it might appear that she had not been induced 'violently' to adopt this measure from

any sentiment of malice or revenge towards the Queen of Scots. Elizabeth then ironically demanded of Davison whether he was not extremely sorry to see the warrant signed? Elizabeth directed him to take up the warrant, and carry it immediately to the great seal; and from some suspicions she entertained of persons about the Lord Chancellor, as well as from her fears that if it was divulged before it was executed, it might, as she pretended, encrease her danger, she cautioned him to seal it as privately as he could, and expressly commanded him to use dispatch, and to send down the warrant to the Commissioners with all possible expedition; and, in conclusion, absolutely forbade him to trouble her again on the subject, or to let her hear any thing more about it until it was executed, as she had now done all that either in law or justice could be expected of her. Her Majesty also specially appointed the hall at Fotheringay for the place of execution, and assigned many causes for disliking the court-yard or green of the castle. In obedience to her orders to use dispatch, Davison offered to go to the Chancellor the same forenoon; but, as he had some other business to transact, she desired him not to go to him till the afternoon. On his way to his Lordship, Elizabeth directed him to call on Sir Francis Walsingham, who was then ill at his house in London, and to communicate to him what she had done, be-

cause, as she jestingly said, 'the grief he would feel on learning it would nearly kill him outright.' He then gathered up his papers, and was about to leave it, when she commenced a complaint against Sir Amias Paulet and others, who might, she remarked, have rendered her signing the warrant unnecessary; and expressed a wish that Davison and Walsingham would yet write, both to Paulet and to Sir Drue Drury, to sound their disposition as to privately dispatching the Queen of Scots.

Davison details his own repugnance to the latter measure, and his upright remonstrance with the Queen against it; but *eventually* he calls on Walsingham, arranges the subject of the letter to Paulet and Drury; and afterwards *countersigns and dispatches it.* This infamous document appears; and some pages on its answer, in which two honest men bluntly, and with the proper expostulation and disgust, refuse to become hired assassins to a jealous woman, and a most abandoned gang of ministers.

The following piece of evidence goes to rescue from total defamation the character of human nature, as displayed in the diplomacy of the age under notice; on this account therefore we cannot resist the quotations:

"To Sir Francis Walsingham, Knt.

"Sir,—Your letters of yesterday coming to my hands this present day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my answer with all possible speed, which shall deliver unto you great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy to have liven to see this unhappy day, in the which I am required, by direction from my most gracious Sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at her Majesty's disposition, and am ready to lose them the next morrow, yf it shall so please her; acknowledging that I hold them as of her mere and most gracious favour. I do not desire them to enjoy them, but with her Hignesses good liking; but God forbid that I should make so fowle a shipwracke of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my posteritie, or shed blood without law and warrant; trusting that her Majesty, of her accustomed clemency, will take this my dutiful answer in good part, (and the rather by your good mediation), as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any christian subject; living in duty, honour, love, and obedience towards his Sovereign: and thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almightie. From Fotheringay, the 2nd of February, 1586.

"Your most assured poore friends,

"A. Paulet.

"D. Drury.

After Davison left Elizabeth with the warrant *signed,* he got the Lord Chancellor's seal to it about five o'clock in the evening. The very next morning Killegrew came to him with a message from the Queen, commanding him that, if he had not yet been to the Lord Chancellor, he should not go till he had spoken with her Majesty. On his admission to her presence, she enquired whether the warrant had passed the seal? and when he informed her that it had, she asked why he had used such haste? Davison justly answered that he had employed no more haste than she had commanded, and his duty to her required; and added that he thought it was an affair not to be trifled with. In one of his narratives he personally observes, that as twenty-four hours had elapsed since she had given him orders to get the warrant sealed with as little delay as possible, she could not suppose that he had not obeyed her commands; and, consequently she must have concluded that it passed through the Chancellor's hands. Davison then asked her whether it was still her intention to proceed with the affair according to her former directions? To which she replied that she did, although she thought *it might have been done in a different manner*, and 'particularized a form,' because this threw the whole weight on herself; and named several persons who were of that opinion, and whose judgments she commended: he observed that he knew not who

else it could have been but herself,—with other *prudent* suggestions.

It was now the clever dupe began, for the first time, to feel an omen of his real situation, and of the superior cunning and calculation he would vainly strive to baffle. The equivoque of Elizabeth, after the death of the Duke of Norfolk, came to his recollections, with no smiling promise of peace to himself; and he resolved alone, "to proceed no further in the business." Burleigh approved of his determination; and both resolved that the whole of the Privy Council should, next day, consider the entire case: and Burleigh, meantime undertook to write letters to all those to whom the warrant was addressed. "*Perhaps* for this purpose Burleigh required the warrant, for he requested Davison to leave it with him; and in the presence of the Vice-Chamberlain, *he delivered the fatal instrument into his Lordship's own hands,* who kept it *till it was dispatched.*" Next day the Privy Council unanimously resolved that they would *take on themselves* the responsibility with Davison in disposing of the warrant; that her Majesty had done every thing which was necessary in signing it, and that it should be sent off without again applying to her.

We now arrive at Davison's first official crime, namely, his parting with the warrant to Burleigh. It is in vain his biographer would seek to exte-

nuate this action. Aikin is right in calling it "incredible rashness." Whatever might have been the man's motive, supposing that he had no bad one, it was still an unauthorized step. Elizabeth had not sanctioned it. Nothing less than her direct and positive command could have done so; and this, it is not pretended, he had received. Looking thus at the circumstance, as a mere temerity on the part of Davison, and not unnecessarily inquiring into the masked motives of Elizabeth, it certainly appears that he was guilty of the "contempt" attributed. Her general manner or expressions cannot be clenched into a particular mandate, and, without that, no state servant should have presumed to interpret her meaning at his own pleasure. It matters little, that, in the questions and answers proposed to, and given by him, in the Tower, Elizabeth asserts and he denies that she had ordered him not to pass the instrument out of his own hands; enough for us that she did not issue the contrary order, and he acted without it. So far we venture to pronounce on the strict law of the case. There is another way to consider it. Davison did exactly what Elizabeth wished he should do; but, as exactly, what she cleverly managed not to authorize him in doing. In fact, she was an overmatch for her privy counsellor, and he walked, with his eyes open, as he thought, into the

trap ingeniously laid for him. But these observations will come in better a little further on; while we continue the thread of the narration.

"The next morning (Saturday, February 4), Mr. Davison went to court, and on entering her Majesty's private chamber, he found her in conversation with Mr. afterwards Sir Walter Raleigh: but when she perceived him, she called him to her, and, 'as if she had understood nothing of these proceedings,' smilingly told him, that she had been troubled that night by dreaming that the Queen of Scots was executed, and that she was so greatly incensed against him on learning it, that in her passion she could have done any thing to him. Elizabeth related this in 'so pleasant and smiling a way, that he only answered, 'it was fortunate he was not near her so long as that temper continued;' but on reflection, he earnestly asked her what it meant, and whether, having proceeded so far, she had not a full and resolute intention to execute the sentence agreeably to her warrant? Her answer was 'Yes,' confirmed with a solemn oath in some vehemency; 'but that she thought it might have been done in another way, because this threw the whole burden on herself!'

Thus Davison saw Elizabeth the day after the dispatch of the warrant; heard her with true woman's cunning, and in a tone of ambiguous pleasantry, disapprove of the prospect of Mary's

death; yet he did not inform her of the fatal step already taken. Some slight difference of dates with respect to this, and his few subsequent interviews, now occurs, but we consider the point as immaterial.

"The next morning, which must have been Sunday, the 5th of February, Davison had an audience of the Queen, and informed her that he had received the preceding letter, which he read: on finding that Paulet refused to comply with her wishes relative to the Queen of Scots, she severely complained of the 'daintiness,' and, as she called it, 'perjury of him and others,' who, contrary to their oath of association, threw the weight of the affair on herself. She then rose, and after a turn or two across the room, went into the gallery, where Davison followed her. Here she renewed her observations on the conduct of Paulet, and blamed the 'niceness of those precise fellows,' as she termed them, who *professed* great zeal for her safety, but would perform nothing, adding, that she could have done very well without them, and named one Wingfield, who, with some others, would have undertaken it."

Davison again represents himself as lecturing the Queen upon the dishonour of her underhand views; but again, and while he is warned again, he neglects to announce the fate of the warrant. Was not this affording her the most plausible op-

portunity for afterwards declaring, which Elizabeth did, that she had no suspicion of its having been dispatched? Nay, on the following day, (Tuesday) he for the third time spoke with her on the subject, and through a long scene, which presents us with the picture of each endeavouring to puzzle and dupe the other, still avoided the plain and honest avowal it was his duty to make. On Thursday morning, a despatch arrived from Fotheringay with the news of Mary's death, and Davison and the Council resolved not to communicate it immediately to Elizabeth. In the evening of the same day she heard it, however, by some other means; and here we step aside to notice an important historical contradiction. Hume supposes—

That Elizabeth appeared surprised and indignant when she was *first* informed of the execution; that her speech failed her, and that for some time her sorrow was so overwhelming, that she could not express it, but stood mute with grief, and that it at last vented itself in loud lamentations. Davison, on the contrary, tells us, that when she *first heard of it*, she took *no notice of it*, nor '*shewed any alteration at all*;' and that it was not until the *following morning* that she exhibited any anger on the occasion."

The "following morning," however, Davison felt the first shock of the tempest, which, no doubt, had been nursing itself from him. He

was surprised, 'good easy man!' at being informed of her Majesty's anger; his innocence was thunderstruck; but to the Tower he went; and from this hour, in our opinion, the true character of the holiday secretary begins to appear, and much of the mystery and easiness of his former conduct becomes evident. We now behold a man devoid of moral courage, of self-assertion, of that independent, if not indignant, bearing which, a true sense of integrity, and a true abhorrence of the wicked measures proposed to and practised upon himself, would inevitably have prompted. By his own statements, he knew that Elizabeth contemplated private murder; nay, she suggested it to him; and a man with half his cunning must, by this time, have fully seen the premeditated injustice of her hypocritical severity to him, her instrument and dupe. But with all this experience and consciousness, in his answers to her monstrous interrogatories, and in his whining, cringing, canting appeals to Elizabeth during and after his trial, and for the whole time of his imprisonment, Davison's obvious effort is to regain one step upon the thriving ground he had lost, and he flatters and humbles himself accordingly. But, biographical prejudices apart, would a virtuous man thus have meanly stooped to beg the smile of even a sovereign that he had proved, as Davison had proved Elizabeth? Would he have become

lachrymose about "his poor estate," which Davison does—and for a re-instatement in worldly honour and good—profess himself ready to act once more with a hypocrite, a concertor of assassination, and, to himself, a wilful slanderer, and a refined tyrant? But, at what do we ask our questions? there is no necessity for argument on the moral character of Davison; notwithstanding all the honourable objections, for which we have his own authority, did he not at last, and in treble guilt, because at last, dispatch, jointly with Walsingham, the murderous letter to Paulet and Drury? *He did!* Here then is one act; we do not need two of the same kind, which is capable of stamping him but with one reputation. If the letter had succeeded—if the cup were mixed and given — or the dagger whetted and used, what epithet would undeniably fit him in the eyes of the world and of posterity?—and how can the glorious failure over which he had no control, chasten the original *quo animo* in the breast of Davison? We hasten to conclude this article by now more bluntly stating it as our decided opinion, that Camden is correct in his definition of the cause of Davison's appointment. Some one was to have been sacrificed to the policy of Elizabeth; James, not to speak of Henry of France, was to have been half-humoured; the previous members of her council Elizabeth could not

spare; Burleigh's profound knavery was invaluable; none would expect Leicester at her hands; even Killegrew and Walsingham were of rank and consideration; but in Davison we behold a man in every respect adapted to her purposes. An adventurer, in the first place, without ancestry, without family—we have seen that even his country is a problem; and, in the second place, possessing that portion of small talent and conditional virtue, that rendered him a good tool, and an easy prey to more commanding powers, and more daring profligacy, he was just sufficiently cunning to know the value of his acquirements, to believe himself clever, and to fall a victim to his credulity. He appears to have acted under these impressions with a mixture of the Jesuits' humility and the petty-foggers' meanness. No doubt of it, Elizabeth, from the very outset, knew her man. She appointed him a few days before the commission; Walsingham got ill; Davison, alone and singly, was her privy counsellor during the exigency. Who else manufactured "the Dutchman nearly come over," nay, the "hue and cry" itself, which our author attributes to *her* private contrivance? Much is made of Davison's absence from the trial and sentence; he was not wanted at either; no, nor at the petition in parliament; for did not Elizabeth require an amanuensis in making out her memorable answer? In fact,

Davison *was chosen* for one good act, and for no other, and he performed it. His own narratives cannot be read without exhibiting him as played by Elizabeth at her pleasure; and as endeavouring to play her; but always futilely. He knew the master-work of her heart; he thought that if he could satisfy it skilfully, he were a wreathing and laurelled man; but he saw no further. He generally objected to assassination; but he knew the laws of England; and, among them, one that adjudged life for life, and another that saith the *sovereign can* do no wrong.

It is remarkable; that notwithstanding all Elizabeth's stimulating hints about "the opinions of wiser men than himself," and of "one in high place," the only tangible step ever taken towards the private disposal of Mary was taken by Davison; and we may add by him alone. Walsingham, to be sure, prepared and signed the letter along with him, but *he* called with the *queen's orders* to have it done; and if it had reached its mark, those orders would have been forgotten, like others he received, and Davison would have been beheaded, instead of only experiencing three years imprisonment.

QUEEN MARY'S CROSS.

SUCH latitude do historians allow to their imaginations, that we are not more certain of truth from those of ancient date, than from the modern writer, who selects his materials, as Voltaire merrily said to Diderot, to suit his system. But in speaking of Queen Mary, we find the most candid simplicity shewn by Holinshed. "For," says he, "when leaving her own country, she was nourished as a banished person; and after fortune began to flatter her in that she was honoured with a worthy marriage; it was in truth rather a shadow of joy to this Queen than any comfort at all. But beneficial nature had endued her with a beautiful face, a well composed body, an excellent wit, a mild nature, and a good behaviour, which she had artificially furthered by courtly education and affable demeanor. Whereby, at first sight, she won unto her the hearts of most, and confirmed the love of her faithful subjects."

Henry Stuart, the cousin and husband of Queen Mary, has left, in his example, a lesson worthy the study of later princes. For with an admirable person, an excellent grace in all courtly exercises, and a rare portion of the age's best learning, his failure in those moral duties which men have agreed to call trivial in themselves, was the blight and wreck of his prosperity. But

his greatest crime was that he lived in times when every nice offence bore its comment among three parties, each morally adverse to the other, but equally eager to debase the Stuart family. He, blossom of a decaying tree, perished not so much by his own canker, as because the stem he grew on gave him no support. Whether his jealousy of our Italian menial was natural, or excited by one of those treacherous parties, is under the veil of time long past, but his tragical end was of more benefit to the friends of Mary than to her enemies. The charge of murdering her husband appeared so atrocious and improbable, that more credible ones were passed over and forgotten. Henry Stuart is said to have been strangled with a napkin, after lingering in a long illness; and his body was found at some distance from the house he had inhabited, after it had been blown up. In this transaction there was such needless and outrageous exposure of guilt, that Mary's advocates were very well able to rest their defence, not so much on the improbability of her connivance at her husband's death, as on the wanton absurdity of the deed itself. He alleged the craft and ambition of her illegitimate brother, the furious and busy zeal of the new party in the church, and the gracious heedlessness of a generous woman educated in an easy court, as the true causes of the libels stirred up against her. It was too easy to find evil motives

for those who mis-judged her conduct, and they wisely left the conduct itself undenied.

But the talents and the graces of many were not enough to guide her through the labyrinth of such entangled policy. She threw herself into the hands of Lord Bothwell, a nobleman whose character seems to have combined all the levities of her first husband, with the fierceness and fraud of her reputed brother. Her most partial historian tells us of the festivities and mock homages with which politicians continued to feed her fancy and her vanity, while he held her in his toils.

Proud, open, and generous by nature, Mary would have been able to resist threats and bribes from the party called her enemies, but she was not on her guard against the flatteries of pretended friends. During her residence at the Lord Bothwell's castle, her ears were incessantly beguiled by solacing declarations of attachment to her cause and person; and her eyes by the pageant-spectacle arranged to waste her time and degrade her character. She did not see her shackles till they were rivetted, and Bothwell insisted on a recompense for his zeal not less than the authority of a husband. Mary found herself compelled to yield it, and to make this desperate man, from whom she had gained nothing but a short period of false comfort, the master of herself and her destiny. This was the triumph of the faction who had employed him; and thus by de-

coying her into a shameful alliance with one of her husband's suspected murderers, they at once prepared and justified her total ruin.

After Mary had thus degraded herself, the nobility openly cast off their allegiance. But to procure from her the surrender of her crown, which was their secret aim, it was needful to divide her from Bothwell, who would not have parted willingly with the prize he hoped to share. One of their number, therefore, was deputed to make overtures of submission, provided she renounced her second husband: and Mary, rendered feeble and timid by error, fell into this third snare, and committed herself on their own terms into the hands of the confederate nobles. Edinburgh had declared for them; and thither, with a semblance of respect and gratitude, they conducted a princess who had been in less than two years twice a wife, if Bothwell could be called her husband, after lawlessly divorcing the mother of his only son.

The queen's procession through Edinburgh to Holyrood, was thronged as usual with gazers and followers; nor was the strong influence of her enemies sufficient to suppress or control the acclamations she always excited. On this occasion she rode on one of her favourite palfreys, decked richly with silver fringe, and her veil of embroidered gauze hung over her face, enough to tantalize without disappointing curiosity. A

woman of ordinary talents would have attempted to interest the populace by retirement, mourning weeds, and a face full of sadness; but this princess, acting on principles of shrewder policy, took care to present herself among her enemies with an aspect even gayer and more alluring than usual. She had in her train the best accoutred nobles of her court, and her tire-women had neglected nothing to adorn her person. Crowds of men, women, and children, poured from every wynd in the city, and hung in clusters on the house-tops, to see what resembled more the pageant of a triumphant sovereign, than that of a suspected and degraded widow. The affability and confiding carelessness of her demeanor, if it did not convince her enemies of her innocence, had at least the charm of an implied reliance on their mercy. A few of Knox's more austere adherents slunk away from the crowd, and those who condemned the parade remained to wonder at, till they were forced to join the clamour of applause. She rested on her way at the Earl of Morton's house in Edinburgh; and while she leaned from his balcony to throw largess among her subjects, a troop of women came to kiss the hem of her mantle as it hung over, and to lay petitions at her feet. The Lord Athol, or, as others say, Kirkaldy of Grange, took up one offered by the meanest of the group, and when the noise of the rebecks ceased, the

Queen bade him continue the music of her people, by reading their addresses to her. He obeyed, and opening the first he had taken up, found it in the form of the following letter:—

"*Fayer and good Quene*,—This cometh fra one who wishethe you all helth and joie, inasmuch as your joie much comforts all grieved and doubted wives. For if your majestie can be thus gleesome and praised by loyalle foulk, there is no distressed or misused woman who may not claim to be thocht guileless, and bear an open face in all places. Therefore I praie your good majestie to make known how moche and how long womynkinde may suffer, and how far they may synne withoute blame. This I rather aske than praie, for if oure Quene taketh from us the marke and stamp of what is fitting, it beseemeth her to give us a new order for our guidance, lest there be none that know what is holie or unholie. Your most fayre and royalle self hath had a nobyll husband, of whom his enemies save onlie that he shewed the synnes of a free and beautiful nature; which if in hyme they needed such deadlie rebuke, need it also in a wyfe and Queene. Youre majestie hath taken away from patient and meek wyves the glorie of meekness and the recompense of a praised name; inasmuch as it now seemeth better to braue in aspect and liberalle in courtesie, than to have an unsoiled name and quiet homestead. Therefore

it befitteth your majestie to provide means and lodgement for freehearted wyves, lest not havenge riche apparelle and rare beautie, they may fall into contempt; and that braverie be scoffed at in ugliness and a stuff kirtle, which hath praise in beauty and broidery.

"Let your royalle self compell those men who stand at your righte hand to judge of their wyves and sisters as it hath pleased them to judge their mistresses; and if peradventure there be one of them who hath a nephew riven of his birth-right and his mother's good name, let him not tread on both because it is his will to believe a lonelie and weake woman hath had (it may be) such misgivings as are but comelie accidents in your goode majestie.

"Nor let this be cast awaie because it cometh fra' one who hath neither husband nor good name; for by those accidents I am made worthie to compare with your majestie. Moreover in an ill-repute there is no shame, sith youre good self beareth it so lightlie; and if the truth be in it, there is still no evil, as hath been proven by the manie that see none in your majestie, and by your own high grace and favour to him who hath caused these mischances to his poor wyfe and your liege servante, ANN BOTHWELL."

To do him justice, Kirkaldy of Grange was confounded and amazed at the unexpected contents of this letter. He cast an indirect glance

at the Earl of Morton, who stood, favoured by his low stature, unobserved behind the Queen. His sinister eye gleamed at once with his natural delight in sarcasm, and with the hope of building his own triumph, as a libertine on the Queen's abasement. But Mary read the eyes of both her courtiers; and taking her son James, then little more than a year old, into her arms, she beckoned the bringer of this bold letter towards the balcony.

Instead of skulking among the crowd, the person who had delivered it stood still firmly in her place, with her garments muffled round her, but her head uncovered, except by a widow's curch. Mary fixed her large blue eyes on the stranger; and, putting a cross of jewels into her infant's hands, said, with that sweet smile which painters and historians have loved to imagine,—"Petitioner, the Queen has nothing left to give, but her son promises by this cross, to amend all things." The unknown woman looked up, and at the same instant the little prince dropped the cross from his hands into her bosom; on which she bowed her head lowly, and answered,—"My benison on ye! The cross is a comforter, and the red rose and the thistle may knit together round it."

Mary was no stranger to Earl Bothwell's divorce from the Lady Anne, for whom the

legendary ballad* which bears her name has excited more interest than even the historical facts relating to her. She loathed earnestly at this strange and meanly dressed woman, and was surprised to see beauty not inferior to her own. The gloomy Earl of Morton smiled at the blush of shame and remorse which reddened Mary's brow, and withdrew her from the gaze of the crowd,—the last that ever beheld her in Edinburgh as their Queen.

Something more than twenty years had passed between this period and the time of Mary's fatal trial. Her long absence and imprisonment had

* Balow, my babe, lie still and sleep,
It grieves me sair to see the weep;
If thou'lt be silent all be glad,
Thy moaning makes my heart fu' sad—
Balow, my babe, thy mother's joy!
Thy father breeds me sair annoy.

When he began to seek my luve,
And with his sacred words to move,
His feigning pause and flatt'ring cheer
To me that time did nocht appear.
But now I see that cruel he
Cares neither for my babe nor me.

Balow! my sweet one! spare thy tears
To weep when thou hast wit and years.
Thy griefs are gathering to a sum,—
God grant thee patience when they come!
Born to proclaim a mother's shame,
A father's fall, a traitor's name.

mollified her common enemies; the regent Earl of Morton had perished by assassination, Buchanan was no more, and the flame excited by their zeal against her was sinking under the usual influence of time and changing interests. But of all the partizans that maintained her innocence, none were more strenuous than the uncle and brother of Lady Ann Bothwell, the divorced wife of the ruined and expatriated Earl. Of their sister's fate they chose to know nothing; it was believed that she had withdrawn into one of the few convents still left in existence, and her infant son had been heard of no more. Forsaken and disinherited, this unhappy boy would have had few chances of notice from the family of the proscribed father; and his mother seized the opportunity afforded by her divorce to usurp the lands which should have been his birthright. His mother gave him the Queen's cross, and advised him to assume a name less hated.

Near one of those ruined convents, in the night of an unruly October day, three men assembled at the sound of a whistle, blown by a young shepherd, whose flock was brousing on the dark brown heather which then clothed the valley of Dimdrennan. "The moon is up again in the west," said the youth, as he fanned into a flame the red fagot under the nook of the cloister; "the moon is up and the Queen has escaped!"

"Escaped!" answered the Lord Maxwell, sheathing his dirk in the earth on which he sat; "then let the dry sod keep it bright, for there will be no use for it. Mary escaped from Elizabeth's clutch! what now becomes of the Baroness of Bothwell?"

"To whom," said Herries of Caerlaverock, could she have given them better than to the brother of his father? There is small need, Maxwell, to be doubting who will have the forest when the doe is in our hands. Have you made the bed ready, FAHM, and all gear fitting for a lady?"

"Fresh heather and new hay," returned the lad, to whom the name of Fahm was given not inaptly; for the most grim and deformed imp created by Scottish superstition is called thus, and the companions of this young man had accustomed him to bear it in derision, because his distorted shape and wild countenance accorded fully with the notion of night goblins. Presently another and softer whistle was blown among the cloisters, and the two Scotch nobles ran out to receive their comrades. The foremost made a sign expressive of their full success; and lifting a woman from the horse that bore her, they placed her on the ground, and vanished among the shadows of the valley.

"You are welcome, our lady and mistress," said Caerlaverock, "to this place, which gave

you shelter on a worse journey. The wild fox and the roe have lived here where the altar-stone stood, but we will swear faith on our swords."

The Queen seemed faint with her long and tedious journey, and sat down on the bed of heather prepared for her in the cloister. By the red light of the torch which her adherents ventured to place near it, they saw her hair had grown grey, and her face wan with suffering. The clear, keen blue eye remained; but the lovely roundness of the cheek and chin, the smooth alabaster forehead, and the lips so enchanting in their promise, were all faded into ghastliness. "Be of good cheer, madam," rejoined Herries; "this is not Dimdrennan as it was when your majesty reposed here on your way to England;—this is a ruin such as poor Scotland is, but it has gallant hearts in it, and its Queen's presence makes it holy again."

The Queen put her hood aside, and raised herself on an arm still full of beauty. "Methinks," she said, looking composedly round her, 'my court is small, and there might have been more to welcome me. But I am not so rich in friends as to cast away even the ungracious, else I might say the Lord Maxwell seemeth as if he had not wished my safe coming.

"No, Madam," said Lord Maxwell, sternly, "I have not wished it; for this is the second trial that hath befallen you, and it pleases brave

men better to see courage than cunning: and I had rather that my Queen had met her judges with a quiet and firm spirit, than dealt with thieves and brawlers to buy their help."

"That is," replied Mary, "My Lord Maxwell is ill-pleased that I have taken aid from poor and unlettered men, when great ones had none to spare me.

"Service is not always friendship," answered the Scotch Knight; "and safety is not among knaves. There were noble and true men in Scotland who would have helped their mistress if she had trusted them and helped herself: but she put her secrets into the hands of serving men, and took counsel among ruffians. They who have helped her back to Scotland, have need of her as a corner-stone to their own fortunes, and then they will hew it into pieces."

"And what fortunes has Lord Maxwell built," returned Mary, "that he needs no help from me?"

"My name is ADAM HEPBURN, and my father's name was Bothwell."

The Queen seemed palsied by this answer, yet though her lips trembled and grew dark, her eyes had a sunny brightness in them; she exclaimed, "yet thou comest here to serve Mary Stuart!"

"Why should I not serve Mary Stuart?" said the young man haughtily. It was not by her crime that my mother was divorced and cast

aside; it was my father's frailty that made him a buyer of a false witness, and a teacher of perjury to set himself free. My mother was stained and degraded by plotters, yet she was innocent; therefore I will believe Mary Stuart may be guiltless. My mother's good name was sold for a price, and her most innocent deeds arrested and shaped into harlotry; why may I not think my Queen wrongfully accused? I avenge my mother by defending all who are persecuted."

"Adam Hepburn!" said the Queen, raising her voice to a shrill scream, "tell me truly if it was thy means that brought me hither?"

"Mary Stuart," answered Bothwell's son, "to think thee an unhappy woman, and a queen worthy our country, is not the same. Thy familiar courtesy has made men fools; and the folly which a homely matron ought not to nourish, a queen should both fear and scorn. Men will not dally for smiles alone, when woman's hand holds the key of an exchequer: and I will not be one of those that will give thee a crown to play with, though I am here to defend the last stake thou hast left thyself."

As the young knight spoke, the grisly shepherd boy who had witnessed the Queen's arrival, suddenly threw the torch from its place: in an instant the ruined cloister was filled with armed men, to whom his treachery had given this signal.

Herries sprang from the hearth where he had kept watch, and joined his dirk to the Lord Maxwell's; but their desperate courage was vain. Mary was conveyed back to Fotheringay castle, and her brief escape known only to the few who soon after witnessed her death upon a scaffold. Some wandering foragers, perhaps the band whose base aid Mary had fatally trusted, found and buried the body of her second husband's unfortunate son, covered with mortal wounds, and distinguished only by the cross of jewels, which she had given to Lady Ann Bothwell in that day when the graces of her bounty almost atoned for her errors. And those errors were more than fully atoned by her long miseries and warning example.

Fahm, the treacherous agent of these ruffians, received the cross as his share of the booty, and secured also a paper found under the buff coat worn by one of the slain. The seal and part of the envelope were crushed and steeped in blood, but he deciphered the following remnants of the contents, and thought himself richly repaid by what seemed a letter from Mary to her brother's son:

"I thank you for shewing me in my day of trouble, the strength and truth of your affection: your father also had his days of trouble, which shewed him who were his real friends. In those

times he found shelter, comfort, and help from his sister: but it fits men to forget when they dare not be grateful.

"Your father's sister returns to this country to ask justice, not alms. What she demands would not impoverish her opponent: but that opponent is gracious and splendid,—she is only a defenceless woman, grown old in years and affliction, widowed in the truest sense of the word; and she returns after a long absence to a place where those who loved her are dead, and those who know her best, are feeble and poor.

"She thanks her kindred for leaving her alone in the struggle. They have helped her to shew what courage will do for integrity, and time for justice. For all this, she thanks them; and while she forgets their unkindness, she will also forget that she designed them to partake her prosperity." The rest was illegible, and the torn envelope seemed a copy of Lady Ann Bothwell's letter to the Queen.

Fahm determined to preserve this relic as a step to his future fortunes. By extracting a diamond from the cross, he found means to reach England, and to subsist in secret till the accession of Queen Mary's son, James I. called forth all her friends. By decent attire and sufficient courage he procured access to Secretary Cecil, as he journeyed to pay his court to the new sovereign. Though Cecil had been the

prime minister of Mary's enemy, it was well known he had reason to expect favour from her son.

Fahm humbly represented himself as a servant of the Stuart family, and shewed the cross, the letter, and its bloody envelope, as tokens of his truth. The Secretary looked shrewdly at the paper, and replied, "How knowest thou that this letter is QUEEN MARY'S? Might it not have been as fittingly written by the Lady Ann Bothwell to her brother, who shut his door on her?" "Ay, sir," said the bold rogue, "but your Excellency knows it would be for the Queen's credit to shew this abroad, and say nothing of the Lady Ann's letter to her Grace, which was a nipping one, and did her much harm. They be both good brands to light a fire with among the folk: but a queen's wrongs are more than a gentlewoman's;—and the Queen's letter is wittier than LADY ANN'S." "Thou liest," answered the Secretary of State: "*I wrote them both myself.*"

Fahm was seized the next day as a thief, and history informs us, he was the only man hanged by James I. without a trial:—a retribution rash in an English king, but well worthy a place in the annals of justice.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE LORDS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S COUNCIL.

(MS. Cotton. Calig. B. X. fol. 388. *Orig.*)

RICHT trusty and weil belovit Cousingis, we greit you hertlie weill. Quhair as we have understand be report of our familiar servitor Robert Malvile, the gude offers maid to our behuif be the Quene our gude sustir zour Soverane: we think our self oblist to do to hur quhatsoevir a gude suster and tender cousing aucht, quhair she findis sa greit thankfulnes: and that we culd not declair the affection we beir towert our said dearest suster bettir; nor be that quhilk we did quhen we luikit not to have broukit this lyff xijth houris in our lait sicknes: at quhilk tyme our meanyng wes that the speciall cair of the protectioun of our Sone suld rest upoun our said gude Suster. We beleve ze have alwayes bene gude ministers to move zour Soverane to schaw hir awin reasonable favor to our avancement in that quhilk is richt and firmlie luikis ze will sa continew. We tak oure self (as we doubt not bot ze knaw) to be the Quene zour Soverain's nixt cousing and, nixt herself and the lauchfull yssue of hir body, to have gretest interest of all uther to that quhilk hes bene, as is reportit, laitlie motionated in the Parliament Hous. And albeit we be not of mynd to preis our said gude Suster farther than sall cum of hir awin gude plesor till put that

mater in questioun. Zit be caus in that cais we wilbe jugeit be the lawis of the Realme of England, we do effectuuslie require zou to have respect to justice with indifferency quhensoevir it sall pleis the Quene zour Soverane to put the same mater in deliberation. As to ws we will na wys insist thairin unto sic tyme as it sall pleis hir to gif ws warning. We desir zou in the mentyme to have that opinion of ws, that as we meyn to continew all our lyfe in gude intelligence with the Quene zour Soverane and that Realme sa gif ony Prince in earth wald offend the same, we wald withstand him at our uter power, and that ze can not advise our said dearest suster to extend hir favor towertis ony that sall recognosce it in a bettir sort. And so we commit zou to the protectioun of God. At Dunbar the xviij day of November 1566.

Zour gude Cousignace,

MARIE R.

To the Lords of the Queues Counsell.

The sickness spoken of in this letter, in which Mary "luikit not to have broukit this lyfe xij houris," is mentioned by Mr. Chalmers. He says, "On the 17th October 1566, the Queen was seized with a dangerous fever, which, during ten days, brought her into a doubtful state; owing partly to her husband, and to her apprehension of some fresh conspiracy*."

* Life of Mary Queen of Scots, edit. 8vo. 1822, pp. 296, 297.

Of this letter, the signature alone is the Queen's, the rest is written in the hand of a secretary. It relates to the succession of Mary, in the event of Queen Elizabeth's death without issue, to the crown of England, and alludes to the same as having been recently motioned in parliament.

It was one of the most unfortunate incidents of Mary's life, that soon after her marriage with the Dauphin of France, in 1558, she was induced in that court to assume the title of Queen of England.

Among Lord Burghley's notes of Queen Elizabeth's reign, we find the following entries:—

1559. Jan. 16.—"The Dauphin of France and his wife, Queen of Scots, did, by the stile of King and Queen of Scotland, ENGLAND, and IRELAND, grant to the Lord Fleming certain things."

June 28.—"The justs at Paris, wherein the King Dauphin's two heralds were apparalled with the ARMS of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND."

July 16.—"Ushers going before the Queen of Scots (being now the French Queen) to the chapel, cry, 'Place pour la Reine d'Angleterre'."

The Cottonian Manuscript, Calig. B. x. fol. 13, contains a coloured drawing of the escutcheon of the arms of England and Scotland, which was set upon certain "caroches," at the marriage of

the King of Spain with the French King's daughter, in the month of July 1559, with these verses beneath:—

"The armes of Marie Quene Dolphines of France,
The nobillest Ladie in earth for till advance:
Off Scotland Quene, and of INGLOND also,
Off IRELAND als God hath providit so."

According to Lord Burghley's notes, however, in that same month, the Constable Montmorency interfered to stay the publication both of the stile and arms of England; but a rancour was generated, the effects of which Mary felt through life, and which was aided in no trifling degree, by the imprudent anxiety which both Mary and her ministers were constantly evincing for the settlement of the succession upon her.

As early as 1559, the House of Commons, by the mouth of their Speaker, Thomas Gargrave, took upon them to exhort Queen Elizabeth to marriage. In answer, she drew the ring from her finger with which, at her coronation, she had in a set form of words solemnly given herself in marriage to her kingdom; assuring the deputation who brought the message, that it would be to her full satisfaction, both for the memorial of her name and for her glory, if, when she died, it were engraven upon her marble tomb, "*Here lieth* ELIZABETH, *which reigned a Virgin, and died a Virgin.*"

In 1563, partly by the intrigues of the friends of the Queen of Scots, another address was voted by the House of Commons, in which they entreated the Queen that a successor might be named, at least appointed by an Act of Parliament. The answer which they received on this occasion, occupies but a short space upon the Journals:—"*Martis* 16° *Februarij*, Mr. Comptroller and Mr. Secretary declared from the Queen's Highness, that she doubted not but the grave heads of this house did right well consider that she forgot not the suit of this house for the succession, the matter being so weighty, nor could forget it; but she willed the young heads to take example of the ancients."

In 1566, a third effort was made. Camden, speaking of the parliament which met in the beginning of November of that year, says, "After they had passed a bill or two, they began to debate loudly about the succession, for that the Queen, as if she had vowed virginity, had now, in full eight years time, thought nothing seriously of a husband: and, on the one side, the Papists propounded unto themselves the Queen of Scots, which had newly brought forth a son; on the other, the Protestants, with different affections, propounded to themselves, some one man, and some another; and every of them having security to his own respect and religion, presaged the

storms of a most lamentable time, if she should die without a certain successor*."

In their address at this time, the House of Commons, having granted the Queen a subsidy, mixed the mention of the succession with it. The close of this very address is still preserved among the Royal letters of the Lansdowne Collection. It is followed by two lines in cypher in the hand of Lord Burghley, after which come Queen Elizabeth's remarks, written in a hurried hand, as if in anger.

"Let thes two concernings in one mening and my counsell is all given; let not other regard them selves so holy as I have no corner left for me. Let them knowe that I knèwe, thogh I followed not, that some of them wold my pure conscience better served me than ther lewde practises could avail with me. I knowe no reason whi any my privat answers to the Realme shuld serve for prologe to a subsidey vote; neither yet do I understand why suche audacitie shuld be used to make withoute my license an Acte of my wordes; or my wordes like lawiers bokes which now a dayes go to the wiar drawers to make subtall doings more plain? Is ther no hold of my speeche without an Acte compel me to confirme? Shall my princely consent be turned to strengthen my wordes that be not of them

* Camd. Hist. Eliz. fol. Lond. 1675, p. 83.

selves substantives? Say no more at this time, but if thes fellowes wer wel answered and payed with lawfull coyne ther wold be fewer counterfeits among them *."

The above letter from the Queen of Scots to the Lords of Elizabeth's Council, was evidently written in the expectation that something would have been effected by the debates and the address.

Mary Queen of Scots took her flight from the castle of Lochleven, May 2, 1568; a few days after which her adherents rallying powerfully round her, she mustered an army of no less than 6000 men. The Regent Murray, with inferior numbers, sought to meet her; and on May 13th gained, at a short distance from Glasgow, the decisive victory of Langside.

The following was the despatch from William Drury, Marshal of Berwick, which announced this victory to Sir William Cecil. The original is still preserved among the Cottonian MSS. Calig. C. I. fol. 67.

"Right Honorable, accordinge to my last of the xiiijth of this present touching the encounter of the Quene's force and th'Earle of Murrayes the same was true; and th'Earle, the Viceroy, the L. Seton, the L. Ross, the young L. of Preston, Sir James Ambleton, the L. of Freybrowen, and other prisoners, and divers slaine,

* MS. Lansd. Brit Mus. No. 1236, fol. 42.

whereof the most are of the Ambletons, and two captaines of footemen, as Steuarte and Loader, schould also be slaine and their enseyntes taken; their ordinance is also taken, as fower field pieces which were the Ambletons; and the carriage with the powder by some accedent, as they were fighting, took fier and blew up. Th'Earle did his best to stay bloud to be shed, ye by his contraryes the same is affirmed.

"The Quene a reasonable distance off; and gave the looking on till she sawe howe it proceded; but then retyred into Dunbarton, where she yet remaines, and not so farre followed, nor in the chase so much harme done as might, for that most were of foote.

"From Barwick, this 15th May, 1568."

Queen Mary, however, continuing her flight, embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway with Lord Herries and a few attendants; and, on the evening of the 16th of May, landed at Workington, in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle.

THE LORD HERRYS TO LORD SCROPE AND SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

(MS. Cotton. Calig. C. I. fol. 149. *Orig.*)

QUHEN thair was no laws minstrat* upone the Marches bot suir I am thair is thrys alsmekill

* Ministered.

stowin * out of Scotland as out off Ingland. And quhair it is said yat ony proud Attemptat is meint to be maid upone Ingland be ony that now obeyes our maistres it maist wntrew † and inventil to displesour ye Quenis Mat^ie of Ingland, as thay do mony sik things to sett fordwart thair awin torns ‡. Bot God y^t is the author of trewt will not latt the trewt alwayes w^t falfett § be exprest. And thus committing zor L.L. to his divyne protection I tak my leif for ye pn't. Off Drufees ye xvij of August 1568.

Your L.L. assurit to comand
att my power leiffullie
HERYS.

To the Ryt honorables and my werie gud Lordis
my Lord Scrop and Maister . . . . . .
Lord of the Quenis Majesteis moist honorable privie Counsaile.

The letters of Mary Queen of Scots, when written in her own hand, are almost uniformly in French. She was not six years old when she sailed from the Clyde for France. She arrived at Brest on August 13th, 1548. After passing a few days at court, she was conveyed to a nunnery for education; and there remained till the time of her marriage with the Dauphin. Her acquaintance with her native language, at least till her return to Scotland in 1561, must have been

* As much stolen. † Untrue.
‡ Their own turn. § Safety.

slight, though Mr. George Chalmers says that at the opening of the Parliament of May 1563, *she delivered a speech in her native language.* (Life of Mary Queen of Scots, Vol. I. p. 163.)

From the following letter it is evident that she studied English very soon after her removal from Carlisle to Bolton; Sir Francis Knollys undertaking himself to instruct her. Nicholas White, who had been sent to Tutbury to talk with Mary, writes thus to Sir William Cecil, Feb. 28th, 1569:

"This much past, she harde the English Service with a Booke of the Psalmes in English in hir hand, which she shewed me after. When Sarvice was done, hir Grace fell in talke with me of sundry matters from six to seven of the Clocke, beginning firste to excuse her ILL ENGLISHE, declaring hir self more willing than apt to lerne that language; howe she used translations as a meane to attayne it; and that Mr. Vice Chamberlayne was hir good scole-master. (Haye's State Papers, p. 510.)

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS, *from Bolton, Sept. 1st. 1568: her First Letter in English.*

(MS. Cotton. Calig. C. I. fol. 161 b. *Orig.*)

MESTER Knoleis, y heuu har* sum neus from Scotland; y send zou the double off them y

* I have heard.

vreit[a] to the quin[b] my gud Sister, and pres[c] zou to du the lyk, conforme to that y spak zesternicht vnto zou, and sut hesti ansur y refer all to zour discretion, and wil lipne beter in zour gud delin[d] for mi, nor y kan persuad zou, nemli in this langasg[f] excus my ivil vreitin[g] for y neuuer vsed it afor, and am hestit.[h] Ze schal si my bel vhuilk[i] is opne, it is sed Seterday my unfrinds wil be vth[k] zou, y sey nething bot trests weil, and ze send oni to zour wiff ze mey asur schu[l] wald a bin weilcom to apur[m] strenger hua[n] nocht bien[o] aquentet vth[p] her, wil nocht biouuer bald[q] to vreit bot for the aquentans betuix ous.[r] Y wil send zou letle tekne[s] to rember[t] zou off the gud hop y heuu[u] in zou guef[v] ze fend[w] a mit[x] mesager y wald wysh ze bestouded[y] it reder[z] apon her non[aa] ani vder; thus effter my commendations y prey God heuu[bb] zou in his kipin. Zour asured gud frind,

MARIE R.

Excus my ivel vreitin thes furst tym.

Queen Mary's predilection for the French tongue is observable upon many occasions. Even James, her son, corresponded with her in it.

[a] Wrote. [b] Queen. [c] Pray. [d] Dealing. [e] Me. [f] Language. [g] Writing. [h] Hasted. [i] Bill. [j] Which. [k] With. [l] She. [m] Poor. [n] Who. [o] Not being. [p] With. [q] Bold. [r] Us: *i. e.* herself and Sir Francis Knolles. [s] A little token. [t] Remember. [u] Have. [v] Gif—If. [w] Find. [x] Meet. [y] Bestowed. [z] Rather. [aa] Than. [bb] Have.

One of his letters to her in that language will occur hereafter.

In the Anthologie Françoise, tom. i. p. 19, we have the following Chançon of her composition, written upon her quitting France in 1561 :

"Adieu, plaisant pays de France,
O ma patrie la plus cherie,
Qui as nourri ma jeune enfance!
Adieu, France, adieu mes beaux jours:
La Nef qui dé-joint nos amours,
N'a cy de moi que la moitié;
Une parte te reste, elle est tienne;
Je la fie a ton amitié
Pour que de l'autre il te souvienne."

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO LORD BURGHLEY, TO STAY THE EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK. A.D. 1572.

(MS. Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. *Orig.* Entirely in the Queen's hand.)

My Lord, me thinkes that I am more beholdinge to the hinder part of my hed than wel dare trust the forwards side of the same, and therfore sent to the Levetenant and the S. as you knowe best, the ordar to defer this execution till the* here fardar. And that this may be done I doubte nothing, without curiositie of my further warrant, for that ther rasche determination upon a very unfit day was countermanded by your considerat admonition.

The causes that move me to this ar not now to be expressed, lest an irrevocable dede be in meen

* they.

while committed. If the * wyl nides a warrant, let this suffice, all written with myn one hand.

Your most lovinge Soveraine,

ELIZABETH R.

Indorsed in Lord Burghley's hand, xj. Ap^{l}. 1572.

The Q. Ma^{ty}. with her own hand, for staying of the Execution of the D. N.

R. at 2 in the morning.

Carte informs us, from Fenelon's Despatches, that Queen Elizabeth revoked no fewer than four warrants for the Duke of Norfolk's execution.

"Having signed on Friday, February 8th," he says, "a warrant for the Duke's execution the next day, she countermanded it about eleven at night; and, having signed another on February 27th, revoked it the next morning two hours before day. Two other warrants were afterwards signed, the last of them on Tuesday, April 10th; but both revoked in the same manner." The last Letter of Revocation was the one which is now placed before the reader.

Carte ascribes these successive revocations of the Duke of Norfolk's execution to dissimulation on the part of the queen, till the House of Commons, by a violent address, should sanction her severity. Hume seems to doubt whether she might not really have been moved by friendship and compassion toward a peer of the Duke of Norfolk's rank and merit. And he is perhaps

* They.

supported by Lord Burghley himself; who, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, who was then our ambassador at Paris, dated June 9th, 1572, intimates that the Queen was "SOMEWHAT SAD" at the Duke of Norfolk's death. He says, "As to your letters to Her Majesty, forasmuch as the Duke of Norfolk had suffered upon Monday and your letters came on Tuesday, I thought not amisse to tell the Queen's Majesty that I had letters from you to her, which I thought were onely to shew her the opinion of wise men and Her Majesty's well willers in France, both for the Scottish Queen and the Duke of Norfolk; whereupon she bad me open the letters, and so I did in her presence, and she being SOMEWHAT SAD for the Duke of Norfolk's death, I took occasion to cut off the raging thereof, and so entered into speech of the Queen of Scots, which she did not mislike, and commended your care and diligence."

The Duke of Norfolk was the first nobleman who was beheaded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

SIR NICHOLAS BACON TO LORD BURGHLEY.

(MS. Lansd. 14. art. 79. *Orig.*

AFTER my hartie comendacions, understonding by comen speche that the Queens Matie meanes to come to my howse and knowyng no certentie of the tyme of her comyng, nor of her aboade, I have thowghte good to praye you that this bearer

my servaunte, might understond what you knowe therein; and yf it be trewe, then that I might understond your advise, what you thinke to be the best waye for me to deale in this matter: for, in very deede, no man is more rawe in suche a matter then my selfe. And thus, wisshing to yor L. as to my self, I leave any further to trowble you at this tyme. From my house at Gorhamburie, the xij^th of Julie, 1572.

Yo^r L. assured,

N. Bacon.

I have wreten thys bycause I would gladly take that cours that myght best pleas her Matie, which I knowe not how better to understond than by yor help.

To my very good L. the L. of Burghley.

A few letters now present themselves illustrative of the feelings of some of Queen Elizabeth's subjects, when they heard that her Majesty had vouchsafed to honor them with a visit during her progresses: from which it will be readily gathered how inconvenient to many these progresses must have been. The chronological order which has hitherto been strictly observed in these volumes, is a little trespassed upon here, that the various letters on the same subject may be brought together.

Lord Keeper Bacon, it will be seen, rejoiced much at the report that her Majesty intended

him so great an honor, but owned himself quite a novice in receiving royalty.

The Earl of Bedford thought two nights and a day sufficient for the visitation at Woburn; and hinted to Lord Burghley that he had made preparation for no longer time.

Archbishop Parker was one of the few who seemed thoroughly pleased at one of these intended visits. A thought struck him to make it subservient to the promotion of the Protestant religion. His letter will be read with peculiar interest.

Lord Leicester, writing to the Earl of Sussex, in 1577, says, "we all do what we can to persuade her Majesty from any progress at all."

It is quite evident that the Queen was fickle; and frequently gave but short notice of what part of the country she chose to visit.

Lord Backhurst, who expected to receive her Majesty at Lewes, in 1577, was so forestalled in respect of provisions by other noblemen in Sussex, and the adjoining counties, that he was obliged to send for a supply from Flanders.

When Mr. Hickes, Lord Burghley's Secretary, was married, the Queen hinted that she would honor him. Hickes wrote to a friend at Court to ask the Lord Chamberlain what preparation he should make, evidently fearing the expense. The Lord Chamberlain's advice was, to go out of the house and leave it to the Queen. He

simply wished that Mrs. Hickes should present her Majesty with some trifling present. But the letters will speak for themselves.

It is not generally known, that much as these visits sometimes put the Queen's subjects to expense, the cost of them to the public Treasury was also a matter of deep concern. Lord Burghley's calculations upon this subject, fairly amounting to a remonstrance, are still extant.

Among the Lansdowne Manuscripts, in the Museum, Numb. 16, Art. 52, is "an Estimate of increase of Chardgies in the time of Progresse, which should not be if her majesty remeyned at her standing houses, within xx myles of London: collected out of the CREDITORS of the last Progresse, Anno xv^to^ Reginæ Elizabeth." A. D. 1573. It is altered and corrected in Lord Burghley's hand. The increase of charges caused by the Progresse appears to have amounted in the whole to £ 1034. 0s. 6d.

Lord Burghley, it is probable, would have been personally glad if the Progresses could have been altogether dispensed with. The Queen's visits to him were extremely frequent. His Lordship's treatment of the Queen's suite when she went to Theobald's, seems not to have been generally acceptable to the visitors. In more than one letter we find the writers vexed when they learned they were to go there.

In the extracts from Smith's lives of the

Berkeley family, it is said that Queen Elizabeth, in her Progress, in the fifteenth year of her reign, "came to Berkeley Castle, what time," Henry Lord Berkeley, the then possessor, "had a stately game of red deer in the park adjoining, called the Worthy; whereof Henry Ligon was Keeper: during which time of her being there, such slaughter was made, as twenty-seven staggs were slain in the toils in one day, and many others, on that and the next, stolen and havocked: whereof, when this Lord, being then at Callowdon, (another of his seats), was advertised, having much set his delight in this game, he suddenly and passionately disparked that ground; but in a few months after, he had a secret friendly advertisement from the Court, "that the Queen was informed how the same was so disparked by him, on repining at her coming to his house, (for indeed it was not in her jests), and at the good sports she had had in the park," advising this lord to carry a wary watch over his words and actions, least thus that Earl, (meaning Leicester) that had, contrary to her set justice, drawn her to his castle, and purposely had caused that slaughter of his deere, might have a further plot against his head and that castle, whereto he had taken no small liking, and affirmed to have good title thereto, and was not far from his manor of Wotton, lately recovered against him.

PHILIP AND MARY.

THE following curious particulars of this singular union, are extracted from Houssaie's Memoires, Vol. I. p. 261.

"The second wife of Philip, was Mary, Queen of England; a virtuous prince (Houssaie was a good Catholic) but who had neither youth nor beauty. This marriage was as little happy for the one as the other. The husband did not like his wife, although she doted on him; and the English hated Philip still more than he hated them. Sethon says, that the rigour which he exercised in England against heretics partly hindered Prince Carlos from succeeding to that crown, and for *which purpose* Mary had invited him, in case she died childless!—But no historian speaks of this pretended inclination, and it is probable that Mary even thought proper to call to the succession of the English throne the son of the Spanish Monarch. This marriage had made her nation detest her, and in the last years of her life she could be little satisfied with him, from his marked indifference for her. She well knew that the Parliament would never consent to exclude her sister Elizabeth, whom the nobility loved for being more friendly to the new religion, and more hostile to the house of Austria."

In the Cottonian library, Vespasian, F. III. is preserved a note of instructions, in the hand-

writing of Queen Mary, of which the following is a copy. It was, probably, written when Philip was just seated on the English throne.

"Instructions for my lorde Previsel.

"Firste, to tell the Kinge the whole state of this realme, wt all things appartayning to the same, as myche as ye knowe to be trewe.

"Seconde, to obey his commandment in all things.

"Thirdly, in all things he shall ask your aduyse to declare your opinion as becometh a fayth-full conceyllour to do.

"MARY THE QUENE.

"After the death of Mary," continues Houssaie, "Philip sought Elizabeth in marriage; and she, who was yet unfixed at the beginning of her reign, amused him at first with hopes. But as soon as she unmasked herself to the Pope, she laughed at Philip, telling the Duke of Ferra, his ambassador, that her conscience would not permit her to marry the husband of her sister."

This monarch, however, had no such scruples. Incest appears to have had in his eyes peculiar charms; for he offered himself three times to three different sisters-in-law. He seems also to have known the secret of getting quit of his wives when they became inconvenient. In state matters he spared no one whom he feared; to them he sacrificed his only son, his brother, and

a great number of Princes and Ministers. It is said of him that before he died he advised his son to make peace with England, and war with other powers. *Pacem cum Anglo, bellum cum reliquis.* Queen Elizabeth, and the ruin of his invincible fleet, physicked his phrenzy into health, and taught him to fear and respect that country which he thought he could have made a province of Spain! On his death-bed he did every thing he could for *salvation*. The following protestation, a curious morsel of bigotry, he sent to his confessor a few days before he died,

"Father confessor! as you occupy the place of God, I protest to you that I will do every thing you shall say to be necessary for my being saved; so that what I omit doing will be placed to your account, as I am ready to acquit myself of all that shall be ordered to me,"

Is there in the records of history, it is asked, a more glaring instance of the idea which a good Catholic attaches to the power of a confessor than the present authentic example? The most licentious philosophy seems not more dangerous than a religion whose votary believes that the accumulation of crimes can be dissipated by the breath of a few orisons, and which, considering a venal priest to "occupy the place of God," can traffic with the divine power at a very moderate price.

A WARRANT OF QUEEN MARY.

Marye the quene.

Our will and pleasure is, that you shall haue, and presently take to your own use, as of our gift, theise parcels of hangings of Verders of the brode blome, with birdes having apples beneth and aboue at the corners of the borders, lined with canvas paned; that is to say one pece contayning, in Flemish Elles, 27 di. another pece, contayning 22 di. another pece, cont' 29 di. di. quarter, and one naile; another pece, cont' 15 qr. di. and one naile; another pece, containing 16 di. di. qr.; and also theis parcelles or peces of hangings of verder, with water floweis and birdes, having pomgranets at the upper corners, and apples with roses at the neether cornors, lined with canvas paned; one pece contayning in Flemish Elles, 23 di. qr.; another 26 di. di. qr. and one naile di.; another pece 30 ti. 3 qr. di.; another pece 22 di.; another 17 di.; and one other, contayning 19 di.; being together 11 peces.—And further our pleasure is, that you take to your owne use also, as of our gift, foure window peces of verders of the brode blome, lyned with canvass, paned, viz. one pece, contayning in Flemishe Elles, 6 di. qr. and one naile; another 4 qr. di.; and another contayning 6 di.; qr. and one naile; another 4 qr. di.; and one naile; and another, contayning 5 di. di. qr. All which parcelles or peces of hanging and

window peces remayne, and be now in your own custody. And theis our ltres, signed with our signe manuel, shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalfe. Giuen at our Manour of St. James, the 16th day of October, the sixt yeare of our raigne.

To our trustie and welbeloved servant George Brodiman, one of the gromes of our privie chamber, and keeper of our palace at Westm.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Of the many portraits drawn of our "Maiden Queen," none gives a more striking representation of her real deportment, and the manners of her court, than the following extract from the travels of Hentzner, who resided some time in this country as tutor to a young German nobleman:—

After some preliminary remarks, he observes "we arrived next at the Royal palace of Greenwich, reported to have been built by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and to have received very magnificent additions from Henry VII. It was here Elizabeth, the present queen, was born; and here she generally resides, particularly in summer, for the delightfulness of its situation. We were admitted, by an order Mr. Rogers had procured from the Lord Chamberlain, into the presence chamber, hung with rich tapestry, and the floor, after the English fashion, strewed with

hay [more probably straw or rushes], through which the Queen commonly passes in her way to the chapel. At the door stood a gentleman dressed in velvet, with a gold chain, whose office was to introduce to the Queen any persons of distinction that came to wait on her: it was Sunday, when there is usually the greatest attendance of nobility. In the same hall were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, a great number of councillors of state, officers of the crown, and gentlemen, who waited the Queen's coming out, which she did from her own apartment when it was time to go to prayers, attended in the following manner:—

"First went gentlemen, barons, earls, knights of the garter, all richly dressed, and bare-headed: next came the chancellor, bearing the seals in a red silk purse, between two; one of which carried the royal sceptre, the other the sword of state, in a red scabbard, studded with golden *fleurs de lis*, the point upwards: next came the Queen, in her sixty-fifth year, as we were told, very majestic; her face oblong, fair, but wrinkled; her eyes small, but black and pleasant; her nose a little hooked; her lips narrow, and her teeth black, (a defect the English seem subject to from their too great use of sugar;) she had in her ears two pearls, with very rich drops; she wore false hair, and that red; upon her head a small crown, reported to be made of some

of the gold of the celebrated Luneburgh table*; her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it till they are married, and she had on a necklace of exceeding fine jewels; her hands were small, her fingers long, and her stature neither small nor low; her air was stately, her manner of speaking mild and obliging.

"On that day she was dressed in white silk, bordered with pearls of the size of beans; and over it a mantle of black silk, shot with silver thread; her train was very long, the end of it borne by a marchioness: instead of a chain, she had an oblong collar of gold and jewels. As she went along in all this state and magnificence, she spoke very graciously, first to one, then to another, whether foreign ministers or those who attended for different reasons, in English, French, and Italian; for, besides being well skilled in Greek, and the languages I mentioned, she is mistress of Spanish, Scotch, and Dutch: whoever speaks to her it is kneeling; now and then she raises some with her hand. While we were there, W. Slanata, a Bohemian baron, had letters to present to her; and she, after pulling off her glove, gave him her right hand to kiss, sparkling with rings and jewels, a mark of particular favour. Wherever she turned her face, as she was going along every body fell down on

* At this distance of time, it is difficult to say what this was.

their knees*. The ladies of the court followed next to her, very handsome and well shaped, and for the most part dressed in white. She was guarded on each side by the gentlemen pensioners, fifty in number, with gilt battle axes. In the antechapel, next the hall, where we were, petitions were presented to her, and she received them most graciously, which occasioned the acclamation of "Long live Queen Elizabeth!" she answered it with, "I thank you, my good people." In the chapel was excellent music: as soon as it and the service were over, which scarce exceeded half an hour, the Queen returned in the same state and order, and prepared to go to dinner. But while she was still at prayer, we saw her table set out with the following solemnity:—

"A gentleman entered the room bearing a rod, and along with him another, who had a table-cloth, which, after they had both kneeled three times, with the utmost veneration, he spread upon the table; and, after kneeling again, they both retired. Then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with a salt-cellar and a plate of bread: when they had

* Her father had been treated with the same deference. It is mentioned by Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, that when the Lord Chancellor went to apprehend Queen Catherine Parr, he spoke to the King on his knees. James I. suffered his courtiers to omit it.—*Bacon's Papers*, ii. 26.

kneeled as the others had done, and placed what was brought upon the table; they too retired with the same ceremonies performed by the first. At last came an unmarried lady (we were told she was a countess,) and along with her a married one, bearing a tasting knife; the former was dressed in white silk, who, when she had prostrated herself three times, in the most graceful manner, approached the table, and rubbed the plates with bread and salt, with as much awe as if the Queen had been present. When they had waited there a little while, the yeomen of the guard entered, bare-headed, clothed in scarlet, with a golden rose upon their backs, bringing in at each turn a course of twenty-four dishes, served in plate, most of it gilt. These dishes were received by a gentleman in the same order they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the lady taster gave to each of the guard a mouthful to eat of the particular dish he had brought in, for fear of poison. During the time that this guard, which consists of the tallest and stoutest men that can be found in England, being carefully selected for this purpose, were bringing dinner, twelve trumpets and two kettle-drums made the hall ring for half an hour together. At the end of this ceremonial, a number of unmarried ladies appeared, who, with particular solemnity, lifted the meat off the table, and conveyed it into the Queen's inner and more

private chamber, where, after she had chosen for herself, the rest goes to the ladies of the court.

"The Queen dines and sups alone, with very few attendants; and it is very seldom that any body, foreigner or native, is admitted at that time; and then only at the intercession of somebody in power."

Again, this queen, says Marville, passionately admired handsome persons; and he was already far advanced in her favour who approached her with beauty and grace. She had such an unconquerable aversion for men who had been treated unfortunately by nature, that she could not endure their presence. When she issued from her palace, her guards were careful to disperse from before her eyes hideous and deformed people, the lame, the hunch-backed, &c.: in a word, all those whose appearance might shock her fastidious sensations.

"There is this singular and admirable in the conduct of Elizabeth, that she made her pleasures subservient to her politics, and she maintained her affairs by what in general occasions the ruin of princes. So secret were her amours, that even to the present day their mysteries cannot be penetrated; but the utility she drew from them is public, and always operated for the good of her people. Her lovers were her ministers, and her ministers were her lovers. Love commanded,

love was obeyed; and the reign of this princess was happy, because it was a reign of *love,* in which its chains and its slavery are liked!"

The origin of Raleigh's advancement in the Queen's graces was by an act of gallantry. Raleigh sported a new plush coat, while the Queen stepping cautiously on it, shot forth a smile, in which he read promotion. Captain Raleigh soon became Sir Walter, and rapidly advanced in the Queen's favour.

Hume has furnished us with ample proofs of the *passion* which her courtiers feigned for her, and which, with others we shall give, will confirm the opinion of Vigneul Marville, who probably did not know the *reason* why her amours were never discovered; which indeed never went farther, at the highest, than boisterous or extreme gallantry. Hume has preserved in his notes a letter written by Raleigh: it is a perfect amorous composition. After having exerted his poetic talents to exalt *her charms* and *his affection,* he he concludes, by comparing her Majesty, who was then sixty, to Venus and Diana. Sir Walter was not her only courtier who wrote in this style. Even in her old age she affected a strange fondness for music and dancing, and a kind of childish drollery, by which, however, her court seemed a court of love, and she the sovereign. A curious letter of the times has reached us. Secretary Cecil, the youngest son of Lord Bur-

leigh; seems to have perfectly entered into her character. Lady Derby wore about her neck and in her bosom a portrait; the queen espying it enquired about it, but her ladyship was anxious to conceal it. The queen insisted on having it, and discovering it to be the portrait of young Cecil, she snatched it away, and tying it upon her shoe, walked along with it; afterwards she pinned it upon her elbow, and wore it some time there. Secretary Cecil hearing of this, composed some verses, and got them set to music; this music the Queen insisted on hearing. In his verses, Cecil sang that he repined not, though her majesty was pleased to grace others; he contented himself with the favour she had given him, by wearing his portrait on her feet, and on her elbow! The writer of the letter adds, "all these things are very secret." In this manner she contrived to lay the fastest hold on her able servants, and her servants on her.

Those who are intimately acquainted with the private anecdotes of those times, know what encouragement this Royal Coquette gave to most who were near her person. Dodd, in his church history, says, that the Earls of Arran and Arundel, and Sir William Pickering, "were not out of hopes of gaining Queen Elizabeth's affections in a matrimonial way." She encouraged every person of eminence: she even went so far, on the anniversary of her coronation, as publicly to

take a ring from her finger, and to put it on the Duke of Alençon's hand. She also ranked among her suitors Henry the Third of France, and Henry the Great. She never forgave Buzenval for ridiculing her bad pronunciation of the French language; and when Henry IV. sent him over on an embassy, she would not receive him. So nice was the irritable pride of this great queen, that she made her private injuries matters of state.

"This queen," writes Du Maurier, in his *memoires pour servir à l'histoire de Hollande*, "who displayed so many heroic accomplishments, had this foible of wishing to be thought beautiful by all the world. I heard from my father, that having been sent to her, at every audience he had with her Majesty, she pulled off her gloves more than an hundred times to display her hands, which indeed were very beautiful and very white."

Another anecdote, not less curious, relates to the affair of the Duke of Anjou and our Elizabeth, and one more proof of her partiality for handsome men. The writer was Lewis Guyon, a contemporary of the times he notices:

"Francis Duke of Anjou, being desirous of marrying a crowned head, caused proposals of marriage to be made to Elizabeth, Queen of England. Letters passed betwixt them, and their portraits were exchanged. At length her Majesty informed him that she would never con-

tract a marriage with any one who sought her, if she did not first *see his person.* If he would not come, nothing more should be said on the subject. This prince, over pressed by his young friends, (who were as little able of judging as himself,) paid no attention to the counsels of men of maturer judgment. He passed over to England without a splendid train. The said lady contemplated his *person;* she found him *ugly,* disfigured by deep scars of the *small-pox,* and that he also had an *ill-shaped nose,* with *swellings in the neck!* All these were so many reasons with her, that he could never be admitted into her good graces."

Puttenham, in his very rare book of the "Art of Poesie," p. 248, notices the grace and majesty of Elizabeth's demeanor, "her stately manner of walk, with a certain granditie rather than gravitie, marching with leysure, which our sovereign ladye and mistresse is accustomed to doe generally, unless it be when she walketh apace for her pleasure, or to catch her a heate in the cold mornings."

By the following extract from a letter from one of her gentleman, we discover that her usual habits, though studious, were not of the gentlest kind, and that the service she exacted from her attendants was not borne without concealed murmurs. The writer groans in secret to his friend. Sir John Stanhope writes to Sir Robert

Cecil in 1598, "I was all the afternoune with her Majesty, at *my booke*, and then thinking to rest me, went in agayne with your letter. She was pleased with the Filosofer's stone, and hath ben *all this daye reasonably quyett*. Mr. Grevell is absent, and I am tyed so as I cannot styrr, but shall be *at the house* for yt, these two dayes!"

Puttenham (p. 249) has also recorded an honorable anecdote of Elizabeth, and characteristic of that high majesty which was in her thoughts as well as in her actions. When she came to the crown, a knight of the realm, who had insolently behaved to her when Lady Elizabeth, fell upon his knees to her, and besought her pardon, expecting to be sent to the Tower. She replied, mildly, "do you not know that we are descended of the *lion*, whose nature is not to harm or prey upon the mouse, or any other such small vermin?"

Queen Elizabeth was taught to write by the celebrated *Roger Ascham*. Her writing is extremely beautiful and correct, as may be seen by examining a little manuscript book of prayers, preserved in the British Museum. "I have seen," says Israeli, "her first writing-book, preserved at Oxford, in the Bodleian Library: the gradual improvement of her Majesty's handwriting is very honourable to her diligence; but the most curious thing is the paper on which she tried her pens: this she usually did by writing

the name of her beloved brother Edward; a proof of the early and ardent attachment she formed to that amiable prince.

The education of Elizabeth had been severely classical: she thought and she wrote in all the spirit of the great characters of antiquity; and her speeches and her letters are studded with apophthegms, and a terseness of ideas and language, that give an exalted idea of her mind. In her evasive answers to the commons, in reply to their petition to her Majesty to marry, she has employed an energetic word. "Were I to tell you that I do not mean to marry, I might say less than I intend; and were I to tell you that I do mean to marry, I might say more than it is proper for you to know; therefore I give you an *answer*, ANSWERLESS!"

ELIZABETH AND HER PARLIAMENT.

THE year 1566 was a remarkable period in the domestic annals of Elizabeth; then, for a moment, broke forth a noble struggle between the freedom of the subject, and the dignity of the sovereign.

One of the popular grievances of her glorious reign was the maiden state in which the Queen persisted to live, notwithstanding such frequent remonstrances and exhortations. The nation in a moment might be thrown into the danger of a disputed succession; and it became necessary to

allay that ferment which existed among all parties, while each was fixing on its own favourite to ascend the throne. The birth of James I. this year re-animated the partisans of Mary of Scotland; and men of the most opposite parties in England unanimously joined in the popular cry for the marriage of Elizabeth, or a settlement of the succession. This was a subject most painful to the thoughts of Elizabeth; she started from it with horror, and she was practising every imaginable artifice to evade it.

The real cause of this repugnance has been passed over by our historians. Camden, however, hints at it, when he places among other popular rumours of the day, that "men cursed him, the Queen's physician, for dissuading her from marriage, for I know not what female infirmity." The Queen's physician thus incurred the odium of the nation, for the integrity of his conduct: he well knew how precious was her life*. This fact, once known, throws a new light over her conduct; the ambiguous expressions which she constantly employs, when she

* Foreign authors who have had an intercourse with the English court, seem to have been better informed, or at least found themselves under less restraint, than our own home writers. In Bayle, Note X. the reader will find this mysterious affair cleared up; and at length, in one of our own writers, Whitaker, in his Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated, p. 502. Elizabeth's answer to the first address of the Commons, on her marriage, in Hume, vol. v. p. 13, is now more intelligible: he has preserved her fanciful style.

alludes to her marriage in her speeches, and in private conversations, are no longer mysterious. She was always declaring, that she knew her subjects did not love her so little, as to wish to bury her before her time: even in the letter we shall now give, the following remarkable expression is found: urging her to marriage, she said, was "asking nothing less than to wish her to dig her grave before she was dead." Conscious of the danger of her life by marriage, she had early declared when she ascended the throne, that "she would live and die a maiden queen:" but she afterwards discovered the political evil resulting from her situation. Her conduct was admirable; her great genius turned even her weakness into strength, and proved how well she deserved the character which she had already obtained from an enlightened enemy, the great Sixtus V. who observed of her, *Ch'era un gran cervello de principessa!*—She had a princely head-piece! Elizabeth allowed her ministers to pledge her royal word to the Commons, as often as they found necessary, for her resolution to marry: she kept all Europe at her feet, with the hopes and fears of her choice; she gave ready encouragements, perhaps allowed her agents to promote even invitations, to the offers of marriage she received from crowned heads; and all the coquetries and the cajolings, so often and so fully recorded, with which she freely honoured

individuals, made her empire an empire of love, where love, however, could never appear.

At the birth of James I. as Camden says, "the sharp and hot spirits broke out, accusing the Queen that she was neglecting her country and posterity." All "these humours," observes Hume; "broke out with great vehemence, in a new session of parliament, held after six prorogations." The Peers united with the Commons. The Queen had an empty exchequer, and was at their mercy. It was a moment of high ferment. Some of the boldest, and some of the most British spirits, were at work; and, they, with the malice or wisdom of opposition, combined the supply with the succession; one was not to be had without the other. This was a moment of great hope and anxiety with the French court: they were flattering themselves that her reign was touching a crisis; and La Motte Fenelon, then the French ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, appears to have been busied in collecting hourly information of the warm debates in the Commons, and what passed in their interviews with the Queen. We may rather be astonished where he procured so much secret intelligence: he sometimes complains that he is not able to acquire it as fast as Catherine de Medicis and her son, Charles IX. wished. There must have been Englishmen at our court, who were serving as French spies. In a private

collection, in the possession of Mr. Murray, which, according to Israeli, consists of two or three hundred letters of Charles IX. Catherine de Medicis, Henry III. and Mary of Scotland: "I find," says he, "two despatches of this ambassador, entirely relating to the present occurrence. What renders them more curious is, that the debates on the question of the succession are imperfectly given in Sir Symonds D'Ewes's Journals, the only resource open to us. Sir Symonds complains of the negligence of the Clerk of the Commons, who indeed seems to have exerted his negligence, whenever it was found most agreeable to the court party."

Previous to the warm debates in the Commons, of which the present despatch furnishes a lively picture, on Saturday, 12th Oct. 1566, at a meeting of the Lords of the Council, held in the Queen's apartment, the Duke of Norfolk, in the name of the whole nobility, addressed Elizabeth, urging her to settle the suspended points of the succession, and of her marriage, which had been promised in the last parliament. The Queen was greatly angried on the occasion; she could not suffer to be urged on those points; she spoke with great animation. "Hitherto you have had no opportunity to complain of me; I have well governed the country in peace; and if a late war of little consequence has broken out, which might have occasioned my subjects to complain

of me, with me it has not originated, but with yourselves; as truly I believe. Lay your hands on your hearts, and blame yourselves. In respect to the choice of the succession, not one of ye shall have it; that choice I reserve to myself alone. I will not be buried while I am living, as my sister was. Do I not well know, how, during the life of my sister, every one hastened to me at Hatfield: I am at present inclined to see no such travellers, nor desire on this your advice in any way *. In regard to my marriage, you may see enough, that I am not distant from it; and in what respects the welfare of the kingdom, go, each of you, and do your own duty."

"27 *October*, 1566.

"SIRE,—By my last despatch of the 21st instant †, among other matters, I informed your Majesty of what was said on Saturday the 19th, as well in parliament as in the chamber of the Queen, respecting the circumstance of the succession to this crown; since which I have learnt other particulars, which occurred a little before,

* A curious trial of the neglect Queen Mary experienced, whose life being considered very uncertain, sent all the intriguers of a court to Elizabeth, the next heir, although then in a kind of state imprisonment, at Hatfield.

† This despatch is a meagre account, written before the Ambassador obtained all the information the present letter displays. The chief particulars are preserved above.

and which I will now not omit to relate, before I mention what afterwards happened.

"On Wednesday the 16th of the present month, the comptroller of the Queen's household* moved, in the lower house of parliament, where the deputies of towns and counties meet, to obtain a subsidy†; taking into consideration, among other things, that the Queen had emptied the exchequer, as well in the late wars, as in the maintenance of her ships at sea, for the protection of her kingdom and her subjects; and which expenditure has been so excessive, that it could no further be supported without the aid of her good subjects, whose duty it was to offer money to her Majesty, even before she required it, in consideration that, hitherto, she had been to them a benignant and courteous mistress.

"The comptroller having finished, one of the deputies, a country gentleman, rose in reply. He

* By Sir Symonds D'Ewes's Journals, it appears that the French ambassador had mistaken the day, Wednesday the 16th, for Thursday the 17th, of October. The ambassador is afterwards right in the other dates. The person who moved the house, whom he calls "*le Scindicque de la Reyne*," was Sir Edward Rogers, comptroller of her Majesty's household." The motion was seconded by Sir William Cecil, who entered more largely into the particulars of the Queen's charges, incurred in the defence of Newhaven, in France, the repairs of her navy, and the Irish war with O'Neil. In the present narrative, we fully discover the spirit of the independent members; and, at its close, that part of the secret history of Elizabeth which so powerfully developes her majestic character.

† The original says, "ring subside de quatre solz pour liure."

said, that he saw no occasion for any pressing necessity, which ought to move her Majesty to ask for money of her subjects. And in regard to the wars, which, it was said, had exhausted her treasury, she had undertaken them from herself, as she had thought proper; not for the defence of her kingdom, nor for the advantage of her subjects; but there was one thing which seemed to him more urgent, and far more necessary to examine concerning this campaign; which was, how the money raised by the late subsidy had been spent; and that every one who had had the handling of it should produce their accounts, that it might be known if the monies had been well or ill spent.

"On this rises one Mr. Basche*, purveyor of the marine, and also a member of the said parliament; who shows that it was most necessary that the Commons should vote the said subsidies to her Majesty, who had not only been at vast charges, and was so daily, to maintain a great number of ships, but also in building new ones: respecting what the comptroller of the household had said, that they ought not to wait till the Queen asked for supplies, but should make a voluntary offer of their services.

* This gentleman's name does not appear in Sir Symonds D'Ewes's Journals. Mons. La Motte Fenelon has, however, the uncommon merit, contrary to the custom of his nation, of writing an English name somewhat recognizable; for Edward Basche was

Another country gentleman rises and replies, that the said Basche had certainly his reasons to speak for the Queen in the present case, since a great deal of her Majesty's monies for the providing of her ships passed through his hands, and the more he consumed the greater was his profit. According to his notion, there were but too many purveyors in this kingdom, whose noses had grown so long, that they stretched from London to the west*. It was certainly proper to know, if all they levied by their commission for the present campaign was entirely employed to the Queen's profit. Nothing further was debated on that day.

The Friday following, when the subject was renewed, one of the gentleman deputies showed, that the Queen having prayed † for the last subsidy, had promised and pledged her faith to her subjects, that after one, she never more would raise a single penny on them: and promised even to free them from the wine duty, of which

one of the general surveyors of the victualling of the Queen's ships, 1573, as may be seen in the Lansdowne MSS. vol. xvi. art. 69.

* In the original, "ils auoient le nez si long, qu'il s'estendoit despuis Londres jusques au pays de west."

† This term is remarkable. In the original, "la Reyne ayant *impetré*," which, in Cotgrave's Dictionary, a contemporary work, is explained by, "to get by praier, obtain by sute, compass by entreaty, procure by request." This significant expression conveys the real notion of this venerable Whig, before Whiggism had received a denomination, and formed a party.—*Curiosities of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 118.

promise they ought to press for the performance; adding, that it was far more necessary for this kingdom to speak concerning an heir or successor to the crown, and of her marriage, than of a subsidy.

The next day, which was Saturday the 19th, they all began, with the exception of a single voice, a loud outcry for the succession. Amidst these confused voices and cries, one of the council prayed them to have a little patience, and with time they should be satisfied, but that, at this moment, other matters pressed,—it was necessary to satisfy the Queen about a subsidy. 'No! no!' cried the deputies, 'we are expressly charged not to grant any thing, until the Queen resolvedly answers that which we now ask; and we require you to inform her Majesty of our intention, which is such as we are commanded to, by all the towns and subjects of this kingdom, whose deputies we are. We further require an act, or acknowledgment, of our having delivered this remonstrance, that we may satisfy our respective towns and counties that we have performed our charge.' They alleged for an excuse, that if they had omitted any part of this, *their heads would answer for it.* We shall see what will come of this*.

* The French ambassador, no doubt, flattered himself and his master, that all this "parlance" could only close in insurrection and civil war.

"Tuesday, the 22d, the principal lords, and the Bishops of London, York, Winchester, and Durham, went together, after dinner, from the Parliament to the Queen, whom they found in her private apartment. There, after those who were present had retired, and they remained alone with her, the great treasurer, having the precedence in age, spoke first, in the name of all. He opened by saying, that the Commons had required them to unite in one sentiment and agreement, and, to solicit her Majesty to give her answer as she had promised, to appoint a successor to the crown; declaring, it was necessity that compelled them to urge this point; that they might provide against the dangers which might happen to the kingdom, if they continued without the security they asked. This had been the custom of her royal predecessors, to provide long before for the succession, to preserve the peace of the kingdom; that, the Commons were all of one opinion, and so resolved to settle the succession before they would speak about a subsidy, or any other matter whatever; that, hitherto, nothing but the most trivial discussions had passed in parliament, and so great an assembly was only wasting their time, and saw themselves entirely useless. They, however, supplicated her Majesty, that she would be pleased to declare her will on this point, or at once put an end to the parliament, so that every one might retire to his home.

"The Duke of Norfolk then spoke; and, after him, every one of the other lords, according to his rank, holding the same language in strict conformity with that of the great treasurer.

"The Queen returned no softer answer than she had on the preceding Saturday, to another party of the same company; saying, that 'the commons were very rebellious, and that they had not dared to have attempted such things during the life of her father: that it was not for them to impede her affairs, and that it did not become a subject to compel the sovereign. What they asked was nothing less than wishing her to dig her grave before she was dead.' Addressing herself to the lords, she said, 'My lords, do what you will; as for myself, I shall do nothing but according to my pleasure. All the resolutions which you may make can have no force without my consent and authority: besides, what you desire is an affair of much too great importance to be declared to a knot of hair-brains.* I will take council with men who understand justice and the laws, as I am deliberating to do: I will choose half a dozen of the most able I can find in my kingdom for consultation, and, after having heard their advice, I will then discover to you my will.' On this she dismissed them in great anger.

"By this, Sire, your Majesty may perceive

* In the original, "Aung tas de cerveaulx si legieres."

that the queen is every day trying new inventions to escape from this passage, (that is, on fixing her marriage, or the succession). She thinks that the Duke of Norfolk is principally the cause of this insisting*, which one person and the other stand to; and is so angried against him, that if she can find any decent pretext to arrest him, I think she will not fail to do it; and he himself, as I understand, has already very little doubt of this†. The Duke told the Earl of Northumberland, that the Queen remained stedfast to her own opinion, and would take no other advice than her own, and would do every thing herself."

Our parliamentary storms do not necessarily end in political shipwrecks, when the head of the government is an Elizabeth. She, indeed, sent down a prohibition to the house from all debate on the subject. But when she discovered a spirit in the commons, and language as bold as her own Royal style, she knew how to revoke

* The word in the original is, *insistance*; an expressive word as used by the French ambassador; but which Boyer, in his dictionary, doubts whether it be French, although he gives a modern authority: the present is much more ancient.

† The Duke of Norfolk was, "without comparison, the first subject in England; and the qualities of his mind corresponded with his high station," says Hume. He closed his career, at length, the victim of love and ambition, in his attempt to marry the Scottish Mary. So great and honourable a man could only be a criminal by halves; and, to such, the scaffold, and not the throne, is reserved, when they engage in enterprises, which, by their secrecy, in the eyes of a jealous sovereign, assume the form and guilt of a conspiracy.

the exasperating prohibition. She even charmed them by the manner; for the commons returned her "prayers and thanks," and accompanied them with a subsidy. Her Majesty found by experience, that the present, like other passions, was more easily calmed and quieted by following than resisting, observes Sir Symonds D'Ewes.

Elizabeth's wisdom, however, did not weaken her intrepidity. The struggle was glorious for both parties; but how she escaped through the storm which her mysterious conduct had at once raised and quelled, the sweetness and the sharpness, the commendation and the reprimand of her noble speech in closing the parliament, are told by Hume with the usual felicity of his narrative.*

ROYAL EXCURSIONS.

(FROM QUEEN ELIZABETH'S PROGRESSES.)

"THE spendor and magnificence of Elizabeth's reign, is no where more strongly painted than in these little diaries of some of her summer excursions to the houses of her nobility; nor could a more acceptable present be given to the world, than a republication of a select number of such details as this of the Entertainment at Elvetham, that at Killingworth, &c. &c., which so strongly

* Hume, vol. v. ch. 39; at the close of 1566.

mark the spirit of the times, and present us with scenes so very remote from modern manners."

Percy's Reliques of Antient Eng. Poetry, Vol. III. p. 64.

When through the streets she gracious deigns to move,
(The public wonder and the public love)
The tongues of all with transport sound her praise,
The eyes of all, as on a goddess, gaze.

Pope's Odyssey, Ver. 90.

The plan of popularity which was adopted by Queen Elizabeth at the commencement of her reign, is characterised by no trait so strongly as her practice of making processions about her dominions. The spirit of the times encouraged these splendid pursuits, when the amusements of the great were not, as at the present day, confined to an overgrown metropolis.

Her passage through the City of London to Westminster, the day previous to her coronation, in the year 1558, to which her magnificent progress* from Hatfield to the Charter-house had been a prelude, was the rising of a brilliant sun to cheer the nation chilled with the horror of more than inquisitorial cruelty, when the sight of a princess, whose accession must have foreboded such a joyful change, must have had the same effect on every feeling heart as of that of the ancient citizen in Cheapside, who shed tears

* On her approach to London, she was met at Highgate by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, who conducted her to the Charter-house.

of joy. If any turn of our affairs can be compared with that at Elizabeth's accession, it is that which took place at the revolution, when the triumphs of truth over superstition, and of peace over persecution, were fresher in every man's mind. Though faction and fanaticism were the hydras from which the restoration delivered England, it was reserved for the reign of William III. to establish religious toleration on the firmest basis.

The series of hazards which Elizabeth experienced for three years, during the reign of her sister, is the proper preliminary to the many visits with which she gratified her subjects during her long reign.

In the summer of 1559 she made an excursion from Greenwich to Dartford and Cobham, and afterwards to Eltham,* Norwich, and Hampton-Court.

In 1560 she went in progress to Winchester and Basing.

In her third year, 1561, she began her progress through Essex, Suffolk, and Hertfordshire, of which we have a very brief account. On her return she passed from Hertford castle, through Enfield, Islington, and over St. Giles's in the fields, to St. James. Two years after she re-

* Her Majesty was born at Greenwich, and thence was frequently, when an infant, carried to Eltham, on account of the salubrity of the air.

ceived the congratulations of the Eton scholars; and next year those of the University of Cambridge. Having paid her compliments to two seminaries of learning within her dominions, and made some short excursions, she extended her progress, in 1564 *, to Huntingdonshire †, and Leicestershire ‡; in 1565 to Coventry; and the year following to Oxford, in compliment to Dudley, Earl of Leicestershire, then chancellor of that university §; and to Burghley, on a visit to the great Cecil. In 1567 she was in Berkshire, Surrey, and Hampshire; in 1568 in Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire, and Northamptonshire; in 1569 in Surrey and Hampshire.

In 1570 she was in the city again, to honour Sir Thomas Gresham, on his new building, the Royal Exchange; in 1573 Sir Thomas entertained her majesty at his mansion at Mayfield in Sussex; and some time between 1577 and 1579, at his house at Osterley, near London.

* *Vide* Gentleman's Mag. for 1827, p. 481, the properties of a stage play acted in this year.—Qu. if the queen reached that city? She was at Enfield July 27; and at Cambridge Aug. 5.

† When she honoured Hinchingbrooke with her presence.

‡ Her particular visits in this county have not been traced. She purposed to have made one to the Earl of Huntingdon, at Ashby de la Zouche, in 1576.—*See* Nichols' Progresses and Public Possessions, p. 47, under that year.

§ There are particular descriptions of her visits to both Universities, to Cambridge in Latin; to Oxford in English; by the same pen of Nicholas Robinson, native of Conway, student of Cambridge, and Bishop of Bangor, 1566.

In 1571 the Hunsdar-house, which had formerly been her nursery, and which she gave to her first cousin, Henry Cary, whom she had advanced to the title of Baron of that place.

On May-day, 1572, the loyal citizens of London, in a general muster, shewed many warlike feats before her majesty at Greenwich; and a great part of that and the following month was spent in festivities, both in France and England, on account of the famous league of Elizabeth with Charles IX. The Lambeth MSS. have supplied, on that occasion, the names of the gentlemen who accompanied M. Montmorency to this kingdom *, and on account of the jewels, plates, &c. that were given them. After their departure, the queen proceeded on a progress into Essex, Kent †, Herts, Bedfordshire, Kenilworth, and so on to Warwick, Reading, Windsor, and Hampton Court; where about the end of September she caught the small-pox, but recovered before her illness was publicly divulged.

In 1573 she passed through a part of Surrey and Sussex; and honoured many places in Kent with her presence. It was on this progress she visited the dock-yard at Chatham. Also that she was entertained at Cobham with a splendour

* See Burghley papers, vol. ii. p. 219.

† This year, March 19, she held her maundy at Greenwich. She had done the same in 1559.

worthy of the Royal guest; and where an inscription, with her arms, to this day records her visit. It was here where Sir Humphrey Hales of Woodchurch, and Sir James Hales of Beakerbourne were both knighted by the Queen. She visited Archbishop Parker at Croydon, and seems to have intended him a second visit in 1574; in which year she was amused at Bristol with the regular siege of a fort, was entertained by the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton, and visited the city of Sarum.

The following extracts are communicated by the Rev. Mr. Predden, from a MS. intituled,

"*List of the Mayors of the City of New Sarum; began A. D.* 1339, *in the reign of King Edward III. when the city was incorporated.*

"A. D. 1574, Henry Newman. Then the Quene came to this city in progress; and the River Thames ebbed and flowed twice in an hour; alsoe in November the clouds flamed with fire streaming from the north into the south; and the next night the heavens seemed to burne, the flames rising from the horizon round about, and meeting in the vertical pointe.

"1585, Robert Bowen. Then the king of Portugal came to this city, and supped with the mayor; also tobacco was brought into England.

"1591, Thomas Bee. Then the Queen came to Southton.

"1602, Henry Pile, or Byle. Then king James began his reigne, the 24th of March, and he came to the city in progress; and by reason of the sicknesse in London, he returned back again to this city, and kept his court, with the queene and Prince Henry, at Wilton house seven weeks; and then returned againe to London fourteen days before Christmas."

In 1572, while in Warwickshire, the Queen paid a short visit to the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth; but in 1575 she was royally entertained there for 19 days, in her progress through the counties of Northampton, Oxford, and Worcester.

In 1576 she intended a progress into Worcestershire.

In 1577 she was again in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex; and spent three days at Sir Nicholas Bacon's at Gorshambury.

In 1578 she went over Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire*, and received the compliments of the University of Cambridge in her way at Audley Inn.

* In p. 91 of this year's Progress, (*vide* op. citat.) some mention is made of Kirtling, commonly called Catlidge, an ancient residence of the North family. This fine mansion and gate-house are still existing, (1788) with the old library, and a large collection of pictures, by Lely and older masters, in a decaying state, particularly a portrait of Henry IV. of France, given to Edward, first

In 1579, she again visited Essex and Suffolk.

In 1581, she accompanied the Duke of Anjore, whom she had jilted *, with her usual art, to Canterbury on his departure. A treaty of marriage had been set on foot between her and this prince, the year before, and considerably advanced; and the Duke had visited her *incognito*, and afterwards came in his proper character, November, 1581, and stayed till February; and on his return to Antwerp was solemnly crowned Duke of Brabant.

In the Ashmolean Museum, the following parting sonnet, by her Majesty, is preserved:—

I greeve, and dare not shew my discontent,
I love, and yet am forst to seem to hate;
I do, yet dare not say I ever meant;
I seeme starke mute, but inwardly do prate:
I am, and not; I freeze, and yet am burn'd;
Since from myself my other self I turned.

My care is like my shaddowe in the sunne,
Followes me flinge, flies when I pursue it:
Standes and lies by me, doth what I have don;
His too familiar care doth make me rue it.
No means I find to rid him from my brest,
Till by the end of things it be supprest.

Lord North, when ambassador there. The queen's bed is still to be seen; her chair of state, inscribed E. R.; and containing her portrait on a small tablet; several royal footstools, &c. The rest of the furniture is as it was left towards the close of the last century. Dr. Combe has four different views of Kirtling, presented to him by a gentleman, the accuracy of whose pencil would do honour to a professional artist.

* As she may be said to have done before to his brother the Duke D'Abenson, with whom a treaty had been on foot for nine succeeding years.

Some gentler passions slide unto my minde,
For I am softe, and made of melting snowe
Or be more cruel, love, and so be kynde;
Let me, or flote, or sinke, be high or lowe
Or let me live with some more sweete content,
Or dye, and so forget what love ere meant.

ELIZA REGINA, *upon Mounzour's Departure.*

The Queen, having appeared at least to consent to this match, this year received ten commissioners from the King of France; against whose coming was prepared, at Whitehall, a temporary banquetting house, that cost 1744*l.* which, for its size and cost, reminds us of the temporary house framed for the interview of Hen. VIII. and Francis I. near Calais.—Vide *Archaeologia,* vol. iii. p. 204.

From 1581 to 1588, Elizabeth appears to have remained quiet at Westminster: she took much delight in Windsor Castle: the celebrated terrace was her walk, and under it a garden, whose meanders and labyrinth are still faintly discernible. The outer gate on the hill next the town was built in her fourteenth year, 1572, as appears by an inscription over it. At Windsor she amused herself with translating Boethius de Consolatione, 1593. The following note of this transaction is preserved in the records of the Tower:—

"The Queene's Majestie being at Windsor, in the 35th yeere of her raigne, upon the 10th

of October, 1593, began her translation of 'Boethius de Consolatione Philosophie,' and ended it upon the eighth of November then next following; which were 30 dayes.

"Of which time there are to be accompted 13 days, parte in Sundayes and other holy dayes, and parte in her Majestie riding abrode, upon which her Majestie did forbear to translate.

So that 13 days being deducted from 30, remayneth 17 dayes, in which time her Majestie finished her translation.

"And in those 17 dayes, her Majestie did not excede one houer and a half at a tyme in following her translating.

"Whereby it appeareth, that in about 26 hours, or thereabouts, her Majestie performed the wholle translation."

There is a second account, by Mr. W. Bowyer, Keeper of the records in the Tower, which makes it appear on a calculation, similar to the preceding, that her Majesty began and ended her translation in "foure and twenty houres." She had also previously, on her way to Enfield, on one occasion, translated Ochine's Sermon. On the road to this latter place she was much delighted with the peels of Shoreditch bells*.

* Of her taste for music, see Sir James Melville's curious account, Memoirs, fol. p. 50.—Sir John Hawkins (History of Music, vol. iii. p. 458) tells us the same; and adds, that her musicians were playing in her chamber at the time of her departure. p. 201.

Her reception by her army at Tilbury, 1588, when she reviewed them before the defeat and dispersion of the Spanish armada, was too splendid a triumph to be omitted here, although the description be rather doggerel. The unanimity of the kingdom on this occasion, appears evident in their preparations for defence. The high tower at Gravesend, called the Blockhouse, was built on this occasion; a beacon was erected at Tenterden; and the Queen appears personally to have visited her forts on both sides the Thames. She lodged one night at Sandgate Castle, two miles west from Folkstone; where so lately as 1775, there were only two houses besides the fort; since when a large hamlet has sprung up.

To the transactions of 1588, Churchyard's "Rebuke to Rebellion" has an especial reference,—an heroic poem, which contains a particular description of the expedition against Spain, both by sea and land; and chiefly of the camp at Tilbury, of the Queen's coming thither, and of her acting, speeches, and behaviour there; more than any other history of that subject.

In 1591, we find her recommencing her progresses over Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire, and entertained at Cowdry, Southampton, (of which last we have no other account than the hint suggested by the Salisbury MS.) and Elvetham; and the next year at Besham, Sudley,

and Ricall, with all the fantastic pageantry of the time.

In 1592, she paid a second visit to Oxford, in compliment to Lord Burleigh, then Chancellor of that University.

In 1594, the students of Gray's Inn * entertained her with a masque; and next year the Earl of Essex celebrated the anniversary of her accession with a *device*.

In 1599, she went again over part of Berkshire.

In 1600, she honoured the nuptials of Lord Herbert† with her presence in Black Fryers, and was there entertained with dancing, and a masque at the Lord Cobham's, and even "daunced" herself, though in her 68th year; and at his house she slept the following night.

* In these colleges (the Temple, Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn,) members of the young nobility, gentry, and others, are educated, and chiefly in the study of physic; for very few apply themselves to the law. They are allowed a very good table, and silver cups to drink out of.—HEUTZNER.

† Henry Somerset Lord Herbert, eldest son of William, fourth Earl of Worcester. He married Anne, daughter and sole heir of John Lord Russel, son and heir of Francis Earl of Bedford. They were married in a church, and the Queen passed through Dr. Puddin's house. The fine conventical, one of the Blackfriars, was pulled down before, and with it the parochial one of St. Anne; but the latter rebuilt, 1597 —*Stow's Survey*.

With a view to illustrate this particular solemnity, the Rev. Mr. Romaine has obligingly searched the parochial registers of St. Andrew, Wardrobe, and St. Anne, Blackfriars; but finds there "no notice of the marriage or circumstance alluded to."

In that and the following year she made her progresses into Surrey, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire; and in 1602, visited, at short distances from the capital, in Middlesex and Kent. In about a year after this, she closed her reign and life.

It has been objected, that these visits were calculated only to impoverish her wealthiest and best subjects, under colour of her high favours, and her most costly visit to Kenilworth, the pompous castle of her own Leicester, has been alleged as one of the strongest proofs of this suspicion*. But are we sure that Leicester thought he had paid too high a price for that exclusive privilege†, or gratified his ambition too cheaply in that parade of magnificence in the low countries, in 1585, which made both his mistress and the states so jealous of him? or that the Earl of Hertford regretted the expense of regaling her Majesty at Elvetham, to regain her long-forfeited favour; or that Sir Robert Cecil thought much of the great entertainment he gave her at Theobald's when she conferred the honour of knighthood on him in 1591; and it was expected he would have been advanced to the se-

* Bishop Hind's Dialogues, Moral and Political, p. 193.

† Especially if we believe Sir William Dugdall's account, that he had expended 6000*l.* on the castle, parks, and chace, of which he had a grant. 5 Eliz. Warwickshire, p. 166.

cretaryship? "But so it was, as we say in court, that the knighthood must serve us both;" says Sir Thomas Wylkes* "He was, however, made Secretary five years after†. He glories how much Theobald's was encreased by occasion of her Majesty's often coming; when to please," says he, "I never would omit to strain myself to more charges than building it‡." He enlarged a chamber for her at her desire. But in Sir Thomas Gresham's walls, at Osterley, may be seen a striking instance of the desire her Majesty's subjects had to please her on her visits.

"King Henry VII., if his chance had been to lye at any of his subjects' houses, or to pass more meales than one, he that would take upon him to defray the charge of his diet, or of his officers and household, he would be marvellously offended with it, saying, 'What private subject dare undertake a prince's charge, or look into the secret of his expense?' Her Majesty hath been known oftentimes to mislike the superfluous expense of her subjects bestowed upon her in times of her progresses§."

* Letter to Sir Robert Sydney.

† Rapin, vol. ix. p. 171.

‡ Letter to a Friend, Aug. 14th, 1585.

§ Pultenham's Art of English Poetry, 4to. 1589, p. 247. She had, however, a difficult task to regulate the oppressions of the purveyors.

"The business was," as a great writer in our own time has observed,* "to welcome the Queen to the respective palaces, and at the same time to celebrate the honours of her government; and what more decent way of complimenting a great prince than through the veil of fiction; or what way so elegant of entertaining a learned prince, as by working up that fiction out of the old poetical story; and if something of the Gothic romance adhered to these classical fictions, it was not for any barbarous pleasure that was taken in this patch-work, but that the artist found means to incorporate them with the highest grace and ingenuity." The deities introduced in the compliments at Kenilworth were those of the waters, the most artful panegyric on the naval glory of this reign, and the most grateful representation to the Queen of the ocean, as Elizabeth was then called. The attributes and dresses of the deities themselves are studied with care, and the most learned poets of the time employed to make them speak and act in perfect character. To shew that all their propriety was intended by the designer himself, and not imagined by his encomiast, the Earl of Hertford, who some years after had the honour to receive her Majesty at his seat in Hampshire, because he had not a canal in readiness like that at Kenilworth, employed a vast number of hands to hollow a bason

* Bp. Hind, Dialogues Moral and Political, p. 150-165.

in his park for that purpose; and also caused a view of it to be engraven. The first artists of every kind were of Italy; and it was but natural for them to act these fables over again on the very spot which had first produced them. These two were the masters of the rest of Europe; so that fashion concurred with the other prejudices of the time, to recommend this practice to the learned, from whom the enthusiasm spread to the great: these devices, composed out of the poetical history, were not only vehicles of compliments to the great, on solemn occasions, but of the soundest moral lessons, artfully thrown in and recommended by the charm of poetry and numbers*."

All her Majesty's visits among her nobles, and to different parts of the country, had each their proper motive; more frequently policy than pleasure.

The romantic spirit of Elizabeth may be seen in her amours, as well as in her military achievements. Ambiri, coli ob fomam, et amoribus, etiam *inclinatâ jam ætate*, videri voluit; de fa-

* The grave Sir Thomas More, in his youth wrote pageants for his pastime, which are prefixed to his works, 1557, fol. *Farmer on Shakspeare*, p. 36.—The grand christmas at the Temple, 1562, and the mask at Gray's Inn, 1594, shew that even the sages of the law did not think themselves exempt from the fashion of the times. The speeches of the Eton boys and of the academical students were a jumble of sacred and profane history blended into compliments to their patroness.

bulosis, insulis, per illam relaxionem renovata quasi memoriâ in quibus equites adstrenui homines errabant, et amores, fœditate omni prohibitâ, generose per vertutem exercebant*." The observation of the great historian is confirmed by Francis Osborne, Esq.; who, speaking of a contrivance of the Cecil party to ruin the Earl of Essex, by giving him a rival in the good graces of the Queen, observes, "But the whole result concluding in a duel, did rather inflame than abate the former account she made to him of the opinion of a champion being more splendid, (in the weak and romantic sense of woman, that admit of nothing fit to be made the object of a quarrel but themselves,) and far above that of a captain or a general. So as Sir Edmund Cary, brother to Lord Hunsden, then chamberlain, and near kinsman to the Queen, told me, that though she chid them both, nothing pleased her better than a conceit she had, that her beauty was the subject of this quarrel, when God knows, it grew from the stock of honour, of which then they were very tender. (*Queen Eliz. Memoires*, *p.* 456.) Though Elizabeth never was a beauty, we may observe, that as she drew towards sixty, her panegyrists omitted that part of her eulogia.

*** In the Harleian MSS. No. 1386, her Majesty's (Q. Eliz.) title occurs thus: "Of the "most high and mightye princesse, our dreade

* Thuani Hist. tom. vi. p. 172.

" sovereigne, Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of
" God, Queene of England, France, and Ire-
" lande, defender of the trewe ancient and Catholic
" faithe, most worthye Empresse, from the Or-
" cade Isles, to the mountains Pyrenei. A
" larges. A larges. A larges."

The Porter's Speech.

Spoken at the Entertainment given to her Majestie, in Progresse, at Cowdray in Sussex, by the Lord Montacute. Anno 1591, *Aug.* 18.

The queen having dined at Farnham, came with a great train to the Right Honourable the Lord Montague's, on Saturday, being the 15th day of August, about 8 o'clock at night. Where, upon sight of her majesty, loud music sounded, which, at her entrance on the bridge, suddenly ceased. Then was a speech delivered by a personage in armour, standing between two porters, carved in wood: he resembling the third, holding his club in one hand, and a key of gold in the other, spoke as follows:—

" The walles of Thebes were raised by musicke; by musicke these are kept from falling. It was a prophesie since the first stone was layde that these walles should shake, and the roof totter, till the wisest, the fairest, and most fortunate of all creatures, should, by her first steppe, make the foundation staid, and by the glaunce of

her eyes make the turret steddie. I have bene here a porter many yeres, many ladies having entered, passing amiable, manie verie wise, none so happie. These, my fellow porters, thinking there could be none so noble, fell on sleepe, and so incurde the second curse of the prophesie; which is, never again to awake. Marke how they looke, more like posts than porters, retaining onlie their shapes, but deprived of their sences. I thought rather to cut off my eie liddes, than to wink till I saw the ende. And now it is: for the musicke is at an end, this house immoveable, your vertue immortall. O miracle of time, nature's glorie; fortune's Empresse, the world's wonder! Soft! this is the poet's part, and not the porter's. I have nothing to present but the crest of mine office, this keie: Enter, possesse all, to whom the heavens have vouchsafed all. As for the owner of this house, mine honourable Lord, his tongue is the keie of his heart; and his heart the locke of his soule. Therefore what he spekes you may constantly beleeve; which is, that in dutie and service to your Majestie he would be second to none; in praieng for your happiness equal to anie.

"*Tuas, O Regina, quod optas explorare favor; huic jussa capescere fas est.*"

Wherewithal her Highness broke the keye, and said, she would sweare for him, there was none more faithfull: then being alighted, she

embraced the ladie Montacute, and the ladie Dormir her daughter. The Mistresse of the house (as it were weeping in her bosome) said, "O happie time, O joyfull daie!"

That night her Majestie took her rest; and so in like manner the next day, which was *Sunday*, being most Royallie feasted. The proportion of breakfast was three oxen, and one hundred and fourtie geese.

Munday. At Eight o'clock in the morning, her highnesse took horse, with all her traine, and rode into the Park, where a delicate bower was prepared, under which the band of music was placed, and a cross-bow by a nymph, with a sweet song, delivered into her hands, to shoot at the deer, about some thirty in number, put into a paddock, of which number she killed three or four, and Countesse of Kildare one.

Then rode her grace to Cowdrey to dinner, and about sixe of the clock in the evening, from a turret, sawe sixteen buckes (all having fayre lawe) pulled down with greyhounds, in a laund. All the huntinge ordered by Master Henry Browne, the Lord Montague's third sonne, raunger of Windsor forest.

Tuesdaie. Her Majesty went to dinner to the priory, where my lord himself kept house, where she and her lords were most bountifully feasted.

After dinner she came to view my Lordes Walkes, where she was mette by a pilgrime,

clad in a coat of russet velvet, fashioned to his calling; his hatte being of the same, with skallop shelles of cloth of silver, who delivered hir a speech in this sort following:—

"PILGRIME.

"Fairest of all creatures, vouchsafe to heare a prayer of a pilgrime, which shall be short, and the petition, which is but reasonable. God graunte the world may ende with your life, and your life more happie than anie in the world: that is my prayer. I have travelled manie countries, and in all countries desire antiquities. In this iland (but a spanne in respect of the world) and in this shire (but a finger in regard of your realme) I have heard great cause of wonder, some of complaint. Harde by, and so neere as your Majestie shall almost passe by, I saw an oke, whose statelines nayled mine eyes to the branches, and the ornaments beguiled my thoughtes with astonishment. I thoughte it free, being in the fielde, but I found it not so. For at the verie entrie I mette I know not with what rough-hewed ruffian, whose armes were carved out of knotty box, for I could receive nothing of him but boxes; so hastie was he to strike, he had no leysure to speake. I thoughte there were more waies to the wood than one; and finding another passage, I found also a ladie verie fayre, but passinge frowarde, whose wordes

set mee in a greater heate than the blowes. I asked her name: she said it was Peace. I wondred that Peace could never hold her peace. I cannot perswade myselfe, since that time, but that there is a waspe's nest in mine eares. I returned discontent. But if it will please your Highnesse to view it, that rude champion at your fayre feet will laye down his foule head: and at your becke that ladie will make her mouth her tongue's mue. Happilie your Majestie shall find some content; I more antiquities."

The Pilgrim then conducted his Highnesse to an oak at a short distance, whereon her Majesty's arms, and all the armes of the noblemen and gentlemen of that shire were hung in most beautiful Escutcheons. He a wild man, clad in ivy, at the sight of her highness, spoke as follows:

The Wild Man's Speech at the Tree.

MIGHTIE Princesse, whose happiness is attended by the heavens, and whose government is wondered at upon earth, vouchsafe to heare why this passage is kept, and this oke honoured. The whole worlde is drawn in a mappe; the heavens in a globe; and this shire shrunk in a tree; that what your Majestie has often heard off with some comfort, you may now behold with full content. This oke from whose bodie so many armes do spread, and out of whose armes so many fingers spring, resembles in part your

strength and happinesse. Strength in the number and honour; happinesse in the trueth and consent. All heartes of oke, then which nothing surer, nothing sounder. All woven in one roote, then which nothing more constant, nothing more naturall. The wall of this shire is the sea, strong, but rampired with true hearts, invincible; where every private man's eie is a becon to discover, everie nobleman's power a bulwarke to defende. Here they are all, differing somewhat in degrees, not duitie; the greatnesse of the branches, not the greenesse. Your Majesty they account the oke, the tree of Jupiter, whose root is so deeplie fastened, that treacherie, though she undermine to the centre, cannot find the windinges; and whose toppe is so highly reared, that envy, though she shook on copheigth, cannot reach her, under whose armes they have both shade and shelter. Well what they that your enemies lightenings are but flashes, and their thunder, which fills the whole world with a noise of conquest, shall ende with a soft shower of retreate. Be then as confident in your steppes, as Cæsar was in his fortunes: his proceedings but of conceit; yours of vertue. Abroad, courage hath made you feared, at home, honoured clemencie; clemencie which the owner of this grove hath tasted; in such sort, that his thoughts are become his heart's labyrinth, surprised with joy and loyaltie, joy without measure, loyaltie without end, living in no other

aier, than that which breathes your Majesty's safetie.

For himself and all these honourable Lords and Gentlemen, whose shields your Majestie doth here beholde, I can say this; that as the veines are dispersed through all the bodie, yet, when the heart feeleth any extreme passion, sende all their blood to the heart for comfort; so they being in divers places, when your Majestie shall but stande in feare of any danger, will bring their bodies, their purses, their soules, to your highnesse, being their hearte, their head, and their sovereigne. This passage is kept straight, and the Pilgrime I fear hath complained: but such a disguised world it is, that one can scarce no a pilgrim from a priest, a tayler from a gentleman, nor a man from a woman; everi man seeming to be that which they not, onlie do practise what they should not. The heavens guyde you, your Majestie governs us: though our peace be envied by them, yet we hope it shall be Eternall.

Elizabetha Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.

Then upon winding of a cornette, was a most excellent crie of hounds, and three bucks killed by the bucke hounds, and went all back to Coudrey to supper.

Wednesday. On this day the lords and ladies dined in the walks, feasting most sumptuously at table four-and-twenty yards long.

In the beginning, her Majestie coming to take the pleasure of the walks, was delighted with most delicate musicke, and brought to a goodlie fish pond, where was an angler, that, taking no notice of her Majestie, spoke as follows:

The Angler's Speech.

NEXT rowing in a westerne barge well fare angling. I have been here these two houres and cannot catch an oyster. It may be for lacke of a bait, and that were hard in this nibling world, where every man laies bait for another. In the citie merchants bait their tongues with a lie and an oath, and so make simple men swallow deceitful wares: and fishing for commodities is grown so farre, that men are become fishes; for landlords put such sweete baits on rackt rents, that as good it were to be a perch in a pike's belly, as a tenant in their farmes. All oure trade is grown to treacherie, for now fish are caught with medicines; which are as unwholsom as love procured by witchcrafte unfortunate. We anglers make our lines of divers colours, according to the kinds of waters: so doe men their loves, aiming at the complexion of the faces. Thus merchandize, love and lordships, sucke venom out of vertue. I thinke I shall fish all day and catch a frog: the cause is neither in the line, the hooke, nor the bait, but something there is over beautifull, which stayeth the verie

minnow (of all fish the most eager) from biting. But soft, here be the netters; these be they that cannot content them with a dish of fish for their supper, but will draw a whole pond for a market."

This said, he espied a fisherman drawing his nets towards where her Majesty was. And calling aloud to him—

Hoe sirrah, (quoth the angler,) what shall I give thee for thy draughte?

If there be never a whale in it, take it for a noble, quoth the netter.

Ang. Be there any maydes there?

Net. Maydes, foole, they be sea-fish.

Ang. Why?

Net. Venus was borne of the sea, and tis reason she should have maydes to attend her.

Then turned he to the Queen; and after a small pause, spoke as follows:

MADAME, it is an old saying, there is no fishing to the sea, nor service to the king: but it holdes when the sea is calm, and the king vertuous. Your vertue maketh envy blush, and stand amazed at your happiness. I come not to tell the art of fishing, nor the natures of fish, nor their dainties; but with a poor fisherman's wish, that all the hollow hearts to your Majestie were in my nette, and if there be more than it will hold, I would they were in the sea till I went thither a fishing. There be some so muddie

minded, that they cannot live in a cleere river, but a standinge poole: as camells will not drink till they have troubled the water with their feet; so can they never staunch their thirst, till they have disturbed the state with their treacheries. Soft, there are no fancies for fishermen. Yes, true hearts are as good as full purses; the one the sinues of warre, the other of armes. A dish of fish is an unworthy present for a fish to accept: there be some carpes amongst them, no carpers of state; if there be, I would they might be handled lyke carpes, their tongues pulled out. Some pearches there are, I am sure; and if any pearch higher than in dutie they ought, I would they might sodenly puke over the pearch for me. Whatsoever there is, if it be goud it is all yours, most vertuous ladie, that are best worthie of all.

Then was the net drawn.

The netter having presented all the fish in the ponde, and laying it at her feet, departed.

That evening she hunted.

Thursday. On Thursday her Majesty dined in the privie walks in the garden, and the lordes and ladies at a table forty-eight yards long. In the evening the contrie people presented themselves to her Majestie in a pleasant dance, with tabor and pipe; and the Lorde Montague and his Lady among them, to the great pleasure of all the beholders, and gentle applause of her Majesty.

Friday. This day her Majesty departed towards Chichester. Going through the arbour to take horse, stood six gentlemen, whom her Majesty knighted; the Lord Admiral laying the sword on their shoulders.

So departed her Majestie to the dining place, whether the Lord Montague and his sonnes, and the sheriffe of the shire, attended with a goodlie companie of gentlemen, brought her Highness.

The escutcheons on the oke remaine, and there shall hange till they can hange together one peece by another. *Valete.*

This may serve as a specimen of the homage and adulation that was thrown at her Majesty's feet among her loving subjects wherever she went.

At another entertainment given to the 'Quenes Majestie,' in progress at Elvetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honourable the Earl of Hertford, 1591, on the third day, we have the following song, called the "Plowman's Song," which, "as well for the worth of the dittie, as for the aptness of the note thereto applied, it pleased her Highnesse, after it had been once sung, to command it again, and highly to grace it with her chearful acceptance and commendation." A song, therefore, that has been encored by Queen Elizabeth, it would be unpardonable to pass over without notice in the present collection:

The Plowman's Song.

In the merrie moneth of May,
In a morne by breake of day,
Forth I walked by the woodside,
When as May was in his pride.
There I spied all alone,
Phyllida and Corydon.
Much adue there was god wot,
He would love and she would not.
She said, never man was true:
He said, none was false to you.
He said, he had loved her long:
She said, love you have no wrong.
Corrydon would kisse her then:
She said, maydes must kisse no men,
Till they did for good and all.
Then she made the shepherd call
All the heavens to witnesse truth,
Never lov'd a truer youth.
Thus with manie a pretie oath,
Yea and nay, and faith and troth,
Such as silly shepherds use,
When they will not love abuse;
Love which had been long deluded,
Was with kisses sweet concluded.

During a brilliant display in the fire works on the water, there was a banquet served up, all in glass and silver, into the low gallerie in the garden, from a hill side, fourteen score off, by two hundred of my Lord of Hertford's gentlemen, every one carrying so many dishes, that the whole number amounted to a thousand: and there were to light them in their way a hundred torch-bearers. To satisfy the curious, we will here

enumerate some of the particulars of what this banquet consisted:

Her Majesty's arms, in sugar work. The several arms of all our nobility, ditto. Many men and women, in sugar work, and some 'inforst' by hand.

Castles, forts, ordnance, drummers, trumpeters, and soldiers of all sorts, in sugar work.

Lions, unicorns, bears, horses, camels, bulls, rams, dogs, tigers, elephants, antelops, dromedaries, apes, and all other beasts, in sugar work.

Eagles, falcons, cranes, bustards, hermshaws, bittens, pheasants, partridges, quails, larks, sparrows, pigeons, cocks, owls, and all that fly, in sugar work.

Snakes, adders, vipers, frogs, toads, and all kinds of worms, in sugar work.

Mermaids, dolphins, whales, congars, sturgeons, pikes, carps, breams, and all sorts of fishes, in sugar work.

All these were standing dishes of sugar work. The selfe same devises were also there, all in flat work. As well as the following items, and many such like, in flat sugar work and cinnamon.

March-panes, grapes, oysters, muscles, cockles, perriwinkles, crabs, lobsters.

Apples, peares, and plums of all sorts.

Preserves, suckats, jellies, leaches, marmelats, pasts, comfits, of all sorts.

The fourth day's Entertainment at the Earl of Hertford's.

On Thursday morning, her Majesty was no sooner ready, and at her gallery window, looking into the garden, but there began three cornets to play certain fantastic dances, at the measure whereof the Fairy Queen came into the garden, dancing with her maids about her. She brought with her a garland, made in form of an imperial crown; which in the sight of her Majesty she fixed upon a silver staff, and sticking the staff into the ground, spoke as follows:

Speech of the Fairy Queen to her Majesty.

I that abide in places under ground,
Aureala, the Quene of fairy land,
That every night in rings of painted flowers
Turne round, and carell out Elisaes name:
Hearing, that Nereus and the sylvan gods
Have lately welcomed your Imperial grace,
Opened the Earth with this enchanting wand,
To doe my duty to your Majestie,
And humbly to salute you with this chaplet,
Given me by Auberon, the Fairy King.
Bright shining Phœbe, that in humaine shape,
Didst Heaven's perfection vouchsafe to accept;
And I Aureala beloved in heaven,
(For amourous starres fall nightly in my lap,)
Will cause that heavens enlarge thy goulden dayes,
And cut them short that envy at thy praise.

After this speech, the fairy quene and her maids danced about the garland, singing a song of six parts, with the music of an exquisite con-

sort; wherein was the lute, bandora, base-violl, cilerne, treble violl, and flute: and this was the fairies' song:—

Eliza is the fairest Quene
That ever trode upon the greene.
Elisaes eyes are blessed starres,
Inducing peace, subduing warres.
Elisaes hand is christall bright,
Her words are balme, her lookes are light.
Elisaes breast is that fair hill,
Where virtue dwells and sacred skill:
O blessed be each day and houre,
Where sweete Eliza builds her bowre.

Her Majesty was so delighted with this spectacle and the music, that she desired to hear it twice over. At her departure, a poet made a complimentary speech, overflowing with the incense of the times. So pleased indeed was the Queen with this entertainment throughout, that she protested to Lord of Hertford, that it was so honourable, as hereafter he "should finde the reward thereof in her speciall favour."

ORDER *of* COUNCIL, *describing the* DRESS *of a* PAGE, *in the* REIGN *of* QUEEN ELIZABETH,

[Copied from the original, in the Library of Thomas Astle, Esq.]

THESE are to praye and requier you to make psent such within your ward and charges, psently to macke hew and cry for a yong stripling of the age of xxij. yeres, the color of his aparell as fol-

loweth: one doblet of yelow million fustion, th' one halfe thereof buttoned with peche color hose laced with smale fawyne lace, a graye hat with a copper edge rounde aboute it, with a pcell of the same hat, a payer of watched (blue) stockings. Likewise he hath two clokes, th' one of vessey colour garded with two gardes of blacke clothe and twisted lace of carnacion color, and lyned with crimsone bayes, and the other is a red stripp russet color striped about the cape, and downe the fore face twisted with twoe rows of twisted lace, russet and gold buttons afore and uppon the shoulder being of the clothe itselfe set with the said twisted lace, and the buttons of russet silke and golde. This youthe's name is Gilbert Edwodd, and page to Sir Valentine Browne, knight, who is run away this fourth day of January, with theis parcells following: viz. a chain of wyer worke golde, with a button of the same, and a small ringe of golde at it, two flagging chaines of golde, th' one being marked with theis letters *v* and *b* upon the lock, and th' other with a littel broken jewel at it, one carkanet of pearle and jasynits thereunto hangynge, a jewell, lyke a marimade of gold, enameled the tayle thereof, being sett with diamonds, the bellye of the . . . . . made with a ruby, and the shild of a diamond, the cheine of golde whereon it hangeth it sett with smale

diamonds and rubyes; and certeyne money in golde, and white money.

BURGHLYE, WARWICK,
HUNSDON, HOWARDE.

To all Constables, Bayliffs, and Hedboroughs, and to all and other the Queen's Officers, to whom the same belongeth and apperteyneth.

VALENTINE BROWNE.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND DEAN NOWELL.

November the first (1562). The mayor and aldermen went in the afternoon to St. Paul's, with all the crafts in their liveries, attended with fourscore men, all in blue, carrying torches: they tarried in the church till night; and so the lord mayor and his company went home all with torch-light.

Dean Nowell, so often noted for his frequent preaching before the Queen, and in other great and honourable assemblies, preached on the festival of the Circumcision, being New Year's Day, at St. Paul's, whither the Queen resorted. Here a remarkable circumstance took place, as is recorded in a great man's memorials, who lived in those days. The dean having gotten from a foreigner several fine cuts and pictures, representing the stories and passions of the saints and martyrs, had placed them against the epis-

tles and gospels of their festivals in a common prayer-book; and this book he had caused to be richly bound, and laid on the cushion for the Queen's use, in a place where she commonly sat, intending it for a new year's gift to her Majesty, and thinking to have pleased her fancy therewith. But it had not that effect, but the contrary; for she considered how this varied from her late open injunctions and proclamations against the superstitious use of images in the churches, and for the taking away all such reliques of popery. When she came to her place, she opened the book, and perused it, and saw the pictures; but frowned and blushed, and then shut it, (of which several took notice,) and calling the verger, bade him bring her the old book, wherein she was formerly wont to read. After sermon, whereas she was wont immediately to get on horseback, or into her chariot, she went straight to the vestry, and applying herself to the dean, thus she spoke to him:

Q. Mr. Dean, how came it to pass, that a new service-book was placed on my cushion?

D. May it please your Majesty, I caused it to be placed there.

Q. Wherefore did you so?

D. To present your Majesty with a new year's gift.

Q. You could never present me with a worse.

D. Why so, Madam?

Q. You know I have aversion to idolatry, to images and pictures of this kind.

D. Wherein is the idolatry, may it please your Majesty?

Q. In the cuts, resembling angels and saints; nay, grosser absurdities, pictures resembling the blessed Trinity.

D. I meant no harm; nor did I think it would offend your Majesty, when I intended it as a new year's gift.

Q. You must needs be ignorant then. Have you forgot our proclamation against images, pictures, and Romish reliques in the churches? Was it not read in your deanery?

D. It was read: but be your Majesty assured, I meant no harm, when I caused the cuts to be bound in with the service-book.

Q. You must needs be very ignorant to do this, after our prohibition of them.

D. It being my ignorance, your Majesty may the better pardon me.

Q. I am sorry for it, yet glad to hear it was your ignorance rather than your opinion.

D. Be your Majesty assured it was my ignorance.

Q. If so, Mr. Dean, God grant you his spirit, and more wisdom for the future.

D. Amen, I pray God.

Q. I pray, Mr. Dean, how came you by these pictures? Who engraved them?

D. I know not who engraved them: I bought them.

Q. From whom bought you them?

D. From a German.

Q. It is well it was from a stranger: had it been any of our subjects, we should have questioned the matter. Pray let no more of these mistakes, or of this kind, be committed within the churches of our realm for the future.

D. There shall not.

This matter occasioned all the clergy in and about London, and the churchwardens of each parish, to search their churches and chapels; and caused them to wash out of their walls all paintings that seemed to be Romish and idolatrous; and, in lieu thereof, suitable texts taken out of the holy scripture to be written.—*Ashmole's Collection, &c.*

Sumptuary Proclamation.—1579.

A Commandment given by the Queenes most excellent Majesty the Twelfth of Februarie, and xxii. of her Highnesse Reigne, and declared by the Lord Chancellor of Englande, and other the Lordes of her Maiesties most honourable Privie Council in the Starre Chamber, concerning Clokës and Ruffes of excessive length and depth.

It is also to be understoode, that the saide xij. of Februarie, in this present yeere 1579, by the

Queenes Maiesties expresse commandement, it was declared and published by the Lord Chauncellor, and other the Lordes of her Maiesties Councell, that from the one and twentieth of this moneth, no person shall use or weare such excessive long clokes, being in common sight monstrous, as now of late are begonne to be used, and before two yeeres past hath not been used in this realme. Neither also shoulde any person use or weare such great and excessiue ruffes, in or about the uppermost part of their neckes, as had not been used before two yeeres past; but that all persons should in modest and comely sort leave off such fonde disguised and monstrous manner of attyring themselves, as both was unsupportable for charges, and undecent to be worne.

And this her Majestie commanded to be observed, upon paine of her high indignation, and the paines thereto due; and will all officers to see to the reformation and redresse thereof, to the punishment of any offending in these cases, as persons wilfully disobeying or contemning her Majesties commandment.

Geun the xxii. yeere of her Highnesse Reigne, as is before expressed.

God saue the Queene.

Another, relating to swords, daggers, rapiers, and bucklers, &c. called

The branche or clause of a Proclamation.

ITEM, her Majestie ordereth and commandeth, that no person shall weare any sworde, rapier, or such like weapon, that shall pass the length of one yarde and halfe a quarter of the blade; at the vttermost: nor any dagger aboue the length of xij. inches in the blade at the most: nor any buckler with any point or pike above two ynches in length at the most. And if any cutler or other artificer, shall sell, make, or keepe in his house any sworde, rapier, dagger, buckler, or such like, contrary thereunto, the same to be imprisoned, and to make fine at the Quenes Maiesties pleasure, and the weapon to be forfeited. And if any such person shall offende a seconde time, then the same to be banished from the place and towne of his dwelling.

Giuen at our pallace of Westminster, the twelfth day of Februarie, in the two and twentieth yeere of our reigne.

God saue the Queene.

THREE LETTERS *to the* QUEEN, *from the famous* BACON, *on the subject of New Year's Gifts.*

1. A letter of ceremony upon the sending of a new year's gift:—

"It may please your sacred Majesty, according to the ceremony of the time, I would not

forget in all humbleness, to present your Majesty with a small new year's gift: nothing to my mind. And, therefore to supply it, I cannot but pray to God to give your Majesty his new year's gift; that is, a new year, that shall be as no year to your body, and as a year with two harvests to your coffers; and every other year prosperous and gladsome. And so I remain,

"Your Majesty's loyal and obedient subject."

(SECOND.)

"Most excellent soveraign mistress, the only new year's gift, which I can give your Majesty, is that, which God hathe given unto me; which is a mind in all humbleness to wait upon your commandments and business; wherein I would to God, that I were hooded, that I saw less; or that I could perform more: for now I am like a hawk that bates, when I see occasion of service, but cannot fly because I am tied to another's fist. But, meanwhile, I continue my presumption of making to your Majesty my poor oblation of a garment, as unworthy the wearing, as his service, that sends it: but the approach to your excellent person may give worth to both; which is all the happiness I aspire to."

3. TO THE QUEEN.

"It may please your excellent Majesty, I presume, according to the ceremony and good

manner of the time and my accustomed duty, in all humbleness to present your Majesty with a simple gift; almost as far from answering my mind, as sorting with your greatness; and therewith wish, that we may continue reckon on, and ever, your Majesty's happy years of reign: and they that reckon on other hopes, I would they might reckon short, and to their cost. And so, craving pardon most humbly, I commend your Majesty to the preservation of the Divine Goodness."

As one specimen among many of similar descriptions of the torrents of adulation which were incessantly pouring down on the maiden queen, we annex the following.

A CONFERENCE

BETWEENE

A Gent. Huisher, and a Post, before the Quene, at Mr. Secretary's House.

BY JOHN DAVIES.

(From the British Museum, Harl. MSS. fol. 248.)

P. Is Mr. Secretary Cecil heare? did you see Mr. Secretary? Gentlemen, can you bring me to Mr. Secretary?

U. Mr. Secretary Cecill is not heare: what business have you with him?

P. Marry, sir, I have letters that ymport her Majesty's service,

U. Then you weare best staye till he come; he was heare even nowe; and will be againe by and by, if you have the patience to stay awhile.

P. Stay! the matter requires such post hast, as I dare not for my lyfe staye any where till I have delivered the letters; therefore I praye direct mee where I may fynd him, for without doubt it is busines that especially concernes the Quenes service.

U. What busines is heare with you? Yf the letters concerne the Quene, why should you not deliver them to the Quene? You see she is present, and you can not have a better opportunity, yf the intelligence be so important, and concern herself as you saye.

P. I cannot tell what I should doe; they concerne the Quene's service, indeed; but they tell me they ought to be delivered to one of them to whose place yt is proper to receive them.

U. Quene's service, Post! What talk you? I know not what you thynke, but I am sure the world thynkes shee dooth herself best service, when all is done, for all her morose servaunts; though I confess (for honor's sake) all great princes much have attendants for their businesses.

P. Is it soe? Why, then, I praye thee, tell me what use dooth she make of her servaunts?

U. She makes the same use of them as the mynde makes of the sences. Many thynge she

sees and heares through them; but the judgement and election are her owne.

P. Yf, then, the use of her service be so smaule, how comes it that the reward of their service is soe greate?

U. Oh, therein she respecteth her owne greatness and goudness, which must needs be such as it is, though it fynde no objecte that is proportionable; as for example, the sun dooth caste his beames upon darke and grosse boodies that are not alike capable of his light, as well as upon cleare and transparent boodies which doe more multiplie his beames; or, if thou doost not understand this demonstration, I will gyve the one that is more familiar. She dooth in this resemble some gentle mistress of children, whoe, when they gyde the hands of their schollers with their owne handes, and thereby doe make them wryte faire letters, doe yet, to encurrage them, give them as much praise as if themselves had done it without direction.

P. Well, I am half perswaded to deliver the letters to her owne hand; but, sir, they come from the Emperor of China, in a language that she understands not.

U. Why then you are very symple, Post: though it be soe, yet theise Princes (as the Great Turke and the rest) doe always sende a translation, in Italian, French, Spainishe, or Latyn; and then all is one to her.

P. Doth she understand theise languages, and never crost the seas?

U. Art thou a Post, and hast ridden so many myles, and met with soe many men; and hast thou not hard that which all the world knowes, that she speakes and understandes all the languages in the world which are worthy to be spoken or understood?

P. It may bee shee understands them in a sort well for a ladye, but not so well as secretaries should doe, that have been grayte travaylers; and it is the part of every secretary's possession to understand so mane languages.

U. Tush! why talkest thou of secretaryes? As for one of them whom thou most asketh for if he have any thinge that is worthe talkinge of, the world knows well enough where he had it, for he kneles every daye where he learnes a newe lesson: goe on, therefore, deliver thy letters; I warrant thee, shee will read them if they be in any Christian language.

P. But is it possible, that a ladye borne and bred in her owne island, havinge but seen the confynes of her owne kingdomes, should be able without interpreters, to give audience, and answeare still to all forraigne ambassadors?

U. Yea, Post, we have sene that so often tried, that it is here no wonder. But, to make an end, look upon her. How thinkest thou; doest thou see her? Saye truely, sawest thou

even more majestie, or more perfection, met together in one boodye? Believe me, Post, for wisdom and policie, she is as inwardly suitable as externally admirable.

P. Oh——Sir, why nowe I stand back the rather, you have so daunted my spirits with that worde; for firste, you say, shee hath majestie, and that you know never lykes audacitie. Next you say she is full of policie: now, what do I know, if policie may not thynke fytt to hange up a Post if he bee too sawcye? Noe, I have learned a better lesson at a grammar-schole: *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis.* Farewell, good sir, I will goe to one of the secretaryes, come what will of yt.

U. Ah, symple Post, thou are the wilfullest creature that lyveth. Doest thou not know that besides all her perfections, all the earth hath not such a Prince for affability; for all is one, come gentleman, come servingman, come plowman, come beggar; the hower is yet to come that ever she refused petition. Will she then refuse a letter, when that comes from soe great an Emperor, and for the service? Noe, noe; doe as I bid thee; I should knowe somethinge that have been a quarter wayter these fifteen yeares; draw nere her, knele down before her, kisse thy letters, and deliver them, and use noe pratling, while she is readinge; and if ever thou have worse wordes than "God have mercy, fellowe!"

and "Give him a rewarde!" never trust me whilst thou lyvest.

P. Well, God blesse me, and God save her. Ever God's will be done. I am half of thy belief, and I will prove my destiny.

Faire Quene, here are letters from the Emperor of Chayna, who doth salute you, and I your vassale am joyful to see you; whoe never saw your Majestie, neither in the East Indies nor in the West, nor any country where there is neither man nor beast.

A PROCLAMATION IN 1569.

(Brit. Museum, Cott. MS. Vespasian, CXIV. 583.)

Elizabeth,

Be it known unto all men, that whereas Thomas, Erle of Northumberland, Knight, and a Companion of the most noble Order of the Garter, hath not onlie committed and done high treason against the Quene's most excellent Majestie, sovereign of the said most noble Order of the Garter, compassinge and imageninge most trayterous rebellions in manner of warre, not onlie in his owne person, against our most dradd sovereigne ladye the Quene, but also hath procured a great multitude of others most trayterously and rebelliously to follow him in his trayterous purpose, intending thereby, if he might, to subvert the hoole good ordre and com-

monwealth of this realme; for the which detestable offence and high treason the said Thomas has deserved to be degraded of the said noble order, and expelled out of the said companye; and that worthye that his armes, ensigns, and hatchments, should remain among virtuous and approved knights of the said most noble order. Wherefore our most righteous Quene, supreme and sovereigne of this our most noble order, with the companions now present of the same, wyll and command that these armes, ensigns, and hachements, of the said Thomas, be taken away and throwne downe, and he be cleane put from this ordre, and from henceforth to be none of the number thereof; that all other by his example for evermore hereafter beware how they commit or doe the lyke crime, or fall in like shame or rebuke.

Godd save the Quene.

Ex Personii Jesuitæ Maledica descusione, p. 217.

(From Cotton's MS. Julius, F. VI. fol. 121.)

Her Majestie being in good health one day, a privy counsellor presented her with a piece of gold of the bigness of an angell, dimly marked with some small characters, which he said an old woman in Wales bequeathed her on her death bed, and thereupon he discoursed how the said old woman, by virtue of the same, lived to the

age of an hundred and odd years, and in that age having all her body withered and consumed, and wanting nature to nourish, she said, commanding the said piece of gold to be carefully sent to her Majesty; alledging further, that as long as the said old woman wore it upon her body, she could not die.

The Queen, upon the confidence she had thereof, took the said gold, and wore it upon her ruff. Now, though she fell not suddenly sick, yet daily decreased her rest and feeding, and within a few days fell sick indeed; and the cause being wondered at by a lady with whom she was very private and confidant, her Majesty told her (commanding her to conceal the same) that she saw one night in her bed, her body exceeding lean and fearful, in a light of fire: this sight was at Whitehall, a little before she departed from thence to Richmond, and may be testified by another lady, who was one of the nearest about her person, of whom the Queen demanded whether she was not wont to see sights in the night, telling her of the bright flame she had seen. Afterward, in the melancholy of her sickness, she desired to see a true looking-glass, which in twenty years she had not seen, but only such a one as was made on purpose to deceive her sight; which glasse being brought her, she fell presently into exclaiming against, which had so much commended her, and took it so of-

fensively, that some which before had flattered her, durst not come into her sight. Now falling into extremity, she sat two days and three nights upon her stool, ready dressed, and could never be brought by any of her council to go to bed, or to eat or drink, only my Lord Admiral one time persuaded her to drink some broth, for that any of the rest she would not answer them to any question, but said softly to my Lord Admiral's persuasions, that if he knew what she had seen in her bed, he would not persuade her as he did; and commanding the rest of the lords to depart her chamber, willed my Lord Admiral to stay, to whom she shook her head, and with a pitiful voice said unto him, "My Lord, I am tied with a chain of iron about my feet:" he alledging her wonted courage, she replied, "I am tied, tied, and the case is altered with me."

About the same time, two ladies waiting on her in her chamber, discovered in the bottom of her chair the queen of hearts, with a nail of iron knocked through the forehead of it, and which the ladies durst not then pull out, remembering that the like thing was reported to be use to others for witchcraft! another lady waiting in these times on the Queen, and leaving her after in her privy chamber at Richmond, at the very first distemper of her sickness, met her, as she thought, three or four chambers off, and fearing that she would have been displeased that she left

her alone, came toward her to excuse herself, but she vanished away; and when the lady returned into the same chamber where she left the Queen, she found her asleep as before; so in time growing past recovery, having kept her bed some days, the council sent unto her the Bishop of Canterbury, and other of the Prelates, upon sight of whom she was much offended, cholo-ruckly rating them, bidding them be packing, and afterwards exclaiming to my Lord Admirall that she had the greatest indignity offered to her by the Archbishop that a Prince could have, to pronounce sentence of death upon her, as if she had lived an atheist; and some lords mentioning to have other Prelates to come unto her, she answered, that she would have none of those hedge priests, and no more of them came to her till after she was past sense, and at the last gasp, at which time some prayers were said not far from her.

The Queen being departed this life, the lords of the council went to London to proclaim his Majesty, leaving her body, with charge not to be opened, such being her desire: but some, for reasons, having given a secret warrant to the surgeons, they opened her, which the rest of the council did not contradict. Now the body being seared up, was brought to Whitehall, where it was watched every night by six several ladies; who being all about the same, which was fast

nailed up, within a broad coffin, with leaves of lead, covered with velvet, it happened that her body broke the coffin with such a crack, that it splitted the wood, lead, and cearcloth, to the terror and astonishment of all that were present; whereupon the next day it was found necessary to do every thing up a-fresh, inasmuch as all were of opinion, that if she had not been opened, the breath of her body (the stench) would have been much worse.

Divers other particularities, for that they concern special personages, I have thought proper for good causes to conceal.

The celebrated ring, on which the life of the Earl of Essex is said to have depended, has been claimed by various persons. Mr. Thomas Penning, of the exchequer, has, or had, 1781, a purse and ring, by inheritance, from Mr. Fotherby, whose sister he married, and who was related to the late Mrs. Cooke, by long possession and inheritance from Sir Anthony Cooke, of Giddy Hall, Essex, preceptor to Edward VI. to whose lady, tradition says, the queen gave them. The purse, though small, and lined with leather, was richly ornamented with four rows of gilt orrice, entertwined with pearls, spangles, and embost work, and two rich tassels appendant to the strings, and two more from the end of each side: the ring in gold, with a flat hollow surface edged with wire, which shews it to have been

originally enamelled, and was studded at intervals with gold pins in form of roses; some still remaining. It is embellished with a pale topaz set in a silver collet.

The real ring, in the possession of —— Sotheby, Esq, Bloomsbury Square, descended from Colonel William Sotheby, though no further tradition how it came there remains, is gold, with the queen's bust in bass relief on a garnet, dressed as on her sixpenny and threepenny pieces of 1574, with the same features round it in the garter with the motto, and fastened with a buckle composed of two diamonds, and the strap turned by another. Over the bust is the crown, composed of twelve diamonds; and on each side the collet three diamonds. On the inner surface, immediately under the bust, is the union rose.

Mr. James exhibited to the society of antiquaries, June 28, 1781, a table-cloth and a napkin, of the finest damask, ornamented with her arms, which belonged to her Majesty when confined in the tower, and became, with all the furniture in her apartment, a perquisite to the keeper when she left it in 1558. They were then in possession of Richard Sherwood, Esq, of New Inn, maternal grandson to Lord Chief Justice Bedingfield, who was of the same family with the then constable of the tower.

Brittanis Lachrimæ.

(Donation MSS. 4712.)

Weepe, little Isle, and for thy mistress' death
Swim in a double sea of brackish water.
Weepe, little world; weepe for great Elizabeth,
Daughter of warre, for Mars himself begate her,
Mother of peace, for she bore the latter.
She was and is, what can there more be said?
In Earth the first, in heaven the second maid.

Letter.

In the Cottonian library, Vespasian, F. III. is preserved a letter written by Queen Elizabeth (then Princess) to her sister, Queen Mary. By this epistle it appears that Mary had desired to have her picture; and in gratifying the wishes of her Majesty, Elizabeth accompanies the present, with the following elaborate letter. It bears no date of the year in which it was written; but her place of residence is marked to be at Hatfield. There she had retired to enjoy the silent pleasures of a studious life, and to be distant from the dangerous politics of the time. When Mary died, Elizabeth was at Hatfield; the letter must have been written shortly before this circumstance took place. At the time of its composition she was in habitual intercourse with the most excellent writers of antiquity; her letter displays this in every part of it; it is polished and repolished. It has also the merit of being very scarce.

LETTER

"Like as the riche man that dayly gathereth riches to riches, and to one bag of money layeth a great sort til it come to infinit, so me thinkes your Majestie not being sufficed with many benefits and gentilnes, shewed to me afore this time, dothe now increase them in askinge and desiring when you may bid and comaunde, requiring a thing not worthy the desiringe for it selfe, but made worthy for your highness request. My picture, I mene, in which if the inward good mynde towarde your grace might as well be declared as the outwarde face and countenance shal be seen, I wold not have tarried the commandement but prevent it, nor have been the last to graunt but the first to offer it. For the face, I graunt, I might wel blusche to offer, but the mynde I shal never be ashamed to present. For thogth from the grace of the pictur, the coulers may fade by time, may give by whether, may be spotted by chance, yet the other nor time with her swift winges shall overtake, nor the mistie cloudes with their loweringes may darken, nor chance with her slipery fote may overthrow. Of this althogth yet the probe could not be greate because the occasions hathe bin but smal, notwithstandinge as a dog hathe a day, so may I perchaunce have time to declare it in dides when now I do write them but in wordes. And further I shal most humbly beseche your Majestie that whan you shal loke on my pictur

you wil witsafe to thinke that as you have but the outwarde shadow of the body afore you, so my inwarde minde wischeth, that the body itself wer oftner in your presence; howbeit because bothe my so beinge I thinke could do your Majestie litel pleasure thogth myself great good, and againe because I se as yet not the time agreing thereunto, I shal lerne to follow this sainge of Orace, 'Feras non culpis quod vitari non potest.' And thus I wil (troblinge your Maujestie I fere) end with my most humble thankes, besechinge god longe to preserve you to his honour, to your cofort, to the realmes profit, and to my joy. From Hatfield, this 1 day of May,

Your maiesties most humbly Sistar
and Servante,
ELIZABETH."

The following Letters, and the Account of the Execution of the Scottish Queen, cannot fail to prove interesting.

LETTER.

The Lords of the Council to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Marshal of England, directing the Execution of the Q. of Scotts.

(MS. Kennet, Vol. xlviii. fol. 93, from the Papers of Dr. Nathaniel Johnston.)

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, this bearer, Mr. Robert Beale, who your Lordship knoweth to be honest, wise,

and trusty, cometh to your Lordship with a commission under her Majesty's hand and seal; having been directed to shew the same to our very good Lord the Earl of Kent, because his abode was in his way; and for that he is second in the commission, and your Lordship the principall; and for that it is convenient that Sir Amyas Pawlett be acquainted therewith, the bearer is directed to come by him, and after to confer with your Lordship how Mr. Pawlett may have knowledge of your minde to repaire unto your Lordship, if his health can serve him. And also the Earl of Kent may be ready to attend upon your Lordshippe at such time as by you shall be thought convenient; and so praying your Lordshippe to credit the bearer in such thinges as he is willid to signifie to your Lordshippe on our behalfe, we bidde your Lordshippe right hartely farewell. From Greenwiche in haste, the 3 of February 1586. Your Lordshippe's assured lovinge friends,

Wm. Burlegh.	H. Derby.
R. Leycester.	C. Howard.
Hinsden.	Cobham.
F. Knollys.	C. H. Hatton.
Fr. Walsingham.	Will. Davison.

On the back of this Letter from the Lords of the Council, by the appointment of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was written, by another hand, as follows :—

"Brought by Mr. Beale, with the Commission, the 6th February, 1586, at Orton Longueville; with him came Sir Drew Drury; and the 7th day went to Fotheringhay, and 8th of February executed the Scots Queen, according to my commission. Mr. Andrews, the Sheriff of Northamptonshire, I sent to bring her down to execution, and so I charged him with her body living and with her dead corpse."

Two or three statements of this transaction were drawn up at the time. There was a short one, copies of which are preserved in the Cottonian Manuscripts, Jul. F. vi. fol. 246, 266, b. and Calig. B. v. fol. 175, b. Another, a copy of the account of the Earl of Kent and Mr. Beale to the Lords of the Council, dated on the day, is preserved in the Cottonian MS. Calig. C. ix. fol. 63; and there is a third in the state paper office, somewhat longer, said to have been drawn up by a Roman Catholic, evidently one of her servants. The present narrative is from the Lansdown MS. 51, art. 46; it is indorsed in Lord Burghley's hand, "8 Feb. 1586, the manner of the Q. of Scotts' death, at Fodryng-hay, Wr. by Ro. Wy." Accounts of the Scottish Queen's death have been dressed up from this document by several writers, but it is here given accurate and entire.

A Reporte of the MANNER *of the* EXECUTION *of the Sc. Q. performed the viijth of February, Anno* 1586, *in the Great Hall of Fotheringay, with Relacion of Speeches uttered and Accions happening in the said Execution, from the Delivery of the said Sc. Q. to Mr. Thomas Androwes, Esquire, Serife of the County of Northampton, into the end of the said Execution.*

"First the said Sc. Q. being caryed by two of Sir Amias Paulett's gentlemen, and the sherife going before, cam most willingly out of her chamber into an entry next the hall; at which place the Earle of Shrewsbury and the Earle of Kente, commissioners for the execution, with the two governors of her person, and divers knights and gentlemen did meete her, where they found one of the Sc. Q. servauntes, named Melvin, kneeling on his knees, who uttered these wordes withe teares to the Q. of Sc. his mistris:—'Madam, it wilbe the sorrowfullest messuage that ever I caryed, when I shall report that my Queen and dear mistris is dead.' Then the Q. of Sc. shedding teares, aunswered him, 'You ought to rejoyce rather than weepe, for that the end of Mary Stewart's troubles are now come; thou knowest, Melvin, that all this world is but vanity, and full of troubles and sorrowes; carry this messuage from me, and tell my frendes a true woman to my religion, and like a true

Scottish woman and a true French woman; but God forgive them that have long desired my ende; and he that is the true judge of all secret thoughts knoweth my minde, how that ever it hath been my desire to have Scotlande and Englande united together. Comend me to my sonne, and tell him that I have not doun any thinge that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland; and so, good Melvin, farewell;" and kissing him, she badd him pray for her."

Then she turned her to the lordes, and told them that she had certayne requestes to make unto them; One was for a some of money which she said Sir Amias Paulett knewe of to be paide to one Carlo, her servaunte; next, that all her poore servauntes might enjoy that quietly, which by her will and testament she had given unto them; and, lastly, that they might be all well intreated, and sent home safely and honestly into theire countryes; and this I doe conjure you, my Lordes, to do. Aunswere was made by Sir Amias Paulett; "I doe well remember the money your grace speakes of, and your grace not neede make any doubt of not performance of your requests, for I do surely thinke they shall be graunted." "I have," said she, "another request to make unto you, my Lordes; that you "will suffer my poore servants to be present about "me at my death, that they may reporte, when "they come into their countrys, how I dyed a true

woman to my religion." Then the Erle of Kente, one of the Commissioners, answered, "Madam, it cannot well be granted, for that it is feared lest some of these wold with speeches both trouble and grieve your grace, and disquiett the company of which we have already had some experience, or seeke to wipe their napkins in some of your blood, which is not convenient." "My Lord," said the Q. of Sc. "I will give my word and promise for them that they shall not do any such thing as your Lordship hath named. Alas, poor sowles, yt wold do them good to bidd me farewell; and I hope your mistris, being a Mayden Queen in regard to womanhood, will suffer me to have some of my people about me at my death, and I know she hath not given you so straight a commission but that you may graunt me more than this, if I were a far meaner woman than I am;" and then (seeming to be grieved) with some teares uttered these wordes, "you know that I am cosin to your queen, and descended from the bloode of Henry the Seventh, a maryed Queene of Fraunce and the anoynted Queene of Scotland." Whereupon, after some consultation, they graunted that she might have some of her servauntes, according to her grace's request, and therefore desired her to make choice of half a dozen of her men and women, who presently said, that of her men, she would have Melvin, her poticary, her

surgeon, and one other old man beside; and of her women, those two that did use to lye in her chamber. After this, she being supported by Sir Amias, two gentleman aforesaid, and Melvin caryïng up her trayne, and also accompanied with the Lordes, Knightes, and Gentleman aforenamed, the shereife going before her, she passed out of the entry into the great hall, with her countenance careless, importing thereby rather mirth than mournfull cheare; and so she willingly stepped up to the scaffold which was prepared for her in the hall, being two foot height, and twelve foot broad, with railes round about, hanged and covered with blacke, with a lowe stoole, long cushion, and blocke, all covered with blacke also; then having the stoole brought her, she satt her down: by her, on the right hand, sat the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Kent; and on her left hand stood the sherife, and before her the two executioners; round about the railes stood Knights, Gentlemen, and others: then silence being made, the Queens Majesties commission for the execution of the Queen of Scotts was openly read by Mr. Beale, clerk of the council; and these words pronounced by the assembly, "God save the Queene:" during the reading of which commission, the Q of Scots was silent, listening unto it with as small regard as if it had not concerned her at all, and with as cheereful a countenance as if it had been

a pardon from her Majestie for her life, using as much straungeness in worde and deede as if she had never known any of the assemblie, or had been ignorant of the English language. Then on Doctor Fletcher, Dean of Peterbrowe, standing directly before her withot the rayle, bending his body with great reverence, this exortation following, "Madam, the Q. most Excellent, Matie," &c. and repeating these words three or foure tymes, she told him, "Mr. Dean, I am settled in the auncient Catholique Romayne religion, and myride to spend my bloode in defence of it." Then Mr. Deane said, "Madame, chaung your opinion, and repent you of your former wickedness, and settle your faith onely in Jesus Christ by him to be saved." Then she answered agayne and agayne, "Mr. Deane, trouble not yourselfe any more, for I am settled and resolved in this my religion, and am purposed therein to die." Then the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Kente perceavinge her so obstinate, told her that sithence she wold not heere the exhortacion begoun by Mr. Deane, "We will pray for your Grace that it stande with God's will, you may have your harte lightened even at the last howre, with the true knowledge of God, and so die therein." Then she aunswered, "If you will pray for me, my Lordes, I will thanke you; but to joyne in prayer with you I will not, for that you and I are not of one religion."

Then the Lordes called for Mr. Deane, who, kneeling on the skaffold staires, began this prayer, "O most gracious God and merciful Father," &c. all the assembly, saving the Queen of Scots and her servaunts, saying after him. During the saying of which prayer, the Queen of Scots sitting upon a stoole having about her neck an Agnus Dei, in her hand a crucifix, at her girdle a pair of beades with a golden crosse at the end of them; a Latin booke in her hand, began with teares and with loud and fast voice to pray in Latin; and in the middest of her prayers she slided off from her stoole, and kneeling, said divers Latin prayers; and after the end of Mr. Dean's prayer, she kneelinge, prayed in Englishe to this effecte: "for Christ his afflicted Church, and for an end of their troubles; for her Sonne; and for the Queen's Majestie, that she might prosper and serve God aright." She confessed that she hoped to be saved "by and in the bloode of Christ, at the foote of whose crucifix she wold shedd her bloode." Then said the Earl of Kente, "Madam, settle Christ Jesus in your harte, and leave those trumperyes." Then she, little regarding or nothing at all, his H. good counsell, went forward with her prayers, desiring "that God wold averte his wrath from this islande, and that he wold give her griefe, and forgiveness for her sinnes." These, with other prayers, she made in English, saying she

forgave her enemyes with all her harte, that had long sought her bloode, and desired God to converte them to the truthe; and in the end of the prayer she desired all saintes to make intercession for her to Jesus Christ, and so kissing the crucifix, and crossing of her also, said these wordes, "Even as thy armes, O Jesus, were spredd here upon the crosse, so receive me into thy armes of mercy, and forgive me all my sinnes!"

Her prayer being ended, the executioners kneeling, desired her Grace to forgive them her death; who answered, "I forgive you with all my harte, for now, I hope, you shall make an end of all my troubles:" then they, with her two women, helping of her up, began to disrobe her of her apparell: then she laying her crusifix upon the stoole, one of the executioners took from her necke the Agnus Dei, which she laying handes of it, gave it to one of her women, and told the executioner that he shold be aunswered money for it. Then she suffered them with her two women to disrobe her of her chayne of pomander beades and all other of her apparel most willingly, and with joy rather then sorrowe helped to make unready herselfe, putting on a pair of sleeves with her own handes, which they had pulled off, and that with some hast, as if she had longed to be gonn.

All this tyme they were pulling off her apparell she never chaunged her countenaunce, but

with smiling cheefe she uttered these words, that she never had such groomes to make her unready, and that she never put off her clothes before such a company. Then she being stripped of all her apparel, saving her peticote and kirtle, her two women beholding her, made great lamentacion and crying, and crossing themselves prayed in Latin, she turning herselfe to them imbrasinge them said these words in French, "Ne crie vous, j'ay pourvu pour vous," and so crossing and kissing them bad them praye for her, and rejoyce and not weepe, for that now they should see the ende of all their mistris troubles.

Then she with a smiling countenance turning to her men servaunts, as Melvin and the rest standing upon the bench nigh the scaffold, who sometyme weeping, sometyme crying out alowde, and continually crossing themselves, prayed in Latin, crossing them with her hand, bad them farewell, and wishing them to praye for her even to the laste howre. This donn, one of the women having a Corpus Christi cloth lapped up three corners wayes, kissing it, put it ouer the Q. of Sc. face, and pinned it fast to the caule of her head: then the two women departed from her, and she kneeling downe upon the cusshion, most resolutely and without any token or feare of death, she spoke alowde this Psalme in Latin, "In te Domine confido, non confundar in eternam," &c.; then groping for the blocke, she

layed downe her heade, putting her chynne ouer the blocke with both her handes, which holding there still, had been cut off had they not espied them lying upon the blocke, most quietly, and stretching out her arms, cryed, "In manus tuos Domine," &c. three or foure tymes. Then she lying very still on the blocke, one of the executioners, holding of her stitely with one of his handes, she endured two strokes of the other executioner with an axe, she making very small noise, or none at all, and not stiring any part of her from the place she lay, and so the executioner cut of her head, saving one little grisle, which being cutt asunder, he lift up her head to the view of all the assembly, and bad God save the Queen: then her dressing of lawne falling of from her head, it appeared as grey as one of threescore and tenn years old, polled very shorte, her face in a moment being so much altered from the forme she had when she was alive, as few could remember her by her dead face. Her lippes stired up and downe for a quarter of an hour after her head was cut off.

Then Mr. Dean said with a lowde voice, "So perishe all the Queen's enemyes;" and afterwards the Earle of Kente came to the dead body, and standing over it, with a lowde voice, said, "Such end of all the Queen and the gospelles enemyes."

Then one of the executioners pulling off her

garters, espied her little dogg, which was crept under her clothes, which could not be gotten but by force, yet afterward would not departe from the dead corpese, but came and lay betweene her head and her shoulders, which being imbued with her bloode, was caryed away and washed, as all things ells wer that had any bloode was either burned or clean washed, and the executioners were sent away with money for their fees, not having any one thing that belonged unto her, and so every man being comaunded out of the hall, except the sherife and his men, she was caryed by them into a great chamber, lying ready for the surgeons to embalme her.

Robert Carvyle of Berwick, to Secretary Walsingham, after the death of the Scottish Queen.

[MS, Cotton. Calig. c. IX, fol. 171, Orig.]

Righte Honorable, my dutie remembered, these are to sertifie your Honor that I have bene in Scotland ever synce the last of February, and colde get no dispatche untill Monday the sixt of this instant, att nyne of the clock in the mornynge, and then I receyved att th' ands of the secretary, whoe ruleth the courte, a letter to Mr. Carie from hym, by waraunte from the Kyng's Matie, and was to this effecte, that he showlde write that the Kynge wolde receyve no Embassador as yet, partly by reason of his hevines and sorrowinge for his mother, and also for that he his not resolved that the Queen's Matie, is so

soray for his mother's deat has he was informed she was: and further because he cannot staye the rigor of his peouple, beinge wickedly bent and evill given, as I both hard and sawe with myne eyes, for there is dayely libells sett up in open strete, and cast into the pulpet, boathe ageynst the Kynge himself, the Master of Gray, Mr. Archibald Dowglas, and the preachers; and amongst the rest, the fourth of this instant there were two set upp att my lodgings, very odiouse and detestable against the Queen's Matie, the Coppie whereof I have sent you herein closed, which two I toke off, and the one I gave two the secretary to shewe the Kinge, the other Mr. Robert Carye hath to send to my L. Chamberlayne; and truly I finde for all this sturr that the secretary is very well incliened towards her Matie, and a favoror towards the maigntenaunce of peace and amitie, and the Kynge himself also; but towchinge the sendinge away of Embassadors in to other countries, they are not yet fully agreed, and towchinge the M^r. of Grey and his doinges, your Honor shall here more in Roger Ashton his packquet; and untill my next I humbly take leave, comyttinge your Honor now and ever to the protection of th' Almightie, trustinge you will accept my good will. Barwick in hast, the vj^th of Marche, 1586.

Yo^r Hono^rs to my power,

ROBART CARVYLE

Postescript.—Curell's man stands faste and firm, and is ready to be employed when I shall hear from yor Honor; it were good that the secretary were used, for he is very gret: your Honor shall receyve a pacquet from Roger Ashton.

(*Inclosure.*)

Fruere profunere fune.
To Iesabell that English heure,
Receyve this Scottishe cheyne,*
As presagies of her gret malhouer
For murchuring of our Quene.

[*MS. Cotton, Calig. c. IX. fol.* 221, *orig.*]

*** James the Sixth, it is probable, forgave Elizabeth for his mother's death much sooner than his people did: within three months of that event, by the testimony of the present letter, "he determined wholly to depend upon her Majesty, and to run her fortune against the whole world." He departed suddenly from Edinburgh to Falkland, merely to see the deer that her Majesty had sent him, to be taken out of the carts and put into the park, but with one little void in his wishes "he hath prayed me," says Randolph, "that by your Honor, her Majesty may be moved to lend him for the space of two months, a couple of her Majesty's yeoman prickers, and a couple of the grooms; of the least, he prayed me also to

* The cheyne was a little cord of hemp tied halter-wise.

put your honour in remembrance of some horses and geldings. James was politically, not personally, acquainted with his mother.

The appearance of content with which Queen Elizabeth affected to live and die a maiden queen, is pretty generally known. Those, however, who refer to the original papers of her time, will learn that this content was subject to vibrations. Marriage, indeed, whether for herself or others, was a constant source of perplexity. Sir William Cecil, in two or three of his letters, speaks of the double offer of matrimony to the Queen; the projected marriage of the Queen of Scots; and the secret but undignified marriage of the Lady Mary Grey, as all going on at the same time. Lady Catherine Grey and Lord Hertford were in prison.

Royal Bill of Fare, &c.

Expenses of Entertaining King James II. *at Coventry,* 1687.

[From the Corporation Records.]

On the first of September, 1687, King James II. came to Coventry. The mayor, (one Septimus Bott, an apothecary,) and aldermen, having notice of his intention, provided a cup of massy gold, weighing about 3lbs., price 167*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* (Another MS. says, 171*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) Also supposing he would choose to lodge at the White-

friars, sent the constable to warn all householders, between Spon-Bargates and Newgate, to whiten their houses and sand their streets, and dress the fronts of their houses with green boughs, which was done; but the day before the harbinger came, and declared his Majesty would lodge at the house of Richard Hopkins, Esq. in High-street, near the drapery door. The mayor ordered also the companies to meet that morning; and about noon the mayor and aldermen rode on horseback from St. Mary's-hall to Spon-bars, being attended by the several companies, with their streamers, and with drums, and with all manner of music that could be got; besides which, about 200 citizens, most dissenters, went to meet his Majesty as far as Mender, where his Majesty shewed them great respect. Also the deputy lieutenant met his Majesty at Guildford, where Sir Thomas Norton made an excellent speech. About five at night, his Majesty came to Spon-bars, where the mayor presented the gold cup; and the steward read or made a speech to his Majesty, and the mayor delivered to the King the sword; after which the mayor and aldermen rode before his Majesty, the mayor carrying the sword; the senior alderman, Nathaniel Harriman, the cup of maintenance; Alderman Webster, the great mace; and the next in seniority, the other mace; and so rode before his Majesty to his lodgings; the companies stand-

ing on both side Spon-street till his Majesty was passed, and then followed into the city. Next morning, the mayor and aldermen attended his Majesty from his lodgings to the Cross, and thence through Trinity Church unto St. Michael's, where he touched about 300 persons for the evil; then had a stately breakfast and banquet at St. Mary's-hall, at the City's charge, and was attended thence to his lodgings, where he took horse, being attended by the mayor and aldermen on horseback, as far as Baggenton Bridge, the several companies, with their streamers, standing on both sides Much Park-street, at his Majesty's passing by. Most of the nobility and gentry of the country waited on the King when at Coventry, and such numbers of country people flocked in, that standings at the window of front rooms, cost 12*d.* each.

Spent by the Corporation of Coventry, at the Entertainment of KING JAMES II. *in his Progress through Coventry.*

(Mr. RICHARD HAYWOOD, Treasurer.)

	£	s.	d.
Gave a gold cup	171	17	6
Mr. Septimus Bott, mayor, for sweetmeats	27	17	0
Meat	13	14	0
Wine	21	12	6

Homage fee	41	6	8
King's cook	10	0	0
City cook	9	8	6
Steward Fielding, for making a speech to his Majesty	5	7	6
For linen spoiled, borrowed of Mrs. Smith, Spon-street	2	12	6
The alderman that went to Worcester to invite him	3	18	9
Several companies for waiting on the King	27	9	4
Alderman Webster, for meat	3	6	0
Alderman Bradney, for corn	3	5	6
His Majesty's clerk of the market	1	1	6
The King's trumpeters	2	0	0
Richard Howcott, for carrying the city streamer	0	7	0
The city bailiff's bill, for fish, fowl, and wine	88	18	2
	£434	2	9

Secret History *of* Charles I. *and his* Queen Henrietta.

The secret history of Charles I. and his Queen Henrietta of France, opens a different scene from the one exhibited in the passionate drama of our history. The King is accused of the most spiritless uxoriousness; and the chaste fondness of a husband is placed among his political errors.

Even Hume conceives, that his Queen "precipitated him into hasty and imprudent counsels:" and Bishop Kennet had alluded to "the influence of a stately Queen over an affectionate husband." The uxoriousness of Charles is re-echoed by all the writers of a certain party,—an odium which the King's enemies first threw out to make him contemptible; while his apologists imagined that, in perpetuating this accusation, they had discovered, in a weakness which at least has something amiable, some palliation for his own political misconduct. The factious, too, by this aspersion, promoted the alarm they spread in the nation, of the King's inclination to popery; yet, on the contrary, Charles was then making a determined stand, and at length triumphed over a Catholic faction, which was ruling his Queen, and this at the risk and menace of a war with France. Yet this firmness too has been denied him, even by his apologist Hume: that historian, on his preconceived system, imagined, that every action of Charles originated in the Duke of Buckingham, and that the Duke pursued his personal quarrel with Richlieu, and taking advantage of these domestic quarrels, had persuaded Charles to dismiss the French attendants of the Queen.—*Hume*, vol. vi. p. 234.

Fortunately, however, there are two letters from Charles I. to Buckingham, preserved in the

state papers of Lord Hardwicke, which set this point at rest; which decisively prove that the whole matter originated with the King himself, and that Buckingham had tried every effort to persuade him to the contrary; for the King complains, that he had been too long overcome by his persuasions, but that he was now "resolved it must be done, and that shortly."

Lord Hardwicke's State Papers, II. c. 3.

It is remarkable, that the character of a queen, who is imagined to have performed so active a part in our history, scarcely ever appears in it; when abroad and when she returned to England, in the midst of a winter storm, bringing all the aid she could to her unfortunate consort, those who witnessed this appearance of energy imagined that her character was equally powerful in the cabinet. Yet Henrietta, after all, was nothing more than a volatile woman; one who had never studied, never reflected, and whom nature had formed to be charming and haughty, but whose vivacity could not retain even a state secret for an hour, and whose talents were quite opposite to those of deep political intrigue. Henrietta viewed even the characters of great men with all the sensations of a woman. Describing the Earl of Stafford to a confidential friend, and having observed that he was a great man, she dwelt with far more interest on his person: "Though not handsome," said she, "he was

agreeable enough, and he had the finest hands of any man in the world. Landing at Bullington Bay, in Yorkshire, she lodged on the quay: the parliament's admiral barbarously pointed his cannon as the house, and several shot reaching it, her favourite, Jermyn, requested her to fly; she safely reached a cavern in the fields, but, recollecting that she had left a lap-dog asleep in its bed, she flew back, and amidst the cannon shot, returned with this other favourite. The Queen related this incident of the lap-dog to her friend Madame Motteville; these ladies considered it as a complete woman's victory. It is in these memoirs we find, that when Charles went down to the house, to seize on the five leading members of the opposition; the Queen could not retain her lively temper, and immediately babbled the plot; so that one of the ladies in attendance despatched a hasty note to the parties, who, as the King entered the house, had just time to leave it. Some have dated the ruin of his cause to the failure of that impolitic step, which alarmed every one zealous for that spirit of political freedom which had now grown up in the commons. Incidents like these mark the feminine disposition of Henrietta. But when at sea, in danger of being taken by a parliamentarian, the Queen commanded the captain not to strike, but to prepare at the extremity to

* This was on the 22nd of February, 1643: and according to Dugdale (vide extract, *passim*) she was fired at on the 24th.

blow up the ship, resisting the shrieks of her females and domestics, we perceive how, on every trying occasion, Henrietta never forgot that she was the daughter of Henry IV., but that glorious affinity was inherited by her with all the sexual pride; and hence, at times, that energy in her actions which was so far above her intellectual capacity. And, indeed, when the awful events she had witnessed were one by one registered in her melancholy mind, the sensibility of the woman subdued the natural haughtiness of her character; but, true woman! the feeling creature of circumstances, at the restoration she resumed it, and when the new court of Charles II. would not endure her absolute haughtiness, the dowager Queen left it in all the full bitterness of her spirit. An habitual gloom, and the meagerness of grief, during the commonwealth, had changed a countenance once the most lively, and her eyes, whose dark and dazzling lustre was ever celebrated, then only shone in tears. When she told her physician, Sir Theodore Mayerne, that she found her understanding was failing her, and seemed terrified lest it was approaching to madness, the court physician, hardly courtly to fallen majesty, replied, "Madame, fear not that; for you are already mad." Henrietta had lived to contemplate the awful changes of her reign, without comprehending them.

Waller, in the profusion of poetical decora-

tion, makes Henrietta so beautiful, that her beauty would affect every lover "more than his private loves." She was "the whole world's mistress." A portrait, in crayon, of Henrietta, at Hampton-court, sadly reduces all his poetry, for the miraculous was only in the fancy of the court-poet. But there may be some truth in what he says of the eyes of Henrietta :

> "Such eyes as yours, on Jove himself had thrown
> As bright and fierce a lightening as his own."

And in another poem there is one characteristic line—

> "——— Such radiant eyes,
> Such lovely motion, and such sharp replies."

In a MS. letter of the times, the writer describes the Queen as "nimble and quick, black-eyed, brown-haired, and a brave lady *." In the MS. journal of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who saw the Queen on her first arrival in London, cold and puritanic as was that antiquary, he notices with some warmth "the features of her face, which were enlivened by her radiant sparkling black-eye †." She appears to have possessed French vivacity both in her manners and her conversation: in the history of a queen, an accurate conception of her person enters for something. Her talents were not of that order which could influence the revolutions of a people. Her natural dispositions might have allowed her to

* Sloane, MSS. 4176. † Harl. MSS. 646.

become a politician of the toilette, and she might have practised those slighter artifices, which may be considered as so many political coquetries. But Machiavelian principles, and involved intrigues, of which she has been so freely accused, could never have entered into her character. At first she tried all the fertile inventions of a woman to persuade the King that she was his humblest creature, and the good people of England that she was quite in love with them. Now that we know that no female was ever more deeply tainted with catholic bigotry, and that, haughty as she was, this Princess suffered the most insulting superstitions, inflicted as penances by her priests, for this very marriage with a protestant Prince, the following new facts, relating to her first arrival in England, curiously contrast with the mortified feelings she must have endured by the violent suppression of her real ones.

We must first bring forward a remarkable and unnoticed document in the Embassies of Marshal Basompierre*. It is nothing less than a most solemn obligation contracted with the Pope and her brother the king of France, to educate her children as Catholics, and only to choose Catholics to attend them. Had this been known either to Charles, or to the English nation, Henrietta could never have been permitted to ascend the English throne. The fate of both her sons shows

* Ambassades du Mareschal de Bassompierre, vol. iii. 49.

how faithfully she performed this treasonable contract. This piece of secret history opens the concealed cause of those deep impressions of that faith, which both monarchs sucked in with their milk; that triumph of the cradle over the grave which most men experience. Charles II. died a Catholic, James II. lived one.

When Henrietta was on her way to England, a legate from Rome arrested her at Amiens, requiring the princess to undergo a penance, which was to last 16 days, for marrying Charles without the Papal dispensation. The queen stopped her journey, and wrote to inform the king of the occasion. Charles was then waiting for her at Canterbury; and although not at the moment prepared to receive him, Henrietta flew to meet him, and with all spontaneous grace and native vivacity, kneeling at his feet, she kissed his hand, while the king, bending over her, wrapt her in his arms and kissed her with many kisses. This royal and youthful pair, unusual with those of their rank, met with the eagerness of lovers, and the first words of Henrietta were those of devotion. "Sire! Je suis venue en ce pais de votre Majesté pour être usée et commandée de vous." It had been rumoured that she was of a very short stature, but, reaching to the king's shoulder, his eyes were cast down to her feet, seemingly observing whether she used art to increase her height. Anticipating his thoughts,

and playfully showing her feet, she declared that she stood upon her own feet, observing, at the same time, "for thus high I am, and neither higher nor lower." After an hour's conversation in privacy, Henrietta took her dinner, surrounded by the court, and the king, who had already dined, performing the office of her carver, cut a pheasant and some venison. By the side of the queen stood her ghostly confessor, solemnly reminding her that this was the eve of John the Baptist, and was to be fasted, exhorting her to be cautious that she set no scandalous example on her first arrival. But now Charles and his court were gained over as well John the Baptist. She affected to eat very heartily of the forbidden meat, which gave great comfort, it seems, to several of her new heretical subjects then present: but we may conceive the pangs of so confirmed a devotee! She carried her dissimulation so far, that being asked about this time whether she could abide a Hugonot, she replied, "Why not? Was not my father one?" Her ready smiles, the graceful wave of her hand, the many "good signs of hope," as a contemporary in a manuscript letter expresses it, "induced many of the English to believe that Henrietta might even become one of themselves!" Sir Symonds D'Ewes, as appears by his MS. diary, was struck by her deportment to her women, and her looks to her servants, which

were so sweet and humble*!" However, this was in the first days of her arrival, and these "sweet and humble looks" were not constant ones; for a courier at Whitehall, writing to a friend, observes, that "the queen, however little of stature, yet is of a pleasing countenance, if she be pleased; otherwise full of spirit and vigour, and seems of more than ordinary resolution;" and he adds an incident of one of her "frowns." The room in which the queen was at dinner being somewhat overheated with the fire and company, "she drove us all out of the chamber. I suppose none but a queen could have such a scowl†!" We may already detect the fair waxen mask melting away on the features it covered, even in one short month!

By the marriage contract, Henrietta was to be allowed a household establishment, composed of her own people; and this had been contrived to be not less than a small French colony, exceeding three hundred persons. It composed, in fact, a French faction, and looks like a covert project of Richelieu's, to further his intrigues here, by opening a perpetual correspondence with the dis-

* Sir S. Dr. Ewes's journal of his life, Harl. MS. 646—we have seen our puritanic antiquary describing the person of the queen with some warmth, but "he could not abstain from deep-fetched sighs to consider that she wanted the knowledge of true religion;" a circumstance that Henrietta would have as zealously regretted for Sir Symonds himself!

† A letter to Mr. Mead, July 1, 1625. Sloane MSS. 4176.

contented Catholics of England. In the instructions of Basompierre, one of the alledged objects of the marriage is the general good of the Catholic religion, by affording some relief to those English who professed it. If, however, that great statesman ever entertained this political design, the simplicity and pride of the Roman priests here completely overturned it; for in their blind zeal they dared to extend their domestic tyranny over Majesty itself.

The French party had not long resided here, ere the mutual jealousies between the two nations broke out. All the English who were not Catholics were soon dismissed from their attendance on the queen, by herself; while Charles was compelled by the popular cry, to forbid any English Catholics to serve the queen, or to be present at the celebration of her mass. The king was even obliged to employ poursuivants or king's messengers, to stand at the door of her chapel to seize on any of the English who entered there, while on these occasions the French would draw their swords to defend these concealed Catholics. "The queen and hers" became an odious distinction in the nation. Such were the indecent scenes exhibited in public; they were no less reserved in private. The following anecdote of saying a grace before the king, at his own table, in a most indecorous race run between the Catholic priest and the

king's chaplain, is given in a manuscript letter of the times.

"The king and queen dining together* in the presence, Mr. Hacket (chaplain to the Lord Keeper Williams†) being there to say grace, the confessor would have prevented him, but that Hacket shoved him away; whereupon the confessor went to the queen's side, and was about to say grace again, but that the king pulling the dishes unto him, and the carvers falling to their business, hindered. When dinner was done, the confessor thought, standing by the queen, to have been before Mr. Hacket, but Mr. Hacket again got the start. The confessor, nevertheless, begins his grace as loud as Mr. Hacket, with such a confusion, that the king in great passion instantly rose from the table, and, taking the queen by the hand, retired into the bed-chamber‡." It is with difficulty we con-

* At Hampton Court there is a curious picture of Charles and Henrietta dining together in the presence. This regal honour, after its interruption during the civil wars, was revived in 1667 by Charles II., as appears by Evelyn's Diary. "Now did his Majesty *dine again in the presence*, in ancient style, with music and all the court ceremonies."

† The author of the life of this Archbishop and Lord Keeper; a voluminous folio, but full of curious matters. Ambrose Philips the poet, abridged it.

‡ A letter from Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, October, 1625, 4177, Sloane MSS.

ceive how such a scene of priestly indiscretion should have been suffered at the table of an English sovereign. Such, however, are the domestic accounts gleaned from MS. letters of the times; but particulars of a deeper nature may be discovered in the answer of the king's council to Marshal Basompierre, preserved in the history of his Embassy. This marshal had been hastily dispatched as an extraordinary ambassador when the French party were dismissed. This state document, rather a remonstrance than a reply, states that the French household had formed a little republic within themselves, combining with the French resident ambassador, and inciting the opposition members in parliament; a practice usual with that intriguing court, even from the days of Elizabeth, as the original letters of the French ambassador of the time, which will be found in the present volume, amply show; and those of La Baderie, in James the First's time, who raised a French party about Prince Henry; and the correspondence of Barillon, in Charles the Second's reign, so fully exposed in his entire correspondence, published by Fox. The French domestics of the queen were engaged in lower intrigues; they lent their names to hire houses in the suburbs of London, where, under their protection, the English Catholics found a secure retreat to hold their illegal assemblies, and where the youth of both sexes were educated, and pre-

pared to be sent abroad to Catholic seminaries. But the queen's priests, by those well known means which the Catholic religion sanctions, were drawing from the queen the minutest circumstances which passed in privacy between her and the king; indisposed her mind towards her royal consort, impressed on her a contempt of the English nation, and a disgust of our customs, and particularly, as has been usual with the French, made her neglect the English language, as if the queen of England held no common interest with the nation. They had made her residence a place of security for the persons and papers of the discontented. Yet all this was hardly more offensive than the humiliating state to which they had reduced an English queen by their monastic obedience; inflicting the most degrading penances. One of the most flagrant is alluded to in our history. This was a barefoot pilgrimage to Tyburn, where, one morning, under the gallows on which so many Jesuits had been executed as traitors to Elizabeth and James II., she knelt and prayed to them as martyrs and saints, who had shed their blood in the Catholic cause. A MS. letter of the times mentions, that "the priests had also made her dabble in the dirt in a foul morning, from Somerset house to St. James's, her Luciferian confessor riding along by her in her coach! They have made her go barefoot, to spin, to eat her meat out of dishes,

to wait at the table of servants, with many other, ridiculous and absurd penances. And if they dare thus insult (adds the writer) over the daughter, sister, and wife, of so great kings, what slavery would they not make us, the people, to undergo*."

One of the articles in the contract of marriage was, that the queen should have a chapel at St. James's, to be built and consecrated by her French bishop; the priests became very importunate, declaring that without a chapel mass could not be performed with the state it ought before the queen. The king's answer is not that of a man inclined to popery. "If the Queen's closet, where they now say mass, is not large enough, let them have it in the great chamber; and, if the great chamber is not wide enough, they might use the garden; and, if the garden would not serve their turn, then was the park the fittest place." The French priests and the whole party, feeling themselves slighted, and sometimes worse treated, were breeding perpetual quarrels among themselves, grew weary of England, and wished themselves away; but many having purchased their places with all their fortune, would have been ruined by the

* Mr. Pory to Mr. Mead, July 1626, No. 383, Harl. MSS. The answer of the king's council to the complaints of Basompierre is both copious and detailed in vol. iii. p. 166, of the "Ambassades" of this marshal.

breaking up of the establishment, Basompierre alludes to the broils and clamours of these French strangers, which exposed them to the laughter of the English court; and we cannot but smile in observing, in one of the despatches of this great mediator between two kings and a queen, addressed to the minister, that one of the greatest obstacles which he had found in this difficult negociation arose from the Bedchamber women! The French king being desirous of having two additional women to attend the English queen, his sister, the ambassador declares, that it "would be more expedient rather to diminish than increase the number; for they all live so ill together, with such rancorous jealousies and enmities, that I have more trouble to make them agree, than I shall find to accommodate the differences between the two kings. Their continual bickerings, and often their vituperative language, occasion the English to entertain the most contemptible and ridiculous opinions of our nation. I shall not, therefore, insist on this point, unless it shall please his Majesty to renew it."

The French bishop was under the age of thirty, and his authority was imagined to have been but irreverently treated by two beautiful viragos in that civil war of words which was raging; one of whom, Madame St. George, was in high favour, and most intolerably hated by the

English; yet such was English gallantry, that the king presented this lady, on her dismission, with several thousand pounds and jewels. There was something inconceivably ludicrous in the notions of the English, of a bishop hardly of age, and the gravity of whose character was probably tarnished by French gesture and vivacity. This French establishment was daily growing in expense and number: a MS. letter of the times states that it cost the king £240 a-day, and had increased from threescore persons to four hundred and forty, besides children! It was one evening that the king suddenly appeared, and, summoning the French household, commanded them to take their departure,—the carriages were prepared for their removal. In doing this, Charles had to resist the warmest entreaties, and even the vehement anger of the queen, who is said in her rage to have broken several panes of the window of the apartment, to which the king dragged her, and confined her from them*.

The scene which took place among the French people at the sudden announcement of the king's determination, was remarkably indecorous. They instantly flew to take possession of all the queen's wardrobe and jewels; they did not leave her, it appears, a change of linen, since it was with difficulty she procured one as a favour, accord-

* A letter from Mr. Pory to Mr. Mead contains a full account of this transaction Harl. MSS. 383.

ing to some MS. letters of the times. One of their extraordinary expedients was that of inventing bills, for which they pretended they had engaged themselves on account of the queen, to the amount of £10,000, which at first the queen owned to, but afterwards acknowledged the debts were fictitious ones. Among these items was one of £400 for necessaries for her Majesty; an apothecary's bill for drugs of £800, and another of £150, for the bishop's "unholy water," as the writer expresses it. The young French bishop attempted by all sort of delays to avoid this ignominious expulsion; till the king was forced to send his yeomen of the guards to turn them out from Somerset house, where the juvenile French bishop, at once protesting against it, and mounting the steps of the coach, took his departure "head and shoulders." It appears that to pay the debts and pensions, besides sending the French troops free home, cost £50,000. In a long procession of nearly forty coaches, after four days' tedious travelling, they reached Dover; but the spectacle of these impatient foreigners so reluctantly quitting England, gesticulating their sorrows or their quarrels, exposed them to the derision, and stirred up the prejudices of the common people. As Madame George, whose vivacity is always described as extravagantly French, was stepping into the boat, one of the mob could not resist the satisfac-

tion of flinging a stone at her French cap; an English courtier, who was conducting her, instantly quitted his charge, ran the fellow through the body, and quietly returned to the boat. The man died on the spot; but no further notice appears to have been taken of the inconsiderate gallantry of this English courtier.

But Charles did not show his kingly firmness only on this occasion: it did not forsake him when the French marshal Basompierre was instantly sent over to awe the king: Charles sternly offered the alternative of war, rather than permit a French faction to trouble an English court. Basompierre makes a curious observation in a letter to the French Bishop of Mende, he who had been just sent away from England; and which serves as the most positive evidence of the firm refusal of Charles! The French marshal, after stating the total failure of his mission, exclaims, "See, sir, to what we are reduced! and imagine my grief, that the Queen of Great Britain has the pain of viewing my departure without being of any service to her; but if you consider that I was sent here to *make a contract of marriage observed, and to maintain the Catholic religion in a country from which they formerly banished it, to break a contract of marriage*, you will assist in excusing me of this failure." The French marshal has also preserved the same distinctive feature of the nation,

as well as of the monarch, who, surely to his honour as King of England, felt and acted on this occasion as a true Briton. "I have found," says the Gaul, "humility among Spaniards, civility and courtesy among the Swiss, in the embassies I had the honour to perform for the king; but the English would not in the least abate of their natural pride and arrogance. The king is so resolute not to establish any French about the queen, his consort, and was so stern (rude) in speaking to me, that it is impossible to have been more so." In a word, the French marshal, with all his vaunts and his threats, discovered that Charles I. was the true representative of his subjects; and that the king had the same feelings with the people: this indeed was not always the case! This transaction took place in 1626, and when, four years afterwards, it was attempted again to introduce certain French persons, a bishop and a physician, about the queen, the king absolutely refused even a French physician who had come over with the intention of being chosen the queen's, under the sanction of the queen-mother. This little circumstance appears in a manuscript letter from Lord Dorchester to Mr. de Vic, one of the king's agents at Paris. After an account of the arrival of this Frenchman, his lordship proceeds to notice the former determinations of the king; "yet this man," he adds, "hath been addressed

to the ambassador to introduce him unto the court, and the queen persuaded in cleare and plaine terms to speak to the king to admit him as a domestique. His majesty expressed his dislike of this proceeding, but contented himself to let the ambassador know that this doctor may return as he has come, with intimation that he should do it speedily; the French ambassador, willing to help the matter, spake to the king that the said doctor might be admitted to kiss the queen's hand and to carrie the news into France of her safe delivery; which the king excused by a civil answer; and has since commanded me to let the ambassador understand, that he had heard him as M. de Fontenay in this particular, but, if he should persist and press him, as ambassador, he should be forced to say that which would displease him." Lord Dorchester adds, that he informs M. de Vic of these particulars, that he should not want for the information should the matter be revived in the French court, otherwise he need not notice it *.

By this narrative of the secret history of Charles I. he does not appear so weak a slave to his queen as our writers echo from each other; and those who make Henrietta so important a personage in the cabinet, appear to have been imperfectly acquainted with her real talents.

* A letter from the Earl of Dorchester, 27 May, 1630.—*Harl. MSS.* 7000, 160.

Charles, indeed, was deeply enamoured of the queen, for he was inclined to strong personal attachments: and "the temperance of his youth, by which he had lived so free from personal vice," as May, the parliamentary historian, expresses it, even the gay levity of Buckingham seems never, in approaching the king, to have violated. Charles admired in Henrietta all those personal charms which he himself wanted; her vivacity in conversation enlivened his own seriousness, and her gay volubility the defective utterance of his own; while the versatility of her manners relieved his own formal habits. Doubtless, the queen exercised the same power over this monarch which vivacious females are privileged by nature to possess over their husbands; she was often listened to, and her suggestions were sometimes approved; but the fixed and systematic principles of the character, and the government of this monarch, must not be imputed to the intrigues of a mere lively and volatile woman; we must trace them to a higher source; to his own inherited conceptions of the regal rights, if we would seek for truth, and read the history of human nature in the history of Charles I.

Of Charles's romantic excursions into Spain, for the Infanta, many curious particulars are scattered in foreign writers, which display the superstitious prejudices which prevailed on this

occasion, and, perhaps develop the mysterious politics of the courts of Spain and Rome. Cardinal Gaetano, who had long been nuncio in Spain, observes, that the people, accustomed to revere the inquisition as the oracle of divinity, abhorred the proposal of the marriage of the Infanta with an heretical prince; but that the king's council, and all wise politicians, were desirous of its accomplishment. Gregory XV. held a consultation of cardinals, where it was agreed, that the just apprehension which the English Catholics entertained of being more cruelly persecuted, if this marriage failed, was a sufficient reason to justify the pope. The dispensation was, therefore, immediately granted, and sent to the nuncio of Spain, with orders to inform the Prince of Wales, in case of rupture, that no impediment of the marriage proceeded from the court of Rome, who, on the contrary, had expedited the dispensation. The prince's excursion to Madrid, however, was universally blamed, as being inimical to state interests. Nani, author of a history of Venice, which, according to his digressive manner, is the universal history of his times, has noticed this affair. "The people talked, and the English murmured more than any other nation to see the only son of the king, and heir of his realms, venture on so long a voyage, and present himself rather as a hostage than a husband to a foreign court, which so

widely differed in government and religion, to obtain, by force of prayer and supplications, a woman whom Philip and his ministers made a point of honour and conscience to refuse.

The English council, observes Houssaie, were against it, but King James obstinately resolved on it, being over persuaded by Gondamar, the Spanish ambassador, whose facetious humour and lively repartees greatly delighted him. Gondamar persuaded him that the presence of the prince would not fail of accomplishing this union, and also the restitution of the electorate to his son-in-law, the Palatine. Add to this the Earl of Bristol, the English ambassador extraordinary at the court of Madrid, finding it his interest, wrote repeatedly to his Majesty, that the success was certain if the prince came there, for that the Infanta would be charmed with his personal appearance and polished manners. It was thus that James, seduced by these two ambassadors, and by his parental affection for both his children, permitted the Prince of Wales to travel into Spain *.

According to Wicquefort, James, in all this, was the dupe of Gondamar, who well knew the impossibility of this marriage, which was alike inimical to the interests of politics and the inquisition. For a long time he amused his Majesty with hopes, and even got money for the

* This account differs from Clarendon.

household expenses of the future queen. He acted his part so well, that the king of Spain recompensed the knave, on his return, with a seat in the council of state.

There is preserved in the British Museum, a considerable series of letters which passed between James I. and the Duke of Buckingham and Charles, during their residence in Spain. The following particulars of this mysterious affair are gleaned from two English contemporaries, Howel and Wilson, who wrote from their own observations. Howel had been employed in this projected match, and, during its negotiation, resided at Madrid. Describing the first interview of Charles and the Infanta, he says, "The Infanta wore a blue riband round her arm, that the Prince might distinguish her; and as soon as she saw the Prince her colour rose very high." Wilson informs us that, "two days after their interview, the Prince was invited to run at the ring, where his fair mistress was a spectator; and, to the glory of his fortune and the great contentment both of himself and the lookers on, he took the ring the very first course." Writing from Madrid, Howel says, "The people here do mightily magnify the gallantry of the journey, and cry out that he deserved to have the Infanta thrown into his arms the first night he came." The people appear, however, some time after, to doubt if the English had

any religion at all. Again, "I have seen the Prince have his eyes immoveably fixed upon the Infanta half an hour together, in a thoughtful, speculative posture." Olivares, who was no friend to this match, coarsely observed that the Prince watched her as a cat does a mouse. Charles, indeed, acted every thing that a lover, in one of the old Romances, could have done. He once leapt over the walls of her garden, and only retired by the entreaties of the old Marquis, who then guarded her, and who, falling on his knees, solemnly protested that, if the Prince spoke to her, his head would answer for it. He watched hours in the street to meet her; and Wilson says he gave such liberal presents to the court, as well as Buckingham to the Spanish beauties, that the Lord Treasurer Middlesex complained repeatedly of their wasteful prodigality. Wilson informs us, that the mode in which this match was consented to by the courts of Spain and Rome, was as follows:—Charles agreed that any one should freely propose to *him* the arguments in favour of the Catholic religion, without giving any impediment, but that he would never, directly or indirectly, permit any one to speak to the *Infanta* against the same. They probably had tampered with Charles concerning his religion. A letter of Gregory XV. to him is preserved in Wilson's life. Olivares said to Buckingham, you gave

me some assurance and hope of the Prince's *turning Catholic*. The Duke roundly answered that it was false. The Spanish minister, confounded at the bluntness of the English Duke, broke from him in a violent rage, and lamented that state matters would not suffer him to do himself justice. This insult was never forgiven; and some time afterwards he attempted to revenge himself on Buckingham, by endeavouring to persuade James that he was at the head of a conspiracy against him *.

Wilson says that both nations rejoiced.—"Preparations were made in England to entertain the Infanta; a new church was built at St. James's, the foundation stone of which was laid by the Spanish ambassador, for the public exercise of her religion; her portrait was multiplied in every corner of the town: such as hoped to flourish under her eye, suddenly began to be powerful. In Spain, as quaintly expressed by Wilson, the substance was as much courted as the shadow here. Howel, indeed, tells us, that the Infanta was applying hard to the English language, and was already called the Princess of English. To be brief, Charles repeatedly complained of the protracted delays; and he and the Spanish Court parted with a thousand civilities. The Infanta, however, ob-

* These anecdotes are not to be met with in either Hume or Smollett.

served, that had the Prince loved her, he would not have quitted her."

How, says a late writer, shall we dispel those clouds of mystery with which politics have covered this strange transaction? It appears that James had in view the restoration of the Palatinate to his daughter, whom he could not effectually assist; that the Court of Rome had speculations of the most dangerous tendency to the Protestant religion; that the marriage was broken off by that personal hatred which existed between Olivares and Buckingham; and that, if there was any sincerity existing between the parties concerned, it rested with the Prince and the Infanta, who were both youthful and romantic, and were but two beautiful ivory balls in the hands of great players.

CHARLES THE FIRST'S LOVE OF THE FINE ARTS*.

HERBERT, the faithful attendant of Charles I. during the last two years of the king's life, mentions "a diamond seal, with the king's arms engraved on it." The history of this diamond seal is remarkable; and seems to have been recovered by the conjectural sagacity of Warburton, who never exercised his favourite talent with greater felicity. The following passage is

* Israeli, vol. iii. p. 375.

transcribed from a manuscript letter to Dr. Buch.

"If you have read Hubert's account of the last days of Charles the First's life, you must remember he tells a story of a diamond seal, with the arms of England cut into it. This King Charles ordered to be given, I think, to the Prince. I suppose you don't know what became of this seal, but would be surprised to find it afterwards in the Court of Persia. Yet there Tavernier certainly carried it, and offered it for sale, as I certainly collect from these words of vol. i. p. 541.—'Me souvenant de ce qui etoit arrivé au chevalier de Reville,' &c. He tells us he told the prime minister what was engraved on the diamond was the arms of a Prince of Europe; but, says he, I would not be more particular, remembering the case of Reville. Reville's case was this: he came to seek employment under the Sophy, who asked him 'where he had served?' He said, 'in England, under Charles I., and that he was a captain in his guards.'—'Why, then, did you leave his service?'—'He was murdered by cruel rebels.'—'And how had you the impudence,' says the Sophy, 'to survive him?' And so disgraced him. Now Tavernier was afraid, if he had said the arms of England had been on the seal, that they would have occasioned the enquiry into the old story. You will ask how

Tavernier got this seal? I suppose that the Prince, in his necessities, sold it to Tavernier, who was at Paris when the English Court was there. What made me recollect Hubert's account on reading this was the singularity of an impress cut on a diamond; which Tavernier represents as a most extraordinary rarity. Charles I. was a great virtuoso, and delighted particularly in sculpture and painting."

This is an instance of conjectural evidence, where an historical fact seems established on no other authority than the ingenuity of a student, exercised in his library on a private and secret event, a century after it had occurred. The diamond seal of Charles I. may, probably, be yet discovered in the treasures of the Persian sovereign. Warburton, who had ranged with keen delight through the age of Charles I., the noblest and the most humiliating in our own history, and in that of the world perpetually instructive, has justly observed the king's passion for the fine arts. It was indeed such, that had the reign of Charles I. proved prosperous, that sovereign, about 1640, would have anticipated those tastes, and even that enthusiasm, which are still almost foreign to the nation.

The mind of Charles was moulded by the graces; his favourite Buckingham was probably a greater favourite for those congenial tastes, and the frequent exhibition of those splendid

masques and entertainments, which combined all the picture of ballet-dances, with the voice of music, the charms of the verse of Jonson, the scenic machinery of Inigo Jones, and the variety of fanciful devices of Gerbier, the Duke's architect, the bosom friend of Rubens. There was a costly magnificence in the *fêtes* at York house, the residence of Buckingham, of which few but curious researchers are aware: they eclipsed the splendour of the French court; for Basompierre, in one of his despatches, declares he had never witnessed a similar magnificence. He describes the vaulted apartments; the ballets at supper, which were proceeding between the services, with various representations, theatrical changes, and those of the tables, and the music; the Duke's own contrivance, to prevent the inconvenience of pressure, by having a turning door made like that of the monasteries, which admitted only one person at a time. The following extract from a manuscript letter of the times, conveys a lively account of one of these *fêtes*.

"Last Sunday at night, the Duke's grace entertained their Majesties and the French ambassador at York-house, with great feasting and show, where all things came down in clouds; amongst which one rare device was a representation of the French King, and the two queens, with their chiefest attendants, and so to the life, that the Queen's Majesty could name them. It

was four o'clock in the morning before they parted, and then the King and Queen, together with the French ambassador, lodged there: Some estimate this entertainment at five or six thousand pounds*." At another time, "the King and Queen were entertained at supper, at Gerbier, the Duke's painter's house, which could not stand him in less than ten thousand pounds." Sir Symonds D'Ewes mentions banquets at five hundred pounds. "The fullest account I have found," says Israeli, "of one of these entertainments, which at once shew the curiosity of the scenical machinery, and the fancy of the poet, the richness of the crimson habits of the gentlemen, and the white dresses, with white heron's plumes, and jewelled head-dresses, and ropes of pearls of the ladies, was in a manuscript letter of the times, with which I supplied the editor of Jonson, who has preserved the narrative in his memoirs of that poet†." "Such were the magnificent entertainments," says Mr. Gifford, in his introduction to Massinger, "which, though modern refinement may affect to despise them, modern splendour never reached, even in thought." That the expenditure was costly, proves that the greater encouragement was offered to artists; nor should Buckingham be censured, as some will incline to, for his lavish expense; it was not

* Sloane MSS. 176, letter 5367.

† Mr. Gifford's Memoirs of Jonson, p. 88.

unusual with the great nobility then; for the literary Duchess of Newcastle, mentions that an entertainment of this sort, which the Duke gave to Charles I., cost her lord between four and five thousand pounds. This ascetic puritan would indeed abhor these scenes; but their magnificence was also designed to infuse into the national character gentler feelings, and more elegant tastes; they charmed even those fierce republican spirits in their tender youth. Milton owes his Arcades and his delightful Comus to a masque at Ludlow castle; and WHITELOCKE, who was himself an actor and manager, in "a splendid royal masque of the four inns of court joining together," to go to court about the time that Prynne published his Histriomatrix, "to manifest the difference of their opinions from Mr. Prynne's new learning, seems, even at a later day, when drawing up his "Memorials of the English affairs," and occupied by graver concerns, to have dwelt with all the fondness of reminiscence on the stately shows and masques of his more innocent age; and has devoted, in a chronicle which contracts many an important event into a single paragraph, six folio columns, to a minute and very curious description of "these dreams past, and these vanished pomps."

Charles the First, indeed, not only possessed a critical tact, but extensive knowledge in the fine arts, and the relics of antiquity. In his

flight, in 1642, the King stopped at the abode of the religious family of the Farrars at Gedding, who had there raised a singular monastic institution among themselves. One of their favourite amusements had been to form an illustrated bible, the wonder and the talk of the country. In turning it over, the King would tell his companion, the Palsgrave, whose curiosity in prints exceeded his knowledge, the various masters, and the character of the inventions. When Panzani, a secret agent of the Pope, was sent over to England to promote the Catholic cause, the subtle and elegant Cardinal Barberini, called the Protector of the English at Rome, introduced Panzani to the King's favour, by making him appear an agent, rather for procuring him fine pictures, statues, and curiosities; and the earnest enquiries and orders given by Charles I. prove his perfect knowledge of the most beautiful existing remains of ancient art. "The statues go on prosperously," says Cardinal Barberini, in a letter to Mazarine, "nor shall I hesitate to rob Rome of her most valuable ornaments, if, in exchange, we might be so happy as to have the King of England's name among those princes who submit to the apostolic see." Charles I. was particularly urgent to procure a statue of Adonis, in the villa Ludovisia; every effort was made by the Queen's confessor, Father Philips, and the vigilant cardinal at Rome; but the inexorable Duchess of

Fiano would not suffer it to be separated from her rich collection of statues and paintings, even for the chance conversion of a whole kingdom of heretics*.

This monarch, who possessed "four and twenty palaces, all of them elegantly and completely furnished," had formed very considerable collections. "The value of pictures had doubled in Europe, by the emulation between our Charles and Philip the fourth of Spain, who was touched with the same elegant passion." When the rulers of fanaticism began their reign, "all the King's furniture was put to sale; his pictures, disposed of at very low prices, enriched all the collections in Europe: the cartoons, when complete, were only appraised at 300*l*., though the whole collection of the King's curiosities were sold at above 30,000*l*.†" Hume adds, "the very library and medals at St. James's, were intended by the generals to be brought to auction, in order to pay the arrears of some regiments of cavalry; but Selden, apprehensive of this loss, engaged his friend Whitelocke, then lord-keeper

* *Vide* Gregorio Panzani's memoirs of his agency in England. This work long lay in manuscript, and was only known to us in the Catholic Dodd's Church History, by partial extracts. It was at length translated from the Italian MS. and published by the Rev. Joseph Berington; a curious piece of his own secret history.

† Hume's History of England, vii. 342. His authority is Parl. Hist. xix. 83.

of the commonwealth, to apply for the office of librarian. This contrivance saved that valuable collection." This account is only partly correct: the love of books, which formed the passion of the two learned scholars, whom Hume notices, fortunately intervened to save the royal collection from the intended scattering; but the pictures and medals were, perhaps, objects too slight in the eyes of the book-learned; they were resigned to the singular fate of appraisement. After the restoration, very many books were missing; but scarcely a third part of the medals remained: of the strange manner in which these precious remains of ancient art and history were valued and disposed of, the following account may not be read without interest:

In March, 1648, the parliament ordered commissioners to be appointed, to inventory the goods and personal estate of the late King, Queen, and Prince, and appraise them for the use of the public. And in April 1648, an act, adds Whitelocke, in his memorials, was committed, for inventorying the late King's goods, &c.

This very inventory, says Israeli, (vol. iii. p. 383,) I have examined. It forms a magnificent folio of near a thousand pages, of an extraordinary dimension, bound in crimson velvet, and richly gilt, written in a fair large hand, but with little knowledge of the objects which the inventory-writer describes. It is entitled, "An

Inventory of the Goods, Jewels, Plate, &c. belonging to King Charles I. sold by Order of the Council of State, from the Year 1649 to 1652." So that from the decapitation of the King, a year was allowed to draw up the inventory; and the sale proceeded during these years.

From this manuscript catalogue, (Harl. MS. 4898,) to give a long extract would be superfluous: it has, however, afforded some remarkable observations. Every article was appraised; nothing was sold under the affixed price, but a slight competition sometimes seems to have raised the sum; and when the Council of State could not get the sum appraised, the gold and silver were sent to the mint; and assuredly many fine works of art were valued by the ounce. The names of the purchasers appear; they are usually English, but probably many were the agents of foreign courts. The coins or medals were thrown promiscuously into drawers: one drawer, having 24 medals, was valued at 2*l.* 10*s.*; another of twenty, at 1*l.*; another of twenty-four, at 1*l.*; and one drawer, containing forty-six silver coins, with the box, was sold for 5*l.* On the whole the medals seem not to have been valued at more than a shilling a piece. The appraiser was certainly no antiquary.

The King's curiosities in Tower Jewel-house generally fetched above the price fixed; the

toys of art could please the unlettered minds that had no conception of its works.

The temple of Jerusalem, made of ebony and amber, fetched 25*l.*

A fountain of silver for perfumed waters, artificially made to play of itself, sold for 30*l.*

A chess-board, said to be Queen Elizabeth's, inlaid with gold, silver, and pearls, 23*l.*

A conjuring drum from Lapland, with an almanack cut on a piece of wood; several sections in silver of a Turkish galley, a Venetian gondola, an Indian canoe, and a first-rate man of war; a Saxon king's mace used in war, with a ball full of spikes, and the handle covered with gold plates, and enamelled, sold for 37*l.* 8*s.*

A gorget of massy gold, chased with the manner of a battle, weighing thirty-one ounces, at 3*l.* 10*s.* per ounce, was sent to the mint.

A Roman shield of buff leather, covered with a plate of gold, finely chased with a Gorgon's head, set round the rim with rubies, emeralds, turquoise, stones, in number 137, 132*l.* 12*s.*

The pictures taken from Whitehall, Windsor, Wimbledon, Greenwich, Hampton-court, &c. exhibit, in number, an unparalleled collection. By what standard they were valued, it would be difficult to conjecture; from 50*l.* to 100*l.* seems to have been the limits of the appraiser's taste

and imagination. Some, whose price is whimsically low, may have been thus rated, from a political feeling respecting the portrait of the person; there are, however, in this singular appraised catalogue, two pictures, which were rated at, and sold for, the remarkable sum of one and of two thousand pounds. The one was a sleeping Venus, by Correggio; the other a Madonna, by Raphael: there was also a picture, by Julio Romana, called "the great Piece of the Nativity," at 500*l.*: "The Little Madonna and Christ, by Raphael, at 300*l.*; "The Great Venus and Parde," by Titian, at 600*l.* These seem to have been the only pictures, in this immense collection, which reached a picture's price. The inventory-writer had probably been instructed by the public voice of their value; which, however, would in the present day be considered much under a fourth. Rubens' "Woman taken in Adultery," described as a large picture, sold for 20*l.*; and his "Peace and Plenty," with many figures big as the life, for 100*l.* Titian's pictures seem generally valued at 100*l.* "Venus dressed by the Graces," by Guido, reached to 200*l.*

The cartoons of Raphael, here called "The Acts of the Apostles," notwithstanding their subject was so congenial to the popular feelings, and only appraised at 300*l.* could find no purchasers!

The following full-lengths of celebrated per-

sonages were rated at the whimsical prices annexed to them:

Queen Elizabeth in her parliamentary robes; valued 1*l.*

The Queen Mother in mourning habit, valued 3*l.*

Picture of Buchanan, valued 3*l.* 10*s.*

The King when a youth, in coats, valued 2*l.*

The picture of the Queen when she was pregnant, sold for 5*s.*

King Charles on horseback, by Sir Anthony Vandyke, was purchased by Balthazar Gerbia, at the appraised price of 200*l.*

The greatest sums were produced by the tapestry and arras hangings, which were chiefly purchased for the service of the Protector; their amount exceeds 30,000l.; a few of which are here noted:

At Hampton Court, ten pieces of arras hangings of Abraham, containing 826 yards, at ten pounds per yard, 8260*l.* Ten pieces of Julius Cæsar, 727 ells, at 7*l.*, 5019*l.*

One of the cloth of estates is described as follows:

"One rich cloth of estate of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, having the arms of England within a garter, with all the furniture suitable thereunto. The state containing these stones following: two cameos or agates, twelve chrysalites, twelve balluses or garnets, one sap-

phire seated in chases of gold, one long pearl pendant, and many large and small pearls, valued at 500*l.*, sold for 602*l.* 10*s.* to Mr. Oliver*, 4th of February, 1649."

All the "cloth of estate" and "arras hangings" were afterwards purchased for the service of the Protector; and one may venture to conjecture, that when Mr. Oliver purchased this "rich cloth of estate," it was not without a latent motive of its service to the new owner†.

There is one circumstance remarkable in the feeling of Charles I. for the fine arts: it was a passion without ostentation or egotism; for although this monarch was inclined himself to participate in the pleasures of a creating artist, the king having handled the pencil and composed a poem, yet he never suffered his private dispositions to prevail over his more majestic duties. We do not discover in history that Charles I. was a painter and poet. Accident and secret history only rescue this softening feature in his grave and king-like character: Charles sought

* Mr. Israeli has the following quere: "Was plain Mr. Oliver in 1649, who we see was one of the early purchasers, shortly after "Lord Protector?"—*Vide* Curiosities of Literature, vol. iii. p. 378.

† Some may be curious to learn the price of gold and silver about 1650. It appears by this manuscript inventory that the silver sold at 4*s.* 11*d.* per oz., and gold at 3*l.* 10*s.*; so that the value of these metals has little varied during the last century and a half.

no glory from, but only indulged his love for, art and the artists. There are three MSS. on his art, by Leonardo da Vinci, in the Ambrosian library, which bears an inscription, that a king of England, in 1639, offered one thousand guineas in gold for each. Charles, too, suggested to the two great painters of his age the subjects he considered worthy of their pencils; and had for his "closet companions" those native poets for which he was censured in "evil times," and even by Milton! Charles, therefore, if ever he practised the arts he loved, it may be conjectured, was impelled by the force of his feelings; his works or his touches, however unskilful, were at least their effusions, expressing the full language of his soul. In his imprisonment at Carisbrook Castle, the author of "Eikon Basilikè" solaced his royal woes by composing a poem, entitled, in the very style of this memorable volume, "Majesty in Misery, or an Imploration to the King of Kings;" a *title* probably not his own, but like that volume, it contains stanzas fraught with the solemn and tender feeling: such a subject, in the hands of such an author, was sure to produce poetry, although, in the unpractised poet, we may want the versifier. A few stanzas will illustrate this conception of part of his character:

"The fiercest furies that do daily tread
Upon my grief, my grey discrowned head,
Are those that owe my bounty to their bread.

With my own power my majesty they wound,
In the king's name, the king's himself uncrowned.

After a pathetic description of his queen, "forced in pilgrimage to seek for a tomb," and "Great Britain's heir forced into France, where

"Poor child, he weeps out his inheritance,"

Charles continues:

"They promise to erect my royal stem;
To make me great, to advance my diadem;
If I will first fall down and worship them!

"But for refusal they devour my thrones,
Distress my children, and destroy my bones;
I fear they'll force me to make bread of stones."

And implores, with a martyr's piety, the Saviour's forgiveness for those who were more misled than criminal:

"Such as thou knowest do not know what they do*."

As a poet and a painter, Charles is not popularly known; but this article, continues Israeli, from whose elegant work already quoted we have extracted it, preserves the memory of the royal votary's ardour and pure feelings for the love of the fine arts †.

* This poem is omitted in the great edition of the king's works, published after the Restoration; and was given by Burnet, from a manuscript, in his "Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton;" but it had been previously published in Pernerchief's Life of Charles I.

† This article was composed without any recollection that a

Itinerary of Charles I. and the Royal Army, Movements of the Rebels, &c. &c.

(From Dugdale's Diary.)

1643. *Jan.* 5. The Londoners that brought ye petition to his Ma^ty^ at Oxford, went thence; and at their departure, one of them gave a 20^s^ peece in gold to a sentinell, y^t^ stood at Magdalen bridge, but the sentinell returned it to him wth scorne, saying he disdayned to receive a gratuity from any roundhead, having a gracious King to his master, y^t^ was not behind in his pay^t^. For this the King gave him 2 peeces.

— 19. The Queene put to sea; driven back into Holland after 8 days. Sir Ralph Hopton's victory near Bodmyn.

— 21. Okeham, in Rutland, plundered by the rebells, under the Lord Gray's command.

— 25. The rebells of Lincoln came as far as Collingham towards Newarke, and then retreated.

part of the subject had been anticipated by Lord Orford. In the "Anecdotes of Painting in England," many curious particulars are noticed: the story of the king's diamond seal had reached his lordship, and Vertue had a mutilated transcript of the inventory of the king's pictures, &c. discovered in Moorfields; for, among others, more than thirty pages at the beginning, relating to the plate and jewels, were missing. The MS. in the Harleian Library is perfect. Lord Orford has also given an interesting anecdote to shew the king's discernment in the knowledge in the hands of the painters, which confirms the little anecdote related of the Farrars.

— 27. Brill assaulted by the rebells, and they repulst with losse.

— 28. Bever Castle this night surprised.

— 30. Nottingham rebells assaulted Weston House, and were repulst. Hastings Ingram, after his escape out of Oxford Castle, entered Kenellworth Castle wth 130 men.

February 1. The Committee brings propositions to Oxon.

— 4. Cirencester taken by Pr. Rupert.

— 11. E. of Lannarck came to Newarke, from Scotland.

— 13. He went towards Oxford.

The rebells plundered Bottford *com. Leic.*, and slew 2 of the townsmen.

— 16. Mr. Io. Cooper came to Oxford, and on Munday followinge, being the 20 of Febr. he began to transcribe the books*.

— 22. The Qu. lands at Burlington.

The magazine at Coventry blown up.

Feb. 24th, 1643. "The Qu. shott at†."

* Certain books and papers of parliamentary proceedings were destroyed by the Lords of the Council, at the time when a negociation was carrying on with Fairfax, for the surrender of the city; and these might have been some of them. See May 13, 1646.

† This dastardly transaction, at which even "grim visaged war" ought to have blushed, is thus mentioned in Naworth's Almanack:—"Foure ships and a pinnace in the rebels' service (which came over night into the road) made above 100 great shot at the houses in the quay, for two hours shooting crosse-barre-shot, and bullets of 12lb. weight, all of them aiming so neare as they

1643. *May* 23. Queene impeached of treason.*. Two regiments of foote came from Yorke to Newarke.

could, at the house where the Queene lay: insomuch that her sacred Majesty was forced to make what haste she could out of her bed, and to get under a hill to save her life from the fury of these bloudy rebels, who endeavoured to murther her. But God Almighty preserved her Majesty both by sea and land."

On this occasion one of the versifiers of the times, addressed the Queen as follows, in lines, on meeting her Royal spouse in the valley of Kineton, below Edge-hill, on the 13th of July in this year:

"You're come at last! in vain the Belgick shore
Weepes as you part, and bids her waves to roare.
In vaine the windes sound high, and threat to raise
Rebellion in your empire of the seas.
The windes, that common people, that arise
From Earth's base wombe, and yet assault the skies.
In vain your subjects, far more rude than they,
Attempt to stop your just and fatal way.
Neptune, alas! scorns their usurped powers;
And though the ships bee their's, the sea's still your's.
In vaine to welcome you at shore they sent
By the rude canons mouth their complement.
That which they always meant but durst not tell,
The bold ambassadors spoke it plaine and well.
Dull soules! that could not those eye-beames espie
With which the bullets wounded backward fly†.

* One of the chief crimes of the high-spirited Henrietta Maria, independent of her religion, which her adversaries continually inveighed against, was her having assisted her husband, in his utmost need, with arms and ammunition, which she had bought in Holland.

† A few copies of the whole poem, with another of the same period, both found amongst Dugdale's papers, were printed in 1822, for private distribution. The style of these verses is so much like some addressed to Dr. Plot on his history of Staffordshire, and printed in that work, 1686, that were not the distance of time rather too great, they might be ascribed to the same writer.

July 3. The fight at Bradford Bridge, by Bathe. Waller's forces driven from Log-hill. The Queene removed from Newarke to Bunney. 4. To Ashby de la Zouch. 7. The Queene went to Croxal. 8. To Wassal*. 10. To King's Norton†. 11. To Stratford upon Avon, where Pr. Rupert mett her. 12. From Stratford to Wroxton, meeting the King at the foot of Edge-hill. 13. The King and Queene meete in Kineton-field. 14. Came to Oxon‡.

* Queen Elizabeth, it is said, once honoured Wassal with a visit, and slept at a house in Ablewell Street, where the Red Lion now stands; "but of this (observes Mr. Shaw, Hist. Staffordshire, vol. ii. p. 74) we have no authority but tradition." And the inhabitants of King's Norton also report, that the same sovereign came thither, and was entertained at an ancient house, adjoining the church-yard, probably the residence of the mannerial bailiff; but in both instances, the name of the virgin queen has evidently been mistaken for that of Henrietta Maria.

† This Worcestershire manor was part of the Queen's dower.

‡ On this occasion the unique and commemorative medal, represented at the end of the diary, from the original in the cabinet of William Staunton, Esq., of Longbridge house, near Warwicke, was struck at Oxford; but it had been previously copied in Evelyn's discourse on medals, 1697, (being casually found in a field of his) in Snelling's 33 plates of English Medals, 1776; and in the Medallic History of the Revolution, 1790, evidently from the same plate as Snelling's. It was purchased at Mr. Bartlett's sale in 1787, by Mr. Hodsol, at the price of £25 : 10. The cabinet of the latter gentleman passed entire into that of Mr. Tyssen, at whose auction Mr. Staunton became the enviable possessor of this distinguished Warwickshire rarity. The engraving in Dugdale's Diary gives the most faithful likeness of the original. It is of very rude execution; the metal seems to have been cut out of a piece of plate, and weighs 7 dwts. 16 grains.

July 12. The Prince & Sr John Byron returned.

— 13. Waller defeated at Roundway Down *.

— 21. The Earl of Warwick defeated upon Ex. Malmesbury taken by the King's forces.

September 25. The Scotch covenant taken at St. Margaret's Westmin^r^ †.

1639. May 19. The king went this afternoon to Abington, to meet the lord Generall, and some principall officers of ye army, and returned the same eveninge. A barge full of goods coming by water from Reading towards Oxford was surprised by the rebels.

— 20. The king went again to Abington to meete ye Lo. generall.

— 22. The king rode to Abington. This day Vicount Muskerry, and ye other Catholiq commissioners sent from Ireland, sett forward from Oxford towards Ireland.

* "This blessed defeat (of Sir William Waller) happened to be upon the same day, and upon the same time of the day, when the King met the Queen upon the field near Kineton, under Edgehill, (where the battle had been fought in October before); and before their Majesties came to Oxford, they received the happy news of.—The King's army received a fair addition, by the conjuncture with those forces which attended the Queen; for her Majesty brought with her above two thousand foot, well armed, and one thousand horse, and six pieces of cannon, and two mortars, and about one hundred waggons."—CLARENDON, BOOK VII.

† "The presbyterian Scots are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that called them in have pawned their souls to them by a solemn league and covenant."—*Eikon Basilike.*

— 25. The kings army marched from Abington through Oxford. The traine of artillery quartered at Wolverate. The Rebells came this night into Abington wth some horse, and plundered ye towne. Above 40 horse surprised at Islip this night by the rebells from Glocester, 24. Stopport in Cheshire forct by Prince Rupert.

— 29. The Rebells march't from Abington by Coweley towards Shottover, wth a great p'te of their army. Severall p'tyes of horse came to the foote of Heddington-hill, wth in cannon shott of ye works, 4 shotts made at them. They took a cart laden wth household stuffe, wth in musket-shot of the works.

June 3. This evening at nine o'clock, the Kinge and Prince marcht out of Oxford, wth the army.

— 4. The King lay at Burton on ye water, (near Stow). The French agent came to Oxford. The rebells of Glocester entered Tewkesbury, the garrison fled to Worcester. Col. Godfrey, and 4 or 5 of the garrison only slaigne.

— 5. The Dutch ambassadours went from Oxford towards London. The King marcht to Evesham.

— 6 The King marcht to Worcester.

— 7. The rebells with 400 foote and 300 horse faced Compton-house, com. Warr., drove

the parke, and kild all ye deare, defaced the monuments in the church, &c.

— 9. The rebells took Compton-house, and carryed all ye prisoners to Warwick. (Parefye com'anded chiefe of ye rebells.)

— 10. This night about 10 of ye clock, 1000 foote, one piece of cannon, &c. were com'anded by Colonel Gage, and sent out of Oxford, to attempt Borestall-house, near Bull.

— 12. Borestall-house yielded up by the rebells, upon articles y^t they should march away with their armes. The King marched from Worcester to Beaudley wth p'te of his forces.

— 15. The King marcht from Worcester, with his army, and lay in the field this night, neare Broadway. He passed over Avon at Evesham, and broke the bridge agayne. The Queene delivered of a daughter at Exeter. The same day died Edward, Lord Montague, of Boughton, being imprisoned in ye Savoy, at London, by the rebells.

— 17. The King marcht to Benford. This day 4000 foote (left by his Matie) were sent out of Oxford and Minden to the army at Benford, wth 15 pieces of cannon. This day ye Earle of Leicester went out of Oxford, to Wormleighton, com. Warr.

— 18. Prince Charles, ye D. of Richmond, Earl of Linsey, &c. came from Benford into

Oxford. The King marcht with the army to Witney.

— 19. This night a party of Horse, from Warwick, fetch't away ye Earl of Leicester from Wormleighton, (by his own contrivance.)

— 21. The King marcht from Witney to Blechington.

— 22. The King marcht to Buckingham, Oswestre, in com. Salop, taken by the rebells of Wemm, com'anded by Milton, governour of Wemm.

— 23. Prince Charles went from Oxford to the King at Buckingham.

— 26. The King marcht from Buckingham to Brackley.

— 27. The King marcht from Brackley to Culworth; his army drew up at Culworth, and Waller in Henwell warren.

— 28. The King drew up his army in the field on ye east p'te of Banbury, called Grimsbury field. Waller drew up his army at the foote of Cruche-hill, a mile west from Banbury.

— 29. The King marcht to Wendenton, Waller to Crofnedy. 10 pieces of ordnance gained there from Waller. . . . rebells slayne.

— 30. (Sunday.) Waller retreated, on the 29th, with his mayne body to Benton, (a myle short of Crofnedy,) and there continued drawne up in a body y^t^ night, and all Sunday and that night.

July 1. The King marcht to Aynho, the Queene's regim^t^ marcht out of Oxford to Blechington, to meete wth ye King's army, wth some ammunition.

— 2. The King marcht to Chipping Norton.

— 3. The Queen's regim^t^ returned to Oxford. Kinge marcht to Evesham.

— 5. Bonefyres in Oxford, upon the news of Pr. Rupert's victory, in Yorkshire.

— 6. 500 horse sent to relieve Greenland House, under the command of Sr Thomas Lunsford.

— 8. This morning was Greenland House relieved.

— 12. Greenland House delivered to the rebells, ye garrison marching away wth their armes to Wallinglord. The King marcht from Evesham to Norleach, com. Glouc.

M^d^ y^t^. After the fight at Crofnedy bridge, 29° Junij, Waller marcht (2 Julij) to Fausley, and there and in ye p'ts about Northampton hath continued wth his broken army till now, which day he began to march towards Warwick, but the same night came back to his old quarters.

— 13. The King marcht to Saperton neare Cirencester, Waller towards Toucester.

— 27. The fight betwixt his Ma^ty's^ army and the rebells neare Newburry. The Kinge went that evening with 4 troopes of horse towards Prince Rupert, about Bath.

— 28. The King and Prince Charles came to Bath. The King's army marched to Wallingford.

— 29. The King's army quartered betwixt Oxford and Wallingford.

November 1. The K. army marched through Oxford to Woodstock, Eynsham, and the p^ts thereabouts. The King and Prince Charles, with Pr. Rupert, marcht to Benford. Col. Charles Gerrard met them there with 4000 horse and foot out of Wales. The same eveninge the King and Prince Charles came to Oxford. Col. Gage knighted, (Sr Henry).

— 5. Sr Henry St. George dyed in Oxford*.

— 6. Was buried in the north-west corner of ye north crosse in Christchurch, Oxon. This day was the rendezvous of his Majesty's army on Bullington Green, &c.

— 7. The King went from Oxford to Wallingford.

— 22. The Queen's Life Guards came into Oxford. The King and Pr. Rupert, and Prince Maurice, came to Oxford. Propositions brought from the rebells at Westminster, by the E. of

* He was garter king of arms, and had three sons, Sir Thomas and Sir Henry, successively garter, and Richard St. George, Esq. Ulster. Noble could not ascertain the precise day of his death, but says it was either October 21st or November 5th, and that he breathed his last in Brazennose College.

Hist. College of Arms, p. 235.

Denbigh, Lord Weynman, Denzill Holles, and Mr. Wm Perpoint, and Mr. Whitlock, accompanyned with the Lord Maitland, Erskin, and Berkley, Scotts.

The same day came S^r^ —— Titchburne, Sr James Ware, and —— commissioners from ye Protestants in Ireland, to Oxford.

—24. The Earl of Denbigh, wth ye rest, p'sented the propositions to the King in Christchurch garden *.

—28. They went again from Oxford toward London †.

* "A copy of the King's Message, sent by Major Kellegrue, to the Commoners of both Kingdoms:—My Lords, His Majestie never knew that you were come, or that you had stayed without, until just now that *he came to walke in the garden;* and his Majestie being informed there of it, he hath taken order that you shall be admitted, and I am sent to give you notice that you shall be provided for immediately. And his Majestie is so much displeased at it, that he said he thought that there is a designe in some to give discontent to every one."—*Perfect Occurrences, Nov. 29 to Dec.* 1644.

† Among Rawlinson's Collections, in the Bodleian Library, Vol. cxxi. contains, in Dugdale's hand-writing, a petition of many of his Majesty's servants and officers, on the subject of fees due on conferring creations of honour, exhibited 28th November, 1644, with his Majesty's order therenpon, dated at Oxford, the 30th of the same month; after which follows a table of fees, with the receipts of various officers, upon the several creations which follow. This seems to be what Rawlinson mentions in a letter to Sir Thomas Rawlins, Esq. at Pophills, 25th Feb. 1736-7, "About two years since, I made a purchase of several papers, of Mr. Ashmole, which were left to his heirs. They were mostly

1645. *Jan.* 3. His Matie's forces came ino Eversham.

— 4. The House of Commons at Westmin^r hang'd wth part of the Arras hanging out of the king's wardrobe; and the rest wth ye hanging y^t were at the end of the quire where the altar stood in Westminst^r Abbey.

— 10. The E. of Antrim and Dutchess of Buck. came to Oxford. Arche-B'ppe of Canterbury beheaded on Tourehill by the rebells. Pr. Rupert, with a party of horse and foote went this night out of Oxford to break down Columbe Bridge.

— 11. In the retreete Sir Henry Gage was slayne. The Earle Sussex, Lo. Percy, and Lord Andover confyned, and the staffe taken from Sussex, as Tre'r of the household.

March 1. The Earle of Kingstoun, Lord Capell, and Lord Hopton, sworne Privy Counsellors

— 2. This day there was a chapter held by his Ma^tye and the rest of the companions of the most noble order of the garter, in the Privy Chamber at Christchurch, Oxford, wherein were elected the young Prince of Aurange, and the Duke De Espernoun, into that noble society.

— 10. His Ma^tye came to the Lord's house, and sending up for the Commons, adjourned

genealogical, and some of Sir William Dugdale's."—*Ballard's Letters*, vol. ii.

them till X° Octobris next. The same day Prince Charles came to Bristall.

— 25. I was created Chester Herald, at ye same time y^t^ Sir Edward Walker was created garter, by the Lord Moubray, in Oxford.

April 20. The Earle of North'ton, with 1000 horse, marcht this evening from Oxford towards towne, to beat up some quarters of the rebels, but returned ye next day w^th^out successe.

— 29. The rebells, under ye command of Major General Cromwell, with 1500 horse and dragoons, did beate up the E. of North'ton's horse quarters at Islip, and the townes adjacent, and took above 100 horse. Captain Wilmot and above 20 more being then slayne.

— 24. Blechington house delivered up to the rebels under the command of Cromwell, by Lt. Col. Wardebanke, upon sum'ons, and noe endeavour of resistance.

— 25. Colonell Wardebanke sentenced to suffer death (by judgement of a court of war) for delivering up Bleckington house to the rebells.

May 3. Col. Wardebanke was shott to death (according to the sentence of the court of warr) w^th^in the garden at Oxford castle. Generall Goring came to Faringdon. Prince Rupert and Mr. Maurice came with 1000 foote and 1000 horse to Burford.

— 7. The King began his march to Oxford.

— 21. The rebells, under command of Sir

Thomas Fairfax, appeared scatteringly about Oxford.

— 23. They began to make a passage over Charwell, near Marston, (that being Sr Thos Farfax's head-quarters.) The out-houses of Gadston-house fyred, and the house quitted by Mr. David Waller, who brought his men safe to Oxford, the rebells entering it the same day.

— 26. The rebells put over four foote regiments and 13 carriages, at their new bridg-over Charwell.

— 29. This evening a bullet, of ix^lb^ weight, shot from the rebells warning-piece at Marston, fell against the wall on the north side ye hall in Christchurch: 600 foote and 200 horse, under the command of Col. Raynsborough, (of the rebells forces,) assaulted Gaunt-house, neare Newbridge.

— 30. This night shott was heard from Gaunt-house.

— 31. Gaunt-house yielded to the rebells, wherein were taken 21 prisoners, besides 30 y^t^ had been out upon a p'ty to bring in p'vision. Leicester taken by the King.

June 2. About one o'clock this morning a p'tye of horse and foote sallyed out of Oxford, upon the rebells' guard on Hedendon Hill; slew above 50; and brought away 92 prisoners, whereof many much wounded. This afternoon

the rebells fetcht away above 50 cattell from the field, neare the East-gate.

— 5. The rebells, from Marston, Wolvercote, and all other parts, quitted their quarters, and marcht some towards Tame, some towards Aylesbury.

— 8. The Duke of Richmond, Lo. Digby, and Mr. Arshburnham, came to Oxford, from the King then at Davertre.

— 14. The King defeated at Nasebyford, Dr. Beile came to Oxford from his long imprisonment at London.

— 18. Leicester rendered to the rebells.

July 4. The Scots army came to Tamworth; 5, to Bermecham; 7, to Alcester.

— 21. Ordonance shott off at Oxford, for the victory obteyned in Scotland, by ye Marq. of Mountrose, wherein G'rall Baylie was slayne; and for the good success ag^t^ Fairfax his army at Bridgewater.

— 22. Bridgewater taken by the rebells.

— The Scotts sate down before Hereford.

Aug. 15. Sherborne castle, in Dorsetshire, taken by the rebells.

— 21. Fairfax came before Bristol with his army.

— 22. The King at Bever castle: 23, at Stamford: 26, at Woburne.

— 25. One Cooper (the constable of Paytton,

in Warr. at such time as the commissioner of array was executed there, and who then refused to bring in the armes of his constablery,) having been a perverse separatist for a long tyme, contemning the liturgy of the church, and now a forward promoter of the rebellion, did this day cut his owne throate.

— 30. The King marched to Morton Henmarsh.

Sept. 1. The Scots rose from before Hereford.

— 9. The Scots had head-quarters at Chalocote, in Warwickshire.

— 10. The Scott's army marcht through Warwick to Stonely, and next day to Noneaton, &c.

11. Prince Rupert rendered Bristol to Sir Thomas Fairfax.

— 15. Pr. Rupert came to Oxford.

17. The Governor of Oxford put under a guard, and Pr. Rupert's commission taken from him*.

* Colonel Legge, the governor, after continuing two months in surveillance, was enlarged of his restraint, and waited on the King, as groom of the bedchamber, Nov. 9. Prince Rupert, who had incurred his royal uncle's severest displeasure, for surrendering Bristol to Farifax, was punished with a little longer absence from court; but we find him kissing the King's hand, in December 9, in token of reconciliation. Letters on the previous misunderstanding, addressed by his Majesty to Secretary Nicholas and Prince Maurice, are printed by Ellis, vol. iii. p 311, with a note at p. 318, borrowed from this Diary.

— 24. The fight neare Chester. Lacock house delivered up to the rebells.

— 25. Berkley castle delivered up to the rebells.

— 27. Cromwell came before Winchester.

October 14. Prince Rupert went from Banbury. Basing-house lost.

Nov. 5. The committee of Coventre, by colour of the power of their counterfeit Sheriffe (Colmone*), adjourned the county court from Warwick to Colshill, (in regard they found y^t^ the freeholders did for the most part give their voices for Sir John Burgoine and Mr. Thomas Boughton, against Mr. Ric. Lucy and Bridges,) hoping, by removing the same to the northern part of the county, there to obteyne more voices to their faction; but the people of those parts were soe awed by his ma^ties^ garrisons of Lichfield and Dudley castle, as y^t^ they durst not come in, nor the committee-men stay themselves above an houre, but adjourned to Mereden, where Sir John Burgoine and Mr. Boughton were declared knts of the shire.

1646. *Jan.* 7. Wormleighton house, in Warwickshire, burnt by his Majesties forces of Banbury, to prevent the rebells making it a garrison.

— 16. Astley house, in Warwickshire, sur-

* Capt. Comer is made Sheriffe this yere by the R. (rebels):— one of no note."—*Symonds' Notes of the Marches and of the Royal Army.—Harl. MSS.* 911.

prised by my Lord of Loughborough's forces; the governor (a shoemaker), and the rest in the house, taken prisoners, and carried away wth most of the armes, ammunition, &c. *

February 4. The King went to the house of parliament, at ye schools in Oxford.

March 11. The Earl of Lindsey went from Oxford to Winchester-house. The same day 2000 of the rebells came into Woodstock from Witney, commanded by Col. Ramsborough.

— 21. The Lord Astley coming from Worcester, with 2000 horse and foote, routed and taken prisoner.

April 9. This night search was made in London, at ye lord maior's house, and other places, for the King, by the E. of Pembroke, and others appointed by parliament.

— 15. This morning the cannon played hard ag^t^ Woodstock-house, and in the evening, about six o'clock, they stormed it; but were beaten off with the loss of at least 100 men, all their scaling ladders, divers wounded, and of the house only five men hurt.

— 25. Prince Rupert's troops disbanded.

27. This morning, about one o'clock, the King, with Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Hudson (a divine), went out of Oxford, disguised, towards

* The shoemaker governor, whom the circumstances of the times had seduced, "*ultra crepidam*," was one Goodere Hunt, of Coventry.

the Scotts quarters, then at Southwell, in Nottinghamshire*.

— 29. A solemn fast in Oxford, and prayers for the safety of the King's person, and good success on his journey.

May 5. The King first appeared wth ye Scots army at Southwell, (3 myles from Newarke).

— 11. Sir John Morrison went to Woodstock by the secreytaries permission. Sr Thomas Fairfax sent a trumpet with a summons into Oxford. This day they began to make the lines from the work on Hedington-hill towards Oxford. This afternoone Pr. Rupert, pickeering in the fields on the North of Oxford, was shott on the upper p'te of the arme, being the first wound he has yet received.

— 12. Sir John Morrison, and Mr. Ph. Warwick sent to Sr Thomas Fairfax, from the Governor, to demand liberty to send to the King.

— 13. The first shott made with cannon towards Oxford, from the great work on Heddington-hill, fell in Christ's-church meadow. The officers of the garrison of Oxford delivered their opinions to the Lords, that the same was tenable.

* He went out disguised in a mountere, and a hat upon it. Sir Thomas Glenham, at his parting, bid him *farewell Harry*, by which name it seems he goes." — See an interesting "collection of letters relating to King Charles the First's escape from Oxford, and to the straits he was put to on that occasion," in Append. to Hearne's Dunstable, p. 737. The name assumed by his Majesty was, probably, Harries, or Harris. — *See* 1647, December of Diary.

14. Mr. Parsons went this night out of Oxford towards ye King. 26 returned.

15. All the Lords of the councill (except Marq. of Dorchester and the Lo. Hatton) joyned in a command wch they signed to Sr Tho. Glemham, ye governor of Oxford, to send a Letter to Sr Thomas Fairfax for nominating Com'issioners to treat for the delivery of Oxford. The same day those Lords caused all their books and papers of Parliamentary proceedings wch had been transacted at Oxford to be burnt.

16. The governor delivered a paper to the Lords requiring that they would justifye under their hands that they have regall power in the King's absence; viz. to deliver up garrisons, levy forces, &c.* Whereupon the Lords signed a paper whereby they challenged the like power.

* "My Lords, I conceive I have, in obedience to your commands, and absolutely against mine and all the officers opinions in point of time, began a treaty with the rebells, which I can neither justify in honour, nor will answer the same. And therefore desyre, seeing yor L'dships did yesterday declare that in his Ma^ty^s absence yor L'dships, as his councell, had the soveraigne power residing in you, that for my justification you will declare under your hands, that you have the power to rayse and disband forces, to fortify and give up garrisons, and to doe other warlike actions. And to give me com'and in pursuance of that power, to proceed in this treaty. Otherwise I must proceed according to my discretion, upon the power and trust reposed by his Ma^ty^ in

My Lords,

Y^r^ most humble servant

Oxon, 16 *May*, 1646. T. GLEMHAM."

For the Lords and others of his Ma^ty^s Privy Council.

—17. This day the governor of Oxford and all his principall officers of the garrison signed a paper manifesting their dislike and opinion of the present treaty, alledging the same to be enforced upon them by the Lords of the councell*.

— 18. This day the treaty was began at Mr. Cooke's at Marston, betwixt Sir John Munson and divers others, for the Lords of the councell, and com'ssioners appointed for Sr Thomas Fairfax, concerning the delivery of Oxford to the rebells†.

[From a collection of papers presented to the Bodleian Library, in 1825, by the Editor of Dugdale's Diary.]

"We the officers of the Garrison of Oxford, who have here underwritten our names, doe hereby declare upon our severall reputations, that it is absolutely against our wills and opinions to treat with this present Sr Thomas Farefax. Butt upon the Governor's intimation of order received by him from the King, to observe what the body of the Privy Councell should determine in his absence, have, in obedience to his Ma^ty^s order, bin inforced by the Lords of the Privy Councell to this treaty. And do further declare to the world, that what inconvenience soever may arise to the King's cause or his friends upon this treaty, is nott in o^r^ hands to prevent.

"T. Glemham, S. Hawkins, R. Hamilton, R. Gosnold, T. Shirley, H. Tilliar, R. Gerard, W. Rose, R. Clayton, H. Crompton, Cl. Martyn, R. Hall, W. Horwood, Rog. May, St. Smyth, Ro. Rease, Jo. Sirson, Edward Masters, M. Predeux, Th. Graham, Fr. Hall, Jo. Cressey, Adam Roch, Hanniball Bagnall, Jo. Hughs."

Ibid.

* Oxon, May 17, 1646.

† The Earl of Leicester, who quitted Oxford two days before, had previously evinced a lukewarmness in the Royal cause, and though occasionally attending at the council board declined taking any part in the questions discussed there. He also refused his

— 20. This day the treaters differing upon the first article, (of sending for the King) respighted their meeting till Fryday the 22.

— 22. This afternoone ye treaters mett againe but had noe answere to the first article, whereupon they proceeded to others.

— 23. This day met agayne; the adverse p'te pretended our articles to be too high; said they would offer articles, and soe the treaty brake off that tyme.

— 30. This evening Sr Thomas Fairfax sent in a Trumpet to Oxford, wth Articles concerning the delivery thereof.

June 2. The Marchionesse of Hertford went from Oxford, by virtue of a passe from ye Lords at Westminster and Sir Thomas Farefax.

— 9. The com^rs^ were enjoyned secresy, and not to impart any thing of their proceedings.

— 10. A brace of Bucks, 2 Muttons, 2 Veales, 2 Lambs, 6 Capons, and Butter sent into Oxford to the Duke of York, by Sir Thomas Fairfax*.

signature to a letter to be signed by all the peers in the King's service,—"disavowing and reprobating all acts done by the pretended authority of parliament, &c.," being the only peer who withheld his name on the occasion. Algernon Sydney, who took a more decided line of opposition to the measures of Charles I., was one of the sons of this nobleman.—See *Sydney Papers by Blencowe.*

* This wears the appearance of courtly politeness; but it might also have been intended to shew how abundantly the besiegers were supplied with provisions, at a time when the besieged were living upon garrison stores, which were rapidly diminishing, without much hope of speedy renewal.

A letter this day produced by Secretary Nicholls from his Ma^ty dated at Newcastle, 16 May, importing direction to the ye Lords of the council to deliver up Oxford upon such termes as they should thinke fitt. Sr Edw. Walker was put out when ye same was read, at a council at ye Audit house. The Lady Newport went from Oxford towards London.

— 17. A cessation of armes betwixt the besiegers of Oxford, and the besieged. Divers of the enemy's soldiers came to the posts and drank with ours. This day the Lords forebore to meet at the audit house, as they had done, in regard of the mutinous soldiers, especially reformadoes.

— 18. This day Sr George Ratcliffe, upon consideration of the King's desire y^t the D. of Yorke should be sent unto him, moved ye Lords y^t they would insist upon Holdenby, as the place where the Duke should reside, from whence he hoped he might have an opportunity to satisfye the King's desire; but the Lords would by noe means listen to him, to move for that place for the D. residence.

June 19. The Lords in Oxford walkt with their swords on *.

* The variance between the civil and military commanders, the latter having declared Oxford tenable, must have greatly added to the confusion and distress of the city. The Lords of the Council had forborne to meet two days preceding, for fear of the mutinous soldiers; and were now obliged to carry defensive weapons when they walked through the streets.

—21. The Lords summoned most of ye gent. in the towne this afternoon to ye Audit-house, where being mett, ye Lo. Keeper made a speech to them, to shew the necessity of this treaty, and render of the garrison; and their authority by two letters wch they had received from the King, whereupon he seemed to ground their p'ceedings & conclusion therein. Mr. Secretary afterwards shewed him one of the London Pamphlets called y^e^ *Moderate Intelligencer*, wch seemed to make mention of ye Scotts pressing the King's conscience soe farr, y^t^ sundry times he was observed to retire and weepe. Upon relation whereof he himself shed teares*.

—28. I came out of London to Hatfield, where the King was, and kissed his hand, p'senting my duty to him, where I had a speech wth him concerning my Lord Hatton; this being the first time I saw his Ma^ty^ since he went privately out of Oxford, sc^t^ April 27°, 1646.

December 14, Two suns appeared this day about xj of ye clock.

(At the of End of the Book.) M^d^ That after ye King was come from Newcastle to Holdenby, and that there was p'tiones made y^t^ he should have

* Immediately upon the surrender of Oxford, Dugdale went to London and compounded for his estate, which had been sequestrated. He makes no entry in his Diary until Sept. 9, when he appears to have been staying at Kirby, in Northamptonshire, with his patron, the Lord Hatton.

p'posicions sent him, and thereby a good composure betwixt him and the parliament; Sir R. W. asked a principall member of the Presbyterian p'te what they intended to doe now wth ye Kinge, to wch (he) answered yt that they would keepe him within walls.

The K.—Mr. Harries.

My L. H.—Mr. Richardson*.

1648. *August* (at the beginning of the month.) The besiegers of Colchester sent out warrants into Essex, for pounded beefe stuft wth parsley, and chicken pies.

— 17. The Scotch army, under the command of D. of Hamilton, defeated at Preston, in Lancashire.

— 23. Alarm of ye R. forces, about Uttoxeter.

— 24. My boat fetcht to Maxstoke castle. The moorelanders rose upon the Scotts, and stript some of them. The Scotts prisoners miserably used: they were, for hunger, some of them exposed to eate cabbage leaves in Ridgley, carrot tops in Coleshill; they sold victuals, which was brought in for them from the country.

November (at the end of the month.) Souldiers, in their march towards London, give out that

* These were probably names for the King and Lord Hatton, in secret writing, to be used by Dugdale when corresponding with the latter during his exile. (See April 27, in the Diary.)

they are now going against King and Parliament.

December 23. The King brought to Windsor from Hurst castle.

— 30. The King beheaded at the gate of Whitehall.

(*At the end of the book.*) In consultac'on. To have the K. hat taken off, and his head held up by two men, at his tryall: to have put on him his robes and crowne. His head was throwne downe by him y^t^ took it up; bruised the face: his hare cut off*: souldiers dipped their swords in his blood: base language uppon his dead body.

The Earle of Newport told Dr. Taylor, y^t^ Mr. Calamye told him, and he had often heard ye Lord Brooke say, y^t^ he hoped wth these eyes to see ye Kinge and Church pulled downe.

August 15. The country summoned into a general muster, at Coventre; wch day I was fetched in, and forct to acknowledge a recognizance of 1000^li^ not to dep'te above a myle from my owne house. At charges for selling out a

* The throwing down of the head is a circumstance not mentioned by previous writers; that of the hair being cut off is corroborated by Sir H. Halford's account of what appeared on opening the coffin of King Charles I. in 1813:—"On the back part of the head, it was not more than an inch in length, and had probably been cut so short for the convenience of the executioner, or, perhaps, by the piety of friends soon after death, in order to furnish memorials of the unhappy King."

dragoone, whereof my cosen Huntbach did leave the one half.

September. The gunner that shott downe Lichfield steeple, in the siege (a° 1646); this month, in shooting of a cannon at Stafford, for triumph of Major G'rall Harrison his coming thither, was killed by the breach thereof; his chin and one arme being torn off. He lived a day or two*.

1652. *February* 5. The great funerall from Somers[t] House to Westminster, for H. Ireton, deputy of Ireland; at w[ch] y[e] heraulds wore new coats, wth y[e] states badges upon them, this being the first time of having those coates.

March 18. We first began to watch our corne every night†.

April 20. The parliament was this day dissolved by Generall Cromwell.

*** These extracts from Dugdale's Diary are such only as relate to the unhappy King, consequently many important entries are passed over. Dugdale was contemporary with Evelyn, who, in his Diary, has an entry to the following effect:—"1685, *May* 21. I din'd at my Lord Privy Seale's with Sir Wm. Dugdale, garter king at armes, author of the 'Monasticon,' and other learned

* Hearne also relates this, in Notæ et spiceleg. ap. Gulielm. Neubr. p. 789.

† The miseries of the civil war are forcibly enough depicted in this short sentence.

workes! he told me he was 82 (80) years of age, and had his sight and memory perfect." The venerable Sir Isaac Heard, garter, who died 29 of April, 1823, in his 92nd year, retained his faculties unimpaired to the hour of his death.

Trial and Execution of Charles I.

A committee was appointed (A.D. 1649), to bring in a charge against the King: and a vote passed, declaring it treason in a King to levy war against his parliament. A high court of justice was accordingly appointed to try his Majesty for this new-invented treason. Colonel Harrison had the conduct of the King from Hurst Castle to Windsor, and from thence to London. His subjects, eager to have a sight of their Sovereign, were not a little affected at the change in his appearance. His beard had been suffered to grow, his hair had changed its colour, and was become venerably grey; his apparel manifested the show of misfortunes by decay. He exhibited a picture of majesty in distress, which even his adversaries could not behold without reverence and compassion.

The only attendant of the ill-fated Charles was a decrepid servant, Sir Phillip Warwick, who could only deplore not assist his Sovereign's disaster. All the exterior symbols of royalty were not only withdrawn, but his new attendants had

orders, to treat him without ceremony. The Duke of Hamilton, who was reserved for the same punishment with his master, having leave for a last farewell, as he departed from Windsor, threw himself at the King's feet, crying out, "My dear master." The unhappy monarch raised him up, and, embracing him tenderly, replied, whilst the tears trickled down his checks, "I have indeed been a master to you." The King, in these severe trials, was in continual apprehension of private assassination.

From the sixth to the twentieth of January was spent in making preparations for this extraordinary trial. The court of justice consisted of one hundred and thirty-three persons, named by the commons; but of these never above seventy met. The members were chiefly the principal officers of the army, most of them of very mean extraction, some of the members of the lower house, and a few citizens of London. Bradshaw a lawyer was chosen president; Coke, solicitor-general for the people of England; Douslans, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court was held in Westminster Hall.

The King was conducted from Windsor to St. James's, and the next day was brought before the high court to take his trial: when he was brought forward, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar:

Though produced as a criminal, he still maintained the dignity of a king; surveying the members of the court with haughty disdain, and without moving his hat, sat down. The members of the court kept themselves covered. The charge was then read by the solicitor. The accusation was, "Having caused all the bloody work since the commencement of the war," &c. At this part of the charge, the King exhibited a smile of contempt, with indignation. After the charge was finished, Bradshaw directed his discourse to the King, and told him, that the court waited his answer.

His Majesty entered temperately on his defence by declaring against the authority of the court. He perceived, he said, no appearance of an upper house, which was necessary to constitute a just tribunal; that he himself was the king and fountain of law, and consequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his consent; that, having been entrusted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them, by recognizing an usurped power; and that he was willing, before a proper tribunal, to enter into the particulars of his defence.

Bradshaw, in order to support the authority of the court, insisted, that they received their power from the people, the source of all right. He therefore pressed the prisoner not to decline

the authority of the court, which was delegated by the commons of England. Bradshaw interrupted and overruled the King in his attempts to reply.

In this manner the King was brought three times before the court; and he as often declined allowing their jurisdiction. The fourth and last time he was brought before this tribunal, as he was on his way to the place, he was insulted by the soldiers and the mob, who exclaimed, "Justice! Justice! Execution! Execution!" The King maintained a firm dignity of behaviour. His judges at last, to make some shew of justice, examined witnesses; who proved that the King had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by parliament. This proof procured sentence to be pronounced against him.

It is allowed that the King's behaviour during the trial, and in the last period of his life, does honour to his memory; and that, in every appearance before his judges, he never once forgot to behave as a man and a prince. The soldiers, instigated by their superiors, reviled him with bitter reproaches. Among other insults, one miscreant presumed to spit in the face of his sovereign. "Poor fools!" said the King to one of his attendants, "for a little money they would do as much against their commanders." One soldier, more compassionate than the rest, could not forbear to implore a blessing on his

royal head; upon which, an officer struck the centinel to the ground before the King, who could not help saying that the punishment exceeded the offence.

On the king's return to Whitehall, he desired to see his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by Dr. Juxon, late Bishop of London. These requests were granted, and also three days to prepare for the execution of his sentence. His family, now in England, were only the Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester, a child of about three years of age. After exhortations to his daughter, he took his little son in his arms, and embracing him; "my child," says he, "they will cut off thy father's head; yes, they will cut off my head and make thee king. But mark what I say, thou must not be a king as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off their heads when they can take them, and thy head too they will cut off at last; and therefore, I charge thee, do not be made a king by them." The child bursting into tears, replied, "I will be torn to pieces first."

Every night during the interval between his sentence and his execution, the king slept sound as usual, though the noise of the workmen employed in forming the scaffold continually resounded in his ears. On the fatal morning he arose early; and, calling one of his attendants,

he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him.

The street before Whitehall was the place destined for the execution, and with an intent to increase the severity of it, he was led through the banquetting house to the scaffold, adjoining to the edifice, attended by his friend, Bishop Juxon. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers, under the command of Colonel Tomlinson; and on it were seen the block, the axe, and two executioners in masks. The people in great crowds stood at a distance, in dreadful expectation of this solemn event. The king surveyed these awful preparations with calm composure; and, as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons who stood round him. Among other things he acknowledged that he was justly punished for having consented to the execution of the Earl of Stafford upon an unjust sentence. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their allegiance, and acknowledge his son to be his successor. He also signified his attachment to the protestant religion, as professed by the church of England. So great was the impression on those who could hear his last words, that it was said Tomlinson himself acknowledged their influence.

Whilst preparing himself for the block, the

Bishop said to him, "There is, Sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is but a short one. It will soon carry you a great way." "I go, (replied the King,) from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no disturbance can have place." Having divested himself of his cloak, Charles delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word, "Remember." He then laid his neck on the block, and stretching out his hand, as a signal, one of the executioners severed his head from his body, (Jan. 30, 1648-9, in the 49th year of his age, and 24th of his reign,) while the other, holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor." The spectators were struck with instant horror—and, as usual in the versatile minds of mankind, the tide of affection and loyalty, which had so long ebbed, began to flow in strong currents. Each blamed himself, either for *active* disloyalty to, or *passive* compliance in the destruction of, their king.

The parliament (if a small part of the house of commons may be so called), having thus under such a solemn appearance of justice, condemned and executed their king, began to assume the air of legal power so great, that when the peers met, and having entered upon business, and sent down some notes to the commons, the latter would not vouchsafe to take any notice. They went further a few days afterwards; they even passed a

vote, that the house of peers was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished. A similar vote passed with regard to monarchy; on which occasion, Martin, a strong republican, confessed, that if they desired a king, the last was as proper as any person in England.

The commons ordered a new seal to be engraved, on which that assembly was represented, with the legend ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, 1648. The forms of public business were changed, from the king's to that of the keepers of the liberties of England, and it was declared high treason to proclaim, or any otherwise acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called Prince of Wales.

The following particulars of the Execution of KING CHARLES I. *are from the public papers of that period.*

MODERATE INTELLIGENCER, Jan. 25 to Feb. 1, 1648.

Jan. 25. The commissioners for tryall of the King, did further proceed this day, in examination of witnesses for proof of the charge, (since in print), the substance whereof we gave in our last. The things proved were such as were not denied by the King, as done onely for a good end, he said.

— 26. They did little in regard to the businesse of the King. The proofs were ended, and the votes thereupon put; none dissenting, viz.—

That the King had exercised tyrranical government, was a tyrant, a murtherer, and a traytor; after which it was agreed to draw up the sentence of condemnation against him.

— 27. The committee who had been with the judges at Serjeants'-inn about the *writs* (who, as it is said, gave no advice in the thing, the death of the King making null all their commissions, except the lord chief justice, who holds by writ), and made their report. Whereupon it was resolved, that the act of state passe as before, and without the lords. And in regard upon the death of the King it is usual to proclaim the next heire King, they order that a committee draw up a proclamation, which is to be published throughout the kingdom, declaring it high treason for any person or persons to proclaim any king of England without the consent of parliament; a most necessary thing for preventing new troubles in the kingdome, which must inevitably follow thereupon; and that none, under paine of imprisonment, speak or preach against the proceedings of the supreme authority of this nation, the commons in parliament.

The finall sentence being this 27th of January to be pronounced against the King, the Lord President, and 67 commissioners appeared, and the King was brought (who, as at other times, kept his hat on). He would have spoke, but was not now permitted. The Lord President said—

The prisoner at the bar has been here formerly, and instead of answering hath disputed the jurisdiction of the court; but being interrupted in that, refused to answer; the consideration whereof, with the facts in the charge, hath put them upon resolution to pronounce sentence against him, which they have agreed upon: and if the King had intent to say any thing against the jurisdiction of the court it would not be permitted: but if in defence of himselfe it was permitted, and he was promised to be heard.

After sentence was pronounced, a motion was made to the commons, wherein was desired from the King, that the Bishop of London might come to him, and that he might see his children, which was granted to him.

The Bishop came to him; they continued long in prayer that night, and in regard the common prayer book was used, it is to be wished there had been prayers in it more pertinent. It is the great wonder that men of most excellent parts, able to speak largely without premeditation to men, should not be able to say ten words to themselves in prayer.

The King, in his discourse, justifies himself in many things. In some, and chiefly what he did before this parliament, he confesses himselfe to blame.

Jan. 28. The commons this day proceeded to some resolutions or decrees, making it death, and

treason, for any one to take upon the crown of England; and have ordered a charge to be drawne up forthwith against Prince Charles for high treason.

Jan. 29. This day the general (Fairfax) went to his great officers, and held a council of war, at which he propounded, as it is said, to put off the execution of the King. Also this day came forth the acts of state, about the alteration of writs in England, Ireland, and Wales; as that, instead of king, the name, style, and test, and *custodes libertatis Angliæ auctoritate Parliamenti*, be used, and none other; and penalties, issues, fines, amerciaments, and fyrfeitures, instead of the king, to run the same; and where the words *juratores pro domino Rege* occur, it shall be *juratores pro Republica;* and where it was *contrà Pacem vel dignitatem, vel coram Nostram*, it shall be *contra pacem Publicam*, which all are required to observe, and what is otherway, or was formerly, is declared in this act null.

Account of the King's behaviour and execution.

(From the Armies Modest Intelligencer, Jan. 30.)

"This dayes proceeding is intelligence enough to finish this week, for the King was brought from St. James' to Whitehall, and after a short stay there, about 12 at noone, came through the banqueting house, neere which place the scaffold was erected for his execution. Being come to

the scaffold, attended with Colonel Tomlinson and other officers, he made his last speech.

"Hee first said he would have chosen to have been silent, but that some might thinke that he did submit to the guilt as well as the punishment. Hee said that he never did begin a war with the two houses of parliament, which would be cleared if the parliament commissions and his were looked up and acknowledged. That God's judgements were just upon him for suffering an unjust sentence to take effect. That he forgave all the world. That they, (meaning the parliament and army) were out of the way, and he would put them in the way—to give each his due; the king his due, his successors theirs, and God his due, by calling a national synod. That he was a martyr of the people,—and being minded by Dr. Juxon concerning religion, hee said he died a christian according to the profession of the church of England. His speech done, the executioner cut off his head. After his execution proclamation was made in these words, viz.—

"Whereas Charles Stuart, King of England, being for the notorious treasons, and murthers committed in the late unnaturall and cruel war condemned to death: it is enacted and ordained by this present parliament, that no person or persons whatsoever, presume to declare, publish, or any way promote, Charles Stuart, son of the said Charles, commonly called the Prince of

Wales, or any other person to be king or chief magistrate of England or Ireland, or any of the dominions belonging to them; by colour of inheritance, succession, election, or any other claime whatsoever, without the free consent of the people in parliament. Upon pain to be condemned and judged as a traytor."

From the Moderate Intelligencer.

"The 30th of January, 1648, was Charles, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, put to death by beheading, over against the banqueting house of Whitehall; the place where formerly King James had all the fencers in London encountered, in their school way, for content of the King of Denmark, who came out of his kingdom to visit him, the scaffold being made from the *same window*, and in the same manner, only larger. But to come to what passed between his sentence and execution: as he was passing after sentence to his lodging, there was a cry of 'Execution!' upon which he turning towards them smiling, spake to one of his attendants, saying, 'poore creatures, for sixpence they would say as much of their commanders.' Entering the house, one of his servants departed, weeping; which he seeing, said, 'you can forbid their attendance, not their tears.' That night he commanded his dogs should be taken away, and sent to his wife, as not willing to have any thing pre-

sent that might take him off of serious consideration of himself.

"The Bishop of London sat up with him all Saturday night. Sunday he dined and supped in his bed chamber. Monday night he lay at St. James's; being told the next day was for his execution, he declared a great deal of readinesse to come to it. He walked through the park, as his former use was, very fast, and called his guard in a pleasant manner 'march apace,' that he might make haste. The scaffold was laid with black baize, also the rails about it; the block, a little piece of wood, flat at bottom, about a foot and a half long. [After giving the substance of his speech, &c. as before, it adds], his speech upon the scaffold ended, he prepared for death, putting on his cap, and off his doublet; and presently he laid his head over the block, which was at one blow struck off by one in disguise, and taken up by another in disguise also, which held up his head, but said nothing."

From the Perfect Weekly Account.

"No man could have come up with more confidence and appearance of resolution than he did; viewing the block, (with the axe lying upon it,) an iron staple in the scaffold to bind him down upon the block, in case he had refused to submit himself freely, without being any ways daunted: yea, when the deputies of that grim tyrant, death,

appeared with a terrifying disguise, the King, with a pleasant countenance, said, he freely forgave them."

From the Weekly Intelligencer, Feb. 3.

The King's body is embalmed, the head sewed on, and removed to St. James's. It is referred to a committee to consider of the time, manner, and place of his burial. "And in regard this is the last time that mention will be made of him as a King, it will be pardoned to say something more than usual. He was the third sonne of his father, King James, born in Scotland, Nov. 19, 1600, and was created Duke of York, at Whitehall, the 6th of January 1604; and on the 4th of November 1616, he was created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester, and began his reign over Great Britain the 27th of March 1625, and reigned 23 years."

From the *Moderate*, another paper of that time, we have the following anecdote:—"A gentlewoman big with childe, some days before the King's execution, pretended she longed to kiss the King's hand; which, after some denials of the officers that attended him, was at last, (considering her condition, though contrary to their instructions,) admitted. After she had greedily kissed the King's hand, his Majesty as eagerly saluted her lips three or four times. This gentlewoman is reported, by some that then

knew her, to be formerly the black handsome maid that waited on him at the Isle of Wight."

A Fragment of History relative to the Revolution.

The following is part of a letter from Dr. Rose, bishop of Edinburgh, to Bishop Campbell, at London, which is the more curious, as it is noticed in few, if in any, collection of papers, or history of the times to which it refers. It accounts for the conduct of the Scots' episcopalians at the revolution, and for the suppression of the order of the bishops in that kingdom. From this letter, likewise, it may be fairly inferred, that if the Scots bishops had followed the example of their brethren in England, episcopacy would not only have been TOLERATED, but established in Scotland; and that King William would have been much better pleased to have countenanced the bishops there than the presbyterians, if the bishops would have undertaken to have supported her cause. But from the perusal of the original, the reader will naturally draw his own conclusion:

"*October* 22, 1713.

"Because you desire a short history of my own proceedings and conduct when in London, at the late revolution, I shall, for your satisfaction and that of others, set downe a short and plain sum of it, which is as follows:

"When in October 1688, the Scots bishops came to know the intended invasion by the Prince of Orange, a good many of them being then at Edinburgh, meeting together, concerted and sent up a loyal address to the King. Afterwards, in November, finding that the Prince was landed, and foreseeing the dreadful convulsions that were like to ensue, and not knowing what damages might arise thence to both church and state, resolved to send up two of their number to the King, with a renewed tender of their duty; instructing them also to wait on the bishops of England for their advice and assistance, in case that any unlucky thing might possibly happen to occur with respect to our church: this resolution being taken, it was represented by the two archbishops to his Majesty's privy council, (in which the Lord Perth sat as chancellor,) and was agreed to and approved of by them. Whereupon, at the next meeting of the bishops, it was not thought fit, even by the archbishops themselves, that any of them (though they were men of the greatest ability and experience, should go up, as being less acceptable to the English bishops, from their having consented to the taking off the sanguinary laws against the papists, and so that undertaking was devolved over upon Dr. Bruce, bishop of Orkney, and me; he having suffered for not agreeing to that project, and I not concerned, as not being a bishop

at that time; and accordingly a commission was drawn up, and signed for us two, Dec. 3, 1688. The Bishop of Orkney promising to come back from that country in eight or ten days time, that we might journey together, occasioned my stay; but when that time was elapsed, I had a letter from him, signifying that he had fallen very ill, and desiring me to go up post; and in a few days coming to Northallerton, where hearing of the King's having left Rochester, I stood doubtful with myself, whether to go forward or return; but considering the various and contradictory accounts that I had got all along upon the road, and that, in case of the King's retirement, matters would be so much the more dark and perplexed, I resolved to go on, that I might be able to give just account of things to my brethren here, from time to time, and have the advice of English bishops, whom I never doubted to find unalterably firm to their master's interest. And, as this was the occasion of my coming to London, so by reason of the continuance of the Bishop of Orkney's illness, that difficult task fell to my share alone.

"The next day after my arrival at London, I waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury (to whom I had the honour to be known, some three years before.) And after my presenting, and his Grace's reading, my commission, his grace said that matters were very dark, and the cloud so

thick or gross that they could not see through it; they knew not well what to do for themselves, and far less what advice to give me; that there was to be a meeting of the Bishops with him that day, and desired me to see him a week thereafter. I next waited on the then Bishop of Asaph, (being my acquaintance also) who treated me in such a manner that I could not but see through his inclinations; wherefore I resolved to visit him no more, nor to address myself to any others of that order, till I should have occasion to learn something farther about them: wherefore, the week thereafter I repaired again to Lambeth, and told his grace all that had passed between St. Asaph and me, who smiling, replied, that St. Asaph was a good man, but an angry man, and withal told me, that matters still continued dark, and that it behoved me to wait the issue of their convention, which he suspected was only that which could give light, and open the scene; but withal desired me to come to him from time to time, and if any thing occurred, he would signify it to me. In that wearisome season, (wearisome to me because acquainted with few, save those of our own countrymen, and of those I knew not whom to trust) I waited on the Bishop of London, and entreated him to speak to the Prince, to put a stop to the persecutions of our clergy, but to no purpose. I was also with the then Dr. Burnet, upon the same design,

but, with no success, who told me he did not meddle in Scots affairs. I was also earnestly desired by the Bishop of London, and the then Viscount of Tarbat, and some other Scots Peers, to wait upon the Prince, and to present him with an address upon that head. I asked whether I or my address would readily meet with acceptance or success, if it did not compliment the Prince upon his descent, to deliver us from Popery and slavery: they said that was absolutely necessary. I told them I was neither instructed by my constituents to do so, neither had I myself clearness to do it, and that in these terms I neither could nor would visit or address his highness. In that season also I had the honour to be acquainted, and several times visited the worthy Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, whose conversation was very useful to me, and every way agreeable. And besides these Bishops already mentioned, I had not the honour to be acquainted with any other, and thus the whole time of the convention was passed off, excepting what was spent in necessary duties, and visiting our countrymen, even until the day that the dark scene was opened by the surprising vote of *abdication*, on which I went over to Lambeth: what passed there between his grace and me (being all private) it is all both needless, and would be very tedious, and perchance not so very proper to write it. In the close, I told his grace that I would make ready

to go home, and only wait on his grace once more before I took my journey.

"While I was making my visits of leave to my countrymen, I was surprisingly told that some two or three of them, attempting to go home without passes, were the first stage stopped upon the road, and that none were to expect passes without waiting upon the Prince. Whereupon I repaired again to Lambeth, to have his grace's advice, who considering the necessity of that compliment, agreed to my making it. Upon my applying to the Bishop of London to introduce, his lordship asked me whether I had any thing to say to the king, (so was the style in England then.) I replied, I had nothing to say, save that I was going for Scotland, being a member of the convention; for I understood that without waiting on the Prince, (that being the most common Scots style) I could not have a pass, and that without that, I must needs be stopt upon the road, as several of my countrymen had been. His lordship asked me again, saying, seeing the clergy have been, and are so routed, and barbarously treated by the Presbyterians, will you not speak to the king to put a stop to that, and in favour of your own clergy? My reply was, that the prince had been often applied to in that matter by several of the nobility, and addressed also by the sufferers themselves, and yet all to no purpose; wherefore I could have no hopes

that my intercessions would be of any avail; but if his lordship thought otherwise, I would not decline to make them. His lordship asked me farther, whether any of our countrymen would go along with me, and spoke partly of Sir George Mackenzie? I replied, I doubted nothing of that, whereupon his Lordship bid me find him out, that both he and I should be at court that day, against three in the afternoon, and that he would surely be there to introduce us; all which (having found Sir George) I imparted to him, who liked it very well, and said it was a good occasion, and wished that several of our nobility might be advertised by us to be there also; to which I replied, that I doubted much whether coming in a body he (the prince) would give us access; and that our nobility would be much offended at us, if, coming to court upon our invitation, access should be denied them; and, therefore, I thought it best that we alone should meet the Bishop at the time appointed, and advise with him what was fit to be done; which was agreed to: and upon our meeting with the Bishop, Sir George made that overture to his Lordship, which he closing with very warmly, said he would go into the king, and see if he would appoint a time for the Scots Episcopal nobility and gentry to wait upon him in favour of the clergy of Scotland, so sadly persecuted. Whereupon the Bishop leaving us in a room in Whitehall, near

adjoining to the place where the prince was, stayed above a full half hour from us, and upon his return told us, the king's answer was, that he would not allow us to come to him in a body, lest that might give jealousy and umbrage to the Presbyterians, neither would he permit them (for the same reason) to come to him in numbers; and that he would not allow above two of either party at a time to speak on church matters.

"Then the Bishop directing his discourse to me, said, my lord, you see that the king, having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a swimming with one hand. The Presbyterians have joined him closely, and offer to support him, and therefore he cannot cast them off: unless he could, how otherwise can he be served? And the king bids me tell you, that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland; for while there, he was made believe that Scotland, generally all over, was Presbyterians, but now he sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for Episcopacy, and it is the trading and inferior sort are for Presbytery; wherefore he bids me tell you, that, if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians.

"My answer to this was, 'My lord, I cannot but thank the Prince for his frankness and

offer; but withal I must tell your lordship, that when I came to Scotland, neither my brethren nor I apprehended any such revolution as I have seen now in England, and therefore I neither was, nor could be, instructed by them what answer to make to the Prince's offer; and therefore what I say is not in their name, but only my private opinion; which is, that I truely think they will not serve the Prince so as he is served in England,—that is, as I take it, to make him their king, nor give their suffrage for his being king; and though, as to this matter, I can say nothing in their name, and as for them, yet for myself I must say, that, rather than do so, I will abandon all the interest that either I have, or may expect to have, in Britain.' Upon this, the Bishop commended my openness and ingenuity, and said he believed it was so; 'for,' says he, 'all the time you have been here, neither have you waited on the King, nor have any of your brethren, the Scots Bishops, made any address to him; so the King must be excused for standing by the Presbyterians.'

'Immediately upon this, the Prince going somewhere abroad, comes through our room, and Sir George Mackenzie takes leave of him, in very few words. I applied to the bishop, and said, 'My lord, there is now no farther place for application, in our church matters, and this opportunity for taking leave of the prince is lost; wherefore I

beg that your lordship would introduce me for that effect, if you can, next day, about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon,' which his lordship promised and performed; and upon my being admitted in the Prince's presence, he came three or four steps forward from his company, and prevented me, by saying, 'My lord, are you going for Scotland?' My reply was, 'Yes, sir, if you have any commands for me.' Then he said, 'I hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England.' Wherefore, being somewhat difficulted how to make a manherly and discreet answer, without entangling myself, I readily replied, '*Sir, I will serve you as far as law, reason, or conscience, will allow me.*' How this answer pleased, I cannot well tell; but it seems the limitations and conditions of it were not acceptable; for instantly the Prince, without saying any more, turned away from me and went back to his company. Considering what had passed the day before, I was much surprised to find the Prince accost me in these terms; but I presume, that either the Bishop (not having time) had not acquainted him with what had passed, or that the Prince proposed to try what might be made of me by the honor he did me of that immediate demand. And as that was the first, so it was the last time I had the honour to speak with his highness. The things I write were not only upon the matter, but in the self

same individual words that I have set them down. Whether what the Bishop of London delivered as from the Prince, was so or not, I cannot certainly say; but I think his lordship's word was good enough for that; or whether the Prince would have stood by his promise, of casting off the Presbyterians and protecting us, in case we had come into his interests, I will not determine; though this seems the most probable to me, and for these reasons: he had the Presbyterians sure on his side, both from inclination and interest; many of them having come over with him, and the rest having appeared so warmly for him, that with no good grace imaginable could they return to King James's interest; next by gaining, as he might presume to gain, the Episcopal nobility and gentry, which he saw was a great party, and consequently that King James would be deprived of his principal support; then he saw what a hardship it would be upon the *Church of England*, and of what bad consequence to see Episcopacy ruined in Scotland; who, no doubt, would have vigorously interposed for us, if we, by our courage, could have been brought to justify their measures.

"And I am the more confirmed in this, for, after my coming down here, my Lord St. Andrew and I, taking occasion to wait on Duke Hamilton, his Grace told us, a day or two before the setting down of the convention, that he had

it in special charge from King William, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of Episcopacy, in case the Bishop could by any means be brought to befriend his interest; and prayed us most pathetically, for our own sake, to follow the example of the Church of England. To which my Lord St. Andrew replied, that both by natural allegiance, the laws, and the most solemn oaths, we were engaged in the King's interests, and that even, by God's grace, to stand by it in the face of all danger, and to the greatest losses; subjoining that his Grace's quality and influence put it in his hands to do his Majesty the greatest honour; and if he acted otherwise, it might readily be as a heavy taske and curse both upon him and his family."

ALEX. EDINB.

THE MASKED EXECUTIONER OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST *.

IT is universally known, that at the Execution of King Charles the First, a man in a vizor performed the office of executioner. This circumstance has given rise to a variety of conjectures and accounts; in some of which, one *William Walker*, is said to be the executioner, in others it is supposed to be a *Richard Brandon*, of whom a long account was published in an Exeter

* Antiquary's Portfolio, by Mr. Forsyth.

newspaper of 1784. But William Lilly, in his "History of his Life and Times," has the following remarkable passage. "Many have curiously enquired who it was that cut off his (the King's) head: I have no permission to speak of such things; only thus much I say, he that did it, is as valiant and resolute a man as lives, and one of a competent fortune." To clear up this passage, we shall present our readers with Lilly's examination (as related by himself) before the first parliament of King Charles II., in June 1660.

"At my first appearance, many of the young members affronted me highly, and demanded several scurrilous questions. Mr. Weston held a paper before his mouth; bade me answer nobody but Mr. Prinn. I obeyed his command, and saved myself much trouble thereby; and when Mr. Prinn put any difficult or doubtful query unto me, Mr. Weston prompted me with a fit answer. At last, after almost one hour's tugging, I desired to be fully heard what I could say as to the person that cut Charles the First's head off. Liberty being given me to speak, I related what follows, viz.

"That the next Sunday but one after Charles the First was beheaded, Robert Spavin, secretary to Lieutenant-General Cromwell at that time, invited himself to dine with me, and brought Anthony Peirson and several others

along with him to dinner. That their principal discourse all dinner time was only who it was that beheaded the King. One said it was the common hangman; another, Hugh Peters; others also were nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, so soon as dinner was done, took me by the hand and carried me to the south window: saith he, 'These are all mistaken; they have not named the man that did the fact; it was *Lieut. Colonel Joice*. I was in the room when he fitted himself for the work; stood behind him when he did it; when done, went in with him again. There is no man knows this but my master, (viz: Cromwell,) Commissary Ireton, and myself.'—'Doth not Mr. Rushworth know it?' saith I.—'No, he doth not know it,' saith Spavin. 'The same thing, Spavin hath often related to me when we were alone."

The following extraordinary anecdotes, respecting this mysterious circumstance, are taken from "*Delassements de l'Homme Sensible*," or "The Recreations of the Man of Feeling," by M. D'Arnaud, an author greatly celebrated in France for the virtuous tendency of his writings, and who, although he has avowedly embellished his narration by giving it a dramatic turn, solemnly asserts that he received the particulars from a man of letters, of the strictest probity, to whom it was related by an intimate friend of Lord S.'s.

This Lord, says M. D. Arnuad, was the favorite of King George II. and one of the Generals of the English army at the battle of Dettingen. The dispositions of the Marshall de Noallis were so judicious that nothing but the impetuosity of a subordinate French officer saved the allied army from destruction, and even gave them an unexpected victory. The consequence was that Lord S. who was the only person that seemed to be sensible of the unskilful movements of the allies, but whose sentiments were disregarded, lost the favour of his sovereign, and retired from the army with disgust. On his arrival at London he proposed to reside on his estate in Scotland; but some days before his intended departure, he received a letter, in a very extraordinary style, calculated at once to stimulate curiosity in a mind not easily daunted. It desired an interview, at a particular time and place, upon business of the utmost importance, and requiring him to come unattended. His Lordship, who did not pay immediate attention to this letter, received a second the next day, in terms still more energetic.

This second summons appeared too singular to be disregarded. Lord S. therefore went to the place appointed, without any attendants, but not unarmed; nor was he absolutely devoid of fear, when he entered one of the bye places in the metropolis that most commonly indicate the resi-

dence of poverty and wretchedness. He went up a dirty staircase into a garret, where by the glimmering light, he perceived a man stretched upon a bed, with every appearance of extreme old age. "My Lord," said this unexpected object, "I was impatient to see you; I have heard of your fame. Be seated; you have nothing to apprehend from a man one hundred and twenty-five years old." Lord S. sat down, waiting with the utmost impatience for the unravelling of this extraardinary adventure, while the centinary proceeded to inquire whether his Lordship had not occasion for certain writings that related to his family and his fortune. "Yes," replied his Lordship, with emotion. "I want certain papers, the loss of which has deprived me of a great part of my inheritance." "There," returned the old man, giving him the key of a small casket, "there are these writings deposited." "To whom," said his Lordship, the moment he discovered this treasure, "to whom am I indebted for this inestimable treasure?"—"Oh! my son," replied the old man, "come and embrace your great grandfather."—"My great grandfather!" interrupted his Lordship, with inexpressible astonishment.

But how much more was he astonished when this ancestor informed him that he was the masked executioner of King Charles the 1st. "An insatiable thirst of vengeance," continued

he, "impelled me to this abominable crime. I had been treated, as I imagined, with the highest indignity by my sovereign. I suspected him of having seduced my daughter; I sacrificed every sense of loyalty and virtue to revenge this imaginary injury; I entered into all the designs of Cromwell and his associates; I paved the way to his usurpation; I even refined on vengeance; I solicited Cromwell to let me be the executioner; and, to fill up the measure of my guilt, the unhappy king knew, before the fatal blow, the man that was to inflict it. From that day my soul has been a prey to distraction and remorse; I have been an exile, a voluntary outcast in Europe and Asia near fourscore years. Heaven, as if to punish me with severer rigour, has prolonged my existence beyond the ordinary term of nature. This casket is the only remains of my fortune. I came here to end my wretched days. I had heard of your disgrace at court, so much the reverse of what your virtues merited, and I was desirous before I breathed my last to contribute thus to your welfare. All the return I ask is, that you leave me to my wretched fate, and shed a tear to the memory of one, whose long, long repentance, I hope, may at last expiate his crime."

Lord S. earnestly pressed his hoary ancestor to retire with him into Scotland, and there to live, for the remainder of his days, under a ficti-

tious name. He long withstood all these entreaties, but wearied out at length by importunity, he consented, or rather seemed to consent. The next day, however, when his lordship returned, he found that his repentant great grandfather had quitted the spot; and, notwithstanding all the researches that were made, his fate remains a mystery to this day.

John Fox, the tinker, that "*Rogue Fox*," as he was sometimes termed by the Royalists, appears to have been a very active officer, and no small annoyance to his adversaries. He was a colonel in the rebel army, and his brother, Reynold Fox, a major under him. Odious enough in the eyes of the cavaliers, for his successful opposition, he was surcharged with being one of King Charles's executioners: "some have a conceit that he that gave the stroke, was one *Collonell Foxe*, and the other Captain Joyce, who took the king from Holmby, but that is not believed."—*Journal of the Earl of Leicester, in Sydney Papers, by Blencowe*, p. 61. (Dugdale.)

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS, JEWELS, &c. OF CHARLES I.

The following inventory is to be found among the Harleian MSS. It is both curious and interesting. Inventories generally give a better idea

of the style of living, manners, and customs, than any other species of description. In this, we have notices of much that is lost; the splendid tapestry, the gorgeous jewels, and regalia, and many curious items of great interest. The jewel-house, at the period this account was taken, was, in fact, a museum of curiosities. Only some of the most curious have been selected; as, if the whole had been printed, it would have formed several quarto volumes.

An Inventory of Household Goods, Jewells, Plate, &c. belonging to the late King, sold by order of the Council of State, from the several places and palaces following:—

The Tower Jewel Houses; Somerset House; Whitehall; Greenwich; Wimbledon; Oatlands; Windsor; Hampton Court; Richmond; Sion House; St. James's, and several other places; with the several contracts made by the contractors, for sale of the said goods, &c. from the year 1646, to the year 1652.

Tower Jewel House.

A small silver rod, valued at 2l. 10s. Sent to the Mint.

A Bugill horn tipt with gold, and a chain, 12l. Sold for the same, 7th Dec. 1649.

A Fountain * for perfumed waters, artificially

* Probably intended to ornament the centre of a table at a feast, &c.

made to play of itself (of silver) 10l. Sold for 30l.

A silver basin enamelled, green and gold, eight* square, 25l. Sold for 35l.

A large two-handled flagon, with a spire cover, valued at (silver gilt) 20l. Sold for 25l.

A large antique vessel for mead, from the Duke of Muscovy, weighing 100 oz. at 5s. per oz. 25l. Sent to the Mint.

A large Beaker, from the said Duke, made of many pieces of coin joined together, weight 80 oz. at 5s. per oz. 20l. Sent to the Mint.

A silver eagle, made to move, weight 25 oz. 6l. 5s. Sent to the Mint.

The Temple of Jerusalem, made of ebony and amber, valued at 20l. Sold for 25l. Dec. 12, 1650.

A branch for candles, cut in rock-chrystal, with silver sockets, 50l. This, and another similar, sold Dec. 24, for 110l.

A chess board, said to be Queen Elizabeth's, inlaid with gold, silver, and pearls, valued at 19l. 10. Sold, Mar. 4, 1649, for 23l.

A great Amethist, engraved in Hebrew, in gold, 50l. Sold for 55l.

A conjuring drum, from Lapland, with an Almanack† cut on piece of wood, and some other

* Query. Octagon?

† An engraving of an almanack of this kind may be seen in Brady's Clavis Calendaria, and Fosbroke's Encyclopedia of Antiquities.

odd trinkets of steel and silver gilt, 1l. 5s. Sold, Dec. 23, 1649, for 1l. 11s.

A trumpet made of a large elephant's tooth, engraved with several odd figures, valued at 5s. Sold, Dec. 23, 1649, for 7s. 6d.

The 12 Cæsar's heads in bass relievos cut in porphyry, 45l. Sold, Dec. 27, 1649, for 50l.

A very large scimetar*, the blade damasque, with an agate handle, the scabbard of crimson velvet covered with plates of silver, engraved and hanged in a chain of silver, valued at 5l. Sold, Dec. 3, 1649, for 5l. 17s.

A Saxon king's mace used in war, with a ball full of spikes, and the handle covered with gold plates and enamelled †, valued at 30l. 10s. Sold, Dec. 31, 1649, for 37l. 8s.

A Roman shield of buff leather, covered with a plate of gold finely chased with a Gorgon's head; set round the rim with rubies, emeralds, turquoise stones, in number 137; valued at 125l. Sold, Dec. 31, 1649, for 132l. 12s.

A large pole axe, covered with plates of silver engraved, and a pair of Roman knight's spurs, inlaid with gold, 4l. 15s. 3d. Sold, Dec. 31, 1649, for 16l.

* From the description, this sword appears to be Saracenic; perhaps a trophy brought by a crusader from the Holy Land.

† Probably of the reign of William II. between 1087 and 1100: it was called a morning star, and used by the people of South Wales. Dr. Meyrick says it was introduced by the Normans. One of the gigantic figures in the Guildhall of the city of London held a weapon of this kind in his hand. Its use was continued to a late period.

The Tower Upper Jewel House.

An ewer of mother of pearl garnished with gold and rubies, a fair sapphire at the foot, 40l. Sold, Justice Edwards, 31 Dec. 1649, for 41l.

A large estridge* egg pot garnished with enammeled gold, the cover gold, and the handle a green enammeled serpent: weight 2lb. 8½ oz. 70l. Sold, Dec. 24, 1649, for 72l.

A golden nun enammelled, with a ragged staff in her hand, weighing 14 oz. valued at 2l. 10s. per oz. 35l.

The imperial crown of massey gold, weighing 7lb. 6 oz. enriched, &c. at 40l. per lb. valued 28,0l. Delivered to the mint to be coined.

One blue saphire, 50l., do. 15l. do. 3l.; two do. 30l.; one do. 3l. do. 10l.; two do. 15l. do. 8l.; one do. 8l. do. 3l. do. 20l. do. 15l. do. 3l. do. 5l.; two do. 10l. Sold, Sept. 19, 1650, to Mr Humphreys.

Two hundred and and thirty-two pearls, at 15s. a piece, 174l.

Ruby Ballassis.

Four rubies in the flower de luce, 20l.; do. do. cross, 6l.; two do. de luce, 12l.; four do. cross, 6l., two do. de luce, 3l.; five do. cross, 12l.; four do. de luce, 30l.; do. do. cross, 20l.; do. do. de luce, 20l.; do. do. cross, 20l. Total, 149l.

The Queen's crown, 3lb. 10½ oz. valued at 40l. per lb. 5 oz. being abated for the weight of the

* Ostrich.

stones, is 136l. 13s. 4d. The gold delivered to the mint to be coined.

Twenty saphires, 70l.; 16 do. 50l.; 22 rubies, 40l.; 83 pearls, 41l. Total, 201l. Sold to Mr. Crooke for 210l. Jan 1649.

A small crown found in an iron chest, formerly in the custody of the Ld Cottington, weighing 2 lb. 1 oz. whereof three ounces is to be allowed for the weight of the stones, valued at 3l. 6s 8d. per oz. 73l. 6s. 8d.

The globe, weighing 1 lb. 5 ¼ oz. at 3l. 6s. 8d. per oz. valued at 51l. 10s. Delivered to the mint to be coined.

Two coronation bracelets, weighing 7¼ oz. whereof one ounce to be deducted for the weight of the stones and pearls, at 3l. 6s. 8d. per oz. 20l. Delivered to the mint to be coined.

The stones and pearls of the three parcels, sold for 25l. Jan. 3, 1549.

Broken Stones.

Three rubies ballas, set in each of the bracelets, valued at 6l. Twelve pearls, valued at 6l. Two sceptres, weighing 16 ¼ oz. at 3l. 6s. 8d. per oz. 60l. Delivered to the mint.

A long rod of silver gilt, weighing 1l. 5 oz. at 5s. 4d. per oz. 4l. 10s. 8d. Delivered to the mint.

One gold poringer and cover, weighing 15½ oz. valued at 3l. 6s. 8d. per oz. 51l. 18s. 4d. Delivered to the mint.

One gold cup set with two saphires, and two

ballas rubies weighing 13½ oz. at 3l. 6s. 8d. per oz. 51l. 13s. 4d. Delivered to the mint.

Divers pieces of broken gold enamelled, put together in a bag, weighing 5lb. 7 oz. at 3l. per oz. 201l.—A George on horseback of gold, with a pearl in his helmet, and a dragon enamelled, weight 33 oz. at 3l. per oz. 99l. Delivered to the mint.

A ground for the horse to stand on, silver gilt, enamelled green, weight 3 lb. 4 oz. at 5s. per oz. 10l. Delivered to the mint.

An INVENTORY *of that Part of the Regalia which is now removed from Westminster to the Tower Jewel House.*

Queen Edith's crown, formerly thought to be of massey gold, but upon tryall found to be of silver gilt; enriched with garnette fowle pearle saphire, and some stones weighing 50 oz. ½, valued at 16l.: 1 oz. sold Mrs. Dammersque for 5s 4d. ye 21 Jan.—King Ellfreds crown of gold, wyre-work, sett with slight stones, and two little bells, weighing 79 oz. ½, at 3l. p^r^ oz. 10l. Delivered to the mint.

A dove of gold, sett with stones and pearl, per oz. 8 ounces ½, sett with studs of silver gilt, in a box, valued together 26l. Delivered to the mint.

A large staffe, with a dove on the topp, formerly thought to be all gold, but upon tryall found to be the lower part wood within, and silver

gilt without: the upper part wood within and gold without, weighing 27 oz, and valued at 35l. Delivered to the mint.

One small staffe, with a flower de luce on the topp, formerly thought to be all gold, but upon tryall found to be iron within, and silver gilt without; value, 2l. 10s. Delivered to the mint.

Two sceptres, one sett with pearles and stones; the upper end gold, ye lower end silver; the gold weighing 23 oz. att 3ɔs. per oz. the lower end being horn, and a little silver gilt, valued at 12s.; the other silver gilt, with a dove, formerly thought to be gold, weighing 7 ounces ¾, at 5s. 6d. per oz. 65l. 19s. 7½d. Delivered to the mint.

Memorable Transaction between Charles II. and George Downing, Esq.*

It is not a little singular that amongst so many dangers to which King Charles the Second was exposed, and from which he was surprisingly and miraculously delivered, neither Lord Clarendon nor any other author, takes the least notice of one of a very extraordinary nature, which happened to him in Holland, and which was as follows:

The King, when at Brussels, being desirous and resolved to see his sister, the Princess of Orange, but withal under a necessity to make

* Ambassador from Oliver Cromwell to the United Provinces.

the journey with the utmost secresy, did communicate the design to no one person whatsoever. He ordered —— Fleming, a servant of the Earl of Wigton, who was in his service, and of whose fidelity he neither then nor ever after did doubt, secretly to provide a couple of good horses, and have them ready at a certain place and time of the next ensuing night as his Majesty appointed; that Fleming, with these horses, should remain alone, till he heard from the King.

At the time appointed, the King (having gone to bed, and afterwards dressed himself, and privately gone out at a back door, and leaving only a letter to some one of his servants, in whom he confided, with an account of his having gone from thence for a few days, and with directions to keep his absence as secret as possible, under pretence of being indisposed,) came to the place, where he found Fleming with the horses, as he had directed. He then acquainted Fleming of his design to see his sister at the Hague; and not regarding the hazards he might be exposed to, away he went with his slender equipage and attendants, travelling through the most secret bye-ways, and contriving it so that he came to the Hague by six in the morning, and alighted at a scrub inn, in a remote part of the town, where he was confident none would know him, under the disguise he had assumed. He immediately sent his Fleming to acquaint his

sister where he was, and to leave it to her to contrive the way and manner of having access to her, so as not to be known.

Fleming having dispatched his commission in a very short time, (in less than an hour,) was no sooner returned to the King, (whom he found in the room where he had left him, and where he had been still alone,) than an unknown person came and asked of the landlord, if two Frenchmen had not alighted at his house that morning. The landlord replied, that indeed two men had come, but of what country he knew not. The stranger desired him to tell them that he wanted to speak to them; which he having done, the King was much surprised, but withal inclined to see the person. Fleming opposed it, but the King being positive, the person was introduced, being an old reverend-like man, with a long grey beard, and ordinary grey clothes, who, looking and speaking to the King, told him, he was the person he wanted to speak to, and that all alone on matters of importance.

The King believing it might be, perhaps, a return from his sister, or being curious to know the result of such an adventure, desired Fleming to withdraw, which he refused, till the King taking him aside, told him there could be no hazard from such an old man, for whom he was too much, and commanded him to retire. They were no sooner alone, than the stranger bolted

the door, (which brought the King to think what might or could happen,) and at the same time falling down on his knees, pulled off his very hue and artificial mask, and discovered himself to Mr. Downing, afterwards well known by the name of Sir George, and ambassador from the King to the States after the restoration, then envoy or ambassador from Cromwell to the States, being the son of one Downing, an independent minister, who attended some of the parliament men who were once sent to Scotland, to treat with the Scots to join against the King, and was a very active and virulent enemy to the royal family, as appears from Lord Clarendon's History. . .

The King, it may be easily imagined, was a little surprised at the discovery; but Downing gave him no time for reflection, having immediately spoken to him in the following manner: That he hoped his Majesty would pardon him for any share he had acted during the rebellion against his royal interest, and assured him, that though he was just now in the service of the usurper, he wished his Majesty as well as any of his subjects, and would, when an occasion offered, venture all for his service, and was hopeful what he was about to say, would convince his Majesty of his sincerity. But before he mentioned the cause of his coming to him, he must insist that his Majesty would solemnly promise him not to

mention what had happened, either to Fleming or any other person whatsoever, till it pleased God to restore his Majesty to his throne, when he said he should not desire it to be concealed; though then he must likewise have his Majesty's promise, not to ask him, or expect that he should discover, how or when he came to know of his being there.

The King having solemnly protested, and engaged on the terms required, Downing proceeded and told him, that his master, the usurper, being now at peace with the Dutch, and the States so dependent and obsequious to him that they refused nothing he desired, had, with the greatest secresy, in order to make it more effectual, entered into a treaty, by which, among other trifling matters agreed to, "hinc et indè," the chief and indeed main end of the negociation was, that the States stood engaged to seize and deliver up to the usurper the person of his Majesty, if so be at any time he should, by accident or design, come within their territories, when required thereto, by any in his name; and that this treaty, having been signed by the states, was sent to London, from whence it had returned but yesterday morning; and totally finished yesterday night, betwixt him and a secret committee of the states. He represented his master's intelligence to be so good, that a discovery would be made even to himself (Downing) of his Majesty's be-

ing there; and if he neglected to apply to have him seized, his master would resent it to the highest, which would infallibly cost him his head, and deprive his Majesty of a faithful servant. And being desirous to prevent the miserable consequences of what would follow, if his being there were discovered, he resolved to communicate the danger he was in; and for fear of a discovery he had disguised himself, being resolved to trust no person with the secret. He then proposed that his Majesty should immediately mount his horses, and make all the dispatch imaginable out of the States' territories; that he himself would return home, and under pretence of sickness, lie longer a-bed than usual, and that when he thought his Majesty was so far off as to be out of danger to be overtaken, he would go to the states and acquaint them, that he understood his Majesty was in town, and require his being seized in the terms of the treaty; that he knew they would comply, and send to the place directed; but on finding his Majesty was gone off so far as to be safe, he would propose to make no further noise about it, lest it should discover the treaty, and prevent his Majesty falling afterwards into their hands.

The King immediately followed this advice, and Downing returning home, every thing was acted and happened as he proposed and foretold. Having thus escaped this most imminent danger,

his Majesty most religiously performed what he had promised, never mentioning any part of this history till after his restoration; and not then desiring to know how Downing's intelligence came, (which he never discovered) though he (the King) often said it was a mystery. For no person knew of his design till he was on horseback, and that he could not think Fleming went and discovered him to Downing; beside he so soon returned from his sister he could not have time; Downing having come much about the time Fleming returned.

This story was told by several who frequented King Charles' court; particularly by the Earl of Cromartie, who said, the next year after the restoration, he with the Duke of Rothes and several other Scots of quality, being one night with the King over a bottle, they all complained of an impertinent speech Downing had made in parliament, reflecting on the Scots' nation, which they thought his Majesty should resent so as to discard him from court, and withdraw his favours from him. The King replied, he did not approve of what he had said, and would reprove him for it; but to go farther he could not well do, because of this story, which he repeated in the terms here narrated, which made such an impression on all present, that they freely forgave what had passed, and Rothes asked liberty to begin his health in a bumper.

ORIGINAL LETTER *from* PRINCE CHARLES, *(afterwards Charles II.) to Sir Thomas Fairfax.*

(From the MS.)

WEE have soe deepe a sence of the present miseries and calamities of this kingdome, that there is nothing that we most earnestly pray for to Almighty God, then that hee would bee pleased to restore unto it a happy peace; and we should think it a great blessing of God upon us, if wee might bee so happie as to be an instrument in the advancing of it, and therefore we have resolved to send two of our councel unto the King our father, with some such overtures as wee are hopeful may conduce thereunto; and doe hereby desire to send or procure from the lords and commons assembled in parliament at *Westminster*, a safe conduct for the Lord *Hopton* and Lord *Culpepper*, with twelve servants, to go to our Royal father, and to return to us; and we shall then manifest to the world our most earnest endeavours to stoppe this issue of blood, which must otherwise, in a short time, render this unhappye land most miserable.

Given at our court at Leicester, this 15th day of September, 1645. CHARLES P.

FAMILIARITY OF ANTONIO VERRIO, THE ITALIAN PAINTER, WITH *Charles II.*

CHARLES II. having a mind to revive the manufacture of tapestry at *Mortlack*, which had been

interrupted by the civil war, sent for *Verrio*, a *Neapolitan*, to *England*; but changing his purpose, consigned over *Windsor* to his pencil. The King was induced to this by seeing some of his paintings at Lord *Arlington's*, at the end of St. *James's* Park, where at present stands *Buckingham House*.

The first picture *Verrio* drew for the King was his Majesty in naval triumph, now in the public dining-room in the castle. He executed most of the ceilings there, one whole side of St. *George's*-hall, and the chapel. On the ceiling of the former he has pictured *Anthony*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, in the character of *Faction*, dispersing libels; as in another place he revenged a private quarrel with the house-keeper, Mrs. *Marriot*, by borrowing her ugly face for one of the furies.

With still greater impropriety he has introduced himself, Sir *Godfrey Kneller*, and *Bap. May*, surveyor of the works, in long perriwigs, as spectators of *Christ* healing the sick. He is recorded as operator of all these gaudy works, in a large inscription over the tribune at the end of the hall.

* *An account of monies paid for painting done in* Windsor Castle *for his Majesty, by Sig.* Verrio, *since* July 1676.

	£	s.	d.
King's guard-chamber	300	0	0
King's presence-chamber	200	0	0
Privy-chamber	200	0	0
Queen's drawing-room	250	0	0
Queen's bed-chamber	100	0	0
King's great bed-chamber	120	0	0
King's little bed-chamber	50	0	0
King's drawing-room	250	0	0
King's closet	50	0	0
King's eating-room	250	0	0
Queen's long gallery	250	0	0
Queen's chapel	110	0	0
King's privy back-stairs	100	0	0
The King's gratuity	200	0	0
The King's carved stairs	150	0	0
Queen's privy-chamber	200	0	0
King's guard-chamber stairs	200	0	0
Queen's presence-chamber	200	0	0
Queen's great stairs	200	0	0
Queen's guard-chamber	200	0	0
Privy gallery	200	0	0
Court-yard	200	0	0
Pension at *Midsummer*, 1680	200	0	0
A gratuity of 200 guineas	215	8	4

* Copied from a half sheet of paper, fairly writ in a hand of the times.

Pension at *Christmas*, 1680	100 0 0
Pension at *Midsummer*, 1681	100 0 0
The King's chapel	900 0 0
Over-work in the chapel	150 0 0
	5545 8 4
On the back of this paper,	
His Majesty's gift, a gold chain	200 0 0
More by the Duke of *Albermarle*, for a ceiling	60 0 0
More, my Lord of *Essex*	40 0 0
More, from Mr. *Montague* of *London*	800 0 0
More, of Mr. *Montague* of *Woodcutt*	300 0 0
In all	£6945 8 4

The King's bounty did not stop here; *Verrio* had a place of master gardener, and a lodging at the end of the park, now *Carleton House*. He was expensive and kept a great table, and often pressed the King for money, with a freedom which his Majesty's own frankness indulged. Once at *Hampton Court*, when he had but lately received an advance of 1000*l.* he found the King in such a circle that he could not approach. He called out, "Sire, I desire the favour of speaking to your Majesty!" "Well, *Verrio*," said the King, "what is your request?" "Money, Sir; I am so short of cash that I am not able to pay my workmen; and your Majesty and I have learnt by experience, that pedlars and painters

cannot give credit long." The King smiled, and said he had but lately ordered him 1000*l.* "Yes, Sir," replied he, "but that was soon paid away, and I have no gold left." "At that rate," said the King, "you would spend more than I do to maintain my family." "True," answered *Verrio*, "but does your Majesty keep open table as I do?"

The Revolution was by no means agreeable to *Verrio's* religion or principles. He quitted his place, and even refused to work for K. *William*. From that time he was for some years employed at the Lord *Exeter's*, at *Burleigh*, and afterwards at *Chatsworth*. At the former, he painted several chambers, which are reckoned among his best works. He has placed his own portrait in the room where he represented the history of *Mars* and *Venus*; and for the *Bacchus* bestriding a hogshead, he has, according to his usual liberty, borrowed the countenance of Dean *Graham*, with whom he was at variance. At last, by persuasion of Lord *Exeter*, he condescended to serve King *William*, and was sent to *Hampton Court*; where among other things he painted the great stair-case, and as ill as if he had spoiled it out of principle. His eyes failing him, Queen *Anne* gave him a pension of 200*l.* a year for life; but he did not enjoy it long, dying at *Hampton Court* in 1707.

The following MEMORANDUM, *relating to the town of Sheffield, is extracted from an ancient manuscript, written in the reign of Henry VII. by one Mr. Henry Jakes.*

39. E. III.

De officio est anno tricessimo nono Edvardi *tertii post mortem T. Domini de* Fournyvale.

Com. Ebor. Castrum et dominum de Sheffeld *cum membris et pertinentibus suis in Com. Ebor. tenentur de Domino rege in capite ut de corona per homagium et fidelitatem et per bonum unum feodum miltis et per servitium reddend. Domino regi et heredibus suis per annum* duos lepores albos *in festi* nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptistæ.

Membra Castrum de Sheffeld.

Richmond,	Stanyford,	Capell,
Heighleigh,	Longeley,	Bernes,
Hallum,	Shirelif,	Wodsetes,
Fullwode,	Nepesend,	Whitley,
Morwood,	Brighous,	Birlay,
Stanyngton,	Orputes,	Bradfield,
Walkelay,	Osgelthorp,	Ireton,
Hopthorp,	Skynnthorp,	Orgrave,
Waddesley,	Grymesthorp,	Darnale,
Ollerton,	Grykesherth,	Catcliff,
Stanyngton Morwood,	Attercliff,	Brynsford,
Birlay,	Darnale,	Whitstan,
Werlsend,	Bilhugh,	Tolewike,
Souchagh,	Northinley,	Aston.
Wodhouse,		

Most of the places above-mentioned are in the neighbourhood, or within a few miles of *Sheffield*,

and still retain their ancient names. The condition of the above tenure seems a little extraordinary, at this time at least, with respect to one circumstance, viz. the annual payment to the King of *duos albos lepores* (two white hares), a particular we do not remember to have met with elsewhere.

Adventures of Charles II. and his Escape out of the Kingdom.

It is said that the Commons intended to bind the Princess Elizabeth apprentice to a button-maker. The Duke of Gloucester was to be instructed in some other mechanical employment. But the former soon died of grief, as is supposed, for her father's tragical end: the latter was by Cromwell sent beyond the seas. The young king, poor and neglected, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, comforted himself, in his distresses, with the hopes of better fortune: at length necessity forced him to take shelter in the Scots army; but being there reduced to close confinement, and secluded from his friends, despaired that even his liberty, much less his authority, would ever be restored to him. Besides, his situation in other respects was ill suited to his temper and disposition. Obliged to attend from morning to night at prayers and sermons, he betrayed evi-

dent symptoms of weakness, or contempt; and at length tired of all these formalities, he made an attempt to regain his liberty.

The King's passions sometimes got the better of his prudence: being once observed to use some familiarities with a female, a committee of ministers was appointed to reprove him, for behaviour so unbecoming a covenanted monarch. Douglas, the spokesman, began with a severe aspect, and informed the King of the great scandal he had given to the godly, enlarged on the heinous nature of the sin, and concluded with advising his Majesty, whenever he was disposed to amuse himself, to be more careful in shutting the windows. This delicate reproof, so unusual to the place, and to the character of the man, was remarked by the King, who never forgot the obligation.

General Middleton, at the head of some royalists, being proscribed by the covenanters, kept in the mountains, expecting some opportunities of serving his master. The King resolved to join this body. He secretly made his escape from Argyle, and fled towards the highlands. Having the way open, he immediately marched into England, where he expected that all his friends, and all those discontented with the then present government, would flock to his standard. He persuaded the general to enter into some views. With one consent the army, to the

number of fourteen thousand, rose from their camp (at Torwood) and advanced by great journies toward the south. At this movement of the royal army Cromwell was surprised, though not intimidated. He immediately dispatched to parliament, exhorting them not to be dismayed at the approach of the Scots. He sent Lambert to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and molest their march; left Monck to complete the reduction of Scotland, while he himself pursued the King with all possible expedition.

Charles's expectations of increasing his army being disappointed, the terrified Scots fell off in great numbers; and the English Presbyterians having no notice of the King's approach, were not prepared to meet him. The measure was equally unexpected to the royalists, who were deterred from joining the Scotch army, by orders which the committee of ministers had issued, not to admit any who would not subscribe to the covenant. So that the King, when he arrived at Worcester, found that his forces were fatigued and harassed by a tedious march, and not more numerous than when he left Scotland.

Cromwell, on the other hand, had authority to raise every where the militia of the counties; and these, united with the regular forces, bent all their forces against the King. With an army of 30,000 men, Cromwell attacked the King at Worcester; and meeting with little re-

sistance, except from the Duke of Hamilton and General Middleton, broke the disordered royalists. The streets of the city were strewed with dead. The whole Scotch army was either killed or taken prisoners. The King himself, after having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly.

The King left Worcester about six o'clock in the afternoon, and, without halting, travelled about twenty-six miles, in company with fifty or sixty of his friends. For better security, he separated from his companions, whom he left without communicating his intentions to any one. By the direction of the Earl of Derby, he went to Roscobel, a lone house in the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. The man had dignity of sentiment above his condition; for though death was denounced against any who concealed him, and a great reward promised to any who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity. He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally honourable with himself; and having clothed the King in a garb like their own, they led him into a neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed upon such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he climbed an oak, where he sheltered

himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He saw several soldiers pass; all of whom were intent in search of the King, and many expressed in his hearing their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the ROYAL OAK, and for years afterwards was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration. It was afterwards enclosed in a strong wall of brick and stone, though it is now neglected, and running fast to decay.

The old tree has been carried away piecemeal by curious visitors; many snuff-boxes and other toys have been made from pieces of it. At present there is another, of a middling size, growing within the wall, but not in the centre, and was very probably planted when the old tree was cut down.

Upon a square stone, overgrown with moss, is a Latin inscription, as follows:

[Fæliciss. arbore. Qua. in asilu. Potentiss. Regis Car. 2^di D°. O. P. M. *a.* X. p. quem Reges Regnat hic crescire Voluit Jam in Per. pet. Rei Tantæ Memoriæ Quam in specimen, Formæ. In Reges Fidei Muro conctam Posteris commendant Basilius et Jana Fitzherbert.

Quer cus Amica Jovis.]

Translated.

[God, all good and great, by whom kings

reign,' was pleased that this auspicious tree should here flourish for a safe retreat to the most potent King Charles II. Bazil and Jane Fitzherbert, to perpetuate the memory of so great an event, and testify their unshaken loyalty to kings, built the surrounding wall, and recommended the favourite tree to future generations.

'The oak Jove's favourite tree.']

Thus circumstanced was Charles in the middle of his kingdom, without the possibility of remaining in his retreat, or even of stirring a step from it without running the most imminent danger. Fears, hopes, and party zeal, interested many to discover him, and even the smallest indiscretion of his might prove fatal. Having joined Lord Wilmot, who was skulking in the neighbourhood, they agreed to put themselves into the hands of Colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. The King's feet were so hurt by walking about in heavy boots, or countrymen's shoes, which did not fit him, that he was obliged to mount on horseback; and in this situation he travelled to Bentley, attended by the Penderells, who had been so faithful to him.

Lane formed a scheme for his journey to Bristol, where it was hoped he would find a ship, in which he might get away. He had a near kinswoman (Mrs. Norton) who lived within three miles of that city, and was pregnant, very near

the time of her delivery. He obtained a pass (for during those times of confusion, this precaution was requisite) for his sister, Jane Lane, and a servant, to travel towards Bristol, under pretence of visiting and attending her relation. The King rode before the lady, and personated the servant: Wilmot, carrying a hawk on his hand, passed for a stranger who had accidentally joined them. When they arrived at Norton's, Mrs. Lane pretended that she had brought along with her, as her servant, a poor lad, a neighbouring farmer's son, who was ill of an ague; and she begged a private room for him, where he might be quiet.

Though Charles confined himself closely to his chamber, the butler soon recognized him; and, throwing himself on his knees, prayed for his Majesty's life and preservation. The King was alarmed, but made the butler promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master. The servant was faithful to his engagement.

As no vessel was to be found that would sail sooner than a month, either for France or Spain, the king was obliged to go elsewhere in quest of a passage out of the country. Under these exigencies he trusted himself to Colonel Wardham, of Dorsetshire, an affectionate partisan of the Royal family.

The natural effect of the long civil wars, and

of the furious rage with which all men were wrought up in the different factions, was, that every one's inclinations and affections were thoroughly known, and even the courage and fidelity of most men, by the variety of incidents, had been put to the trial. The royalists, too, had many of them been obliged to contrive concealments in their houses for themselves, their friends, or more valuable effects; and the arts of eluding the enemy had been often practised. All these circumstances proved favourable to the king in the present critical conjuncture, as he often passed through the hands of the Catholics. The *priest's hole,* as it was called, the place where they were obliged to conceal the persecuted priests, was sometimes employed for sheltering their distressed sovereign.

Windham, before he received the king, asked leave to entrust the important secret to his mother, his wife, and four servants, on whose fidelity he could entirely rely. Of all these persons, suffice it to say, no one proved wanting either in honour or discretion. The venerable old matron, on the reception of her royal guest, expressed the utmost joy; for that, having lost without regret three sons and one grandchild, in defence of his father, she was now reserved, in her declining years, to be instrumental in the preservation of the king himself.

In the course of conversation, Windham told

the king, that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons. "My children," said he, "we have hitherto seen serene and quiet times under our three last sovereigns; but, I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But, whatever happen, do you faithfully honour and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown, though it should hang on a bush." These last words, added Windham, made such impression on all our breasts, that the many afflictions of these sad times could never efface their indelible characters.

Charles continued nineteen days at Windham's house, during which time his friends in Britain, and every part of Europe, remained in the most anxious suspense about his fate: no one could with certainty say whether he was dead or alive; but a report of his death having been circulated, it was generally credited, and which, happily for him, somewhat abated the vigilant search of his enemies. Every effort in the meantime was made to procure a vessel to effect his escape, but he still met with disappointments. Having left Windham's house, he was once more compelled to return to it. He passed through many similar adventures, assumed different disguises, at every step was ex-

posed to eminent perils, and as often received proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment.

The sagacity of a blacksmith should not be unnoticed, who remarked that Charles's horse's shoes had been made in the north, and not in the west, as he pretended: this circumstance once detected him, but he narrowly escaped.

A vessel was at length procured at Shoreham in Sussex, in which he embarked. He had been known to so many, that had he not sailed at that critical moment, it had been impossible for him to escape. After forty days' concealment, he arrived safe at Feschamp, in Normandy. No less than forty men and women, at different times, had been privy to his concealment and subsequent escape.

The Queen of England and her son Charles, during this critical period, passed most of their time at Paris; and notwithstanding the near connexion of blood, they received but few civilities, and still less support from the French court. The banished Queen had a moderate pension assigned her, but it was ill paid, and her credit ran so low, that one morning when Cardinal De Retz waited on her, she informed him, that her daughter Henrietta was obliged to be in bed for want of a fire to warm her. To such a condition was reduced, in the midst of Paris, a Queen of England, and daughter of Henry the Fourth of France.

THE CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE.

INCREDIBLE as the following curious anecdote may appear, it is generally believed to be a fact; being told by Lord Marshal to David Hume, Esq., who communicated it, amongst other particulars of the same personage, in a letter to Sir John Pringle:

That the Chevalier de St. George, (or Count of Albany, as he was designated on the Continent) was actually present at the coronation of his late Majesty George III. The count, on being met in Westminster Hall, and recognised by a certain gentleman, was thus addressed by him, "Your Royal Highness was the last of all mortals I expected to have seen here on this occasion."—"It was curiosity," replied the other, "that brought me here; but I assure you, that the person who is the object of all this pomp and magnificence, is the MAN I envy the least*."

Charles Lewis Casimir Stuart died at Rome, January 31, 1788. Since the death of his father, in the year 1765, he assumed the title of king of England. He was commonly known on the Continent by the name of the Chevalier St.

* What shall we say, it has been asked, to this stoical apathy of Charles? Shall we condemn him as a poltroon, unworthy to *wear*; or admire him as a philosopher, not regretting the *loss* of a crown. We answer, the latter. Crowns were, if not fatal, always troublesome appendages in the Stuart family; and experience, they say, makes even fools wise.—Ed.

George, and in England by that of the young Pretender. He was in the 68th year of his age. Charles was son to James Francis, Prince of Wales, son to James II., who was said to have been carried in a warming-pan into Queen Mary's bed-chamber, and afterwards imposed upon the nation as the son of her Majesty and King James,—a story long ago consigned to the credit of those usually told in the nursery.

The son of King James II. was recognised by many courts of Europe as king of England, immediately after the death of his father; he therefore received kingly honours, had his palace and his guards, and enjoyed the privilege allowed by the Pope to that of Catholic kings; viz. of bestowing cardinals' hats: but his son, Prince Charles, did not enjoy those honours; he was indeed called Prince of Wales during the life of his father, but after that event the Catholic courts would not style him king*. His mother, the Princess Maria Clementina Sobieski, granddaughter of the famous John Sobieski, King of Poland, was the greatest fortune in Europe; a great part of which was lost in the fruitless attempt made by his son, in 1745, to place his

* The title of the present reigning successor to the crown is not founded upon the certainty or uncertainty of the birth of James's son;—it stands upon a much firmer foundation—a succession established by the consent of the people, confirmed by an act of parliament, and supported by the affections of the subjects. —Ed.

father on the throne of England. She had two sons by her husband: Charles, who died in January, 1788; and Henry Benedict, who, by his father, was called Duke of York, and who, having been promoted to the purple, has been generally known by the name of Cardinal York.

Charles left a natural daughter, whom, by his pretended royal power, he created Duchess of Albany, and to whom he bequeathed all the property he had in the French funds, which was very considerable. She was respected for her piety, and much esteemed for her good-nature and politeness. To his brother, the cardinal, who was a bachelor, and at that time in his 63d year, he left his empty pretensions to the crown of England. On the decease of his eminence, the King of Sardinia became the head of the family of the Stuarts, as heir to King Charles I., from whose youngest daughter, Henrietta Maria, he was descended; the issue of her eldest sister having become extinct in the person of King William III.

The following letter, written from father Con to the provincial of the Jesuits at Rome, throws much light upon the history of what is termed the "glorious Revolution," (which takes its date from the end of the reign of King James, in 1688,) and is a real curiosity, shewing their

opinion of the King's weakness or rashness on this occasion*.

"Honoured Father William,

"There is now an end of the pleasing hopes of seeing our holy religion make a progress in this country. The King and Queen are fled, their adherents are left to themselves; and a new Prince with a foreign army has got possession, without the least resistance. It is a thing unseen, unheard of, and unrecorded in history, that with the peaceful possession of his realm, an army of thirty thousand men, and forty ships of war, he should quit his kingdom, without firing a pistol. The foreigners themselves, who have got possession, are astonished at their own success, and laugh at the English for their cowardice and disloyalty to their prince; it looks as if heaven and earth had conspired against us. But this is not all: the great fault comes from ourselves; our own imprudence, avarice, and ambition, have brought all this upon us. The good King has made use of fools, knaves, and blockheads; and the great minister you sent hither has contributed also his share. Instead of a moderate, discreet, and sagacious minister, you sent a mere boy, a fine shewy fop, to make love to the ladies. *High praises, mighty trophies, you have won!*

"But enough on this head, my dear friend; the

* From Henry, Earl Clarendon's State Papers.

whole affair is over: I am only sorry that I made one, one among so many madmen, who were incapable, either of directing or governing. I now return as I came, with the little family, to a land of Christians! the unhappy voyage costs me dear, but there is no help for it; the prospect was fair, if the business had been in the hands of men of sense; but, to our disgrace, the helm was held by rogues. I have already paid the compliments of the new year to our patrons, and I now do the same to you, and to all friends. If God grants me a safe passage beyond sea, you shall hear further from me.

"I remain, as usual, &c.

"*Postscript.*—A Scotch gentleman, named Sutton, who is arrived here with signior P. D. J. sends his respects to you and Signior ——. The confusion here is great, nor is it known what is likely to be the event, much less what it will be; but for us there is neither faith nor hope left; we are totally put to the rout this time; and the fathers of our holy company have contributed their part towards this destruction: all the rest, bishops, confessors, friars, and monks, have acted with little prudence."

FROM THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE*.

The work from whence we make the follow-

* The correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and

ing interesting extracts, consists of a collection of letters and papers, which elucidate the train of circumstances which led to the revolution of 1688; and affords a detail of particulars attending that glorious event, which cannot but have high claims upon the attention of every lover of his country. The principal materials are derived from a large collection of the original papers of Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, second son of the illustrious author of the history of the rebellion, which have fortunately been rescued from obscurity. The Diary, the editor informs us, has, in some instances, with Lord Clarendon's original Memoranda, by which some *lacunæ* have been supplied; and of the importance of this singularly valuable document, there can be but one opinion; and an authentic account of the circumstances attending one of the interesting events of our history, hitherto was no where to be found.

Diaries were not uncommon in the last age. Part of Archbishop Laud's has been long ago printed. Lord Anglesea, who made so great a figure in the reign of Charles II. left one behind him. One written by the late Duke of Shrewsbury, we are assured, still exists; and the trea-

of his brother Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, with the Diary of Lord Clarendon, from 1687 to 1690, containing minute particulars of the events attending the revolution: and the Diary of Lord Rochester, during his embassy to Poland, in 1676. Edited from the original MSS. with notes, in 2 vols.—COLBURN.

sures of anecdotal history with which we are furnished in the Diaries of Dugdale, Evelyn, and Pepys, must be doubly acceptable to every lover of historical truth, who also will rejoice that so valuable a part of Lord Clarendon's has escaped the havoc of time.

The letters of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, are not merely materials for historians, but they are history: they contain a complete account of his government in Ireland, from the day he entered upon it to the moment he embarked again for England, upon his being recalled; and the chain of the correspondence is never broken by the absence of so much as one link. These letters, though unadorned by any remarkable elegance of composition, are, in many instances, very lively and dramatic; and though the son is not equal to the father in delineations of character, or in eloquent collocation of phrase, he has not those involved periods, and that superfluity of diction, bordering on tediousness and tautology, which have been objected to in the style of the immortal author of the Rebellion.

Of this valuable collection our limits will only allow us to extract some of the most striking events.

Deposition of Titus Oates, implicating the Queen in the Popish Plot.

Of this impudent attempt to implicate the

Queen, Burnet's account, which is as follows, differs in some particulars :—

"An accident fell in, before I went to him, which took off from Oates's credit. When he was examined by the house of Lords, and had made the same narrative to them that he had offered to the commons, they asked him, if he had now named all persons whom he knew to be involved in the plot? He said there might be some inferior persons whom he had perhaps forgot; but he had named all the persons of note: yet, it seems, afterward he bethought himself; and Mrs. Elliot, wife to Elliot of the bed-chamber, came to the King and told him, Oates had somewhat to swear against the Queen, if he would give way to it. The king was willing to give Oates line enough, as he expressed it to me, and seemed to give way to it. So he came out with a new story, that the Queen had sent for some jesuits to Somerset-house; and that he went along with them, but staid at the door, when they went in; when he heard one in a woman's voice, expressing her resentments of the usage she had met with, and assuring them she would assist them in taking off the king. Upon that he was brought in, and presented to her; and there was then no other woman in the room but she. When he was bid describe the room, it proved to be one of the public rooms of that court, which are so great,

that the queen, who was a woman of a low voice, could not be heard over it, unless she had strained for it. Oates, to excuse his saying that he could not lay any thing to the charge of any besides those he had already named, pretended that he thought then it was not lawful to accuse the queen. But this did not satisfy people. Bedlow, to support this, swore that being once at chapel, at Somerset-house, he saw the queen, the duke, and some others, very earnest in discourse in the closet above; and that one came down with much joy, and said, the queen had yielded at last; and that one explained this to him beyond sea, and said it was to kill the King. And, besides Bedlow's oath that he saw Godfrey's body in Somerset-house, it was remembered that at that time the Queen was for some days in so close a retirement, that no person was admitted. Prince Rupert came then to wait upon her, but was denied access. This raised a strange suspicion of her. But the King would not suffer that matter to go any farther."—*Burnet's History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 435.

In the memoirs of King James, mention is made of another attempt to bring the Queen into suspicion; "upon the accusation of one Buss, the Duke of Monmouth's cook, who informed the secret committee, that being at Windsor, in September last, he heard one Hankinson, who had belonged to the Queen's chapel, desire An-

tonio, the Queen's confessor's servant, to have a care of the four Irishmen he had brought along with him, who, he said, would do the business for them. The committee had slighted it, but it being again sworn before the Recorder, Antonio was examined, and though he denied any such words, was committed for high treason. The king seemed highly sensible of so injurious an aspersion of so virtuous a princess; however, nothing was done to vindicate her, in such awe did his Majesty stand of that popular rage—vide vol. i. p. 561. The good-natured speech of Charles upon this occasion, deserves to be recorded: "they think," said he, "I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that I will not see an innocent woman abused."

Mr. Oates saith that in the month of July he saw a letter from Sir George Wakeman, in which Sir George did assure Richard Thimbleby, to whom it was directed, that the Queen would assist him to poison his sacred Majesty; and in the latter end of July did wait on John Keines, Bazill Langworth, Harcourt, and Fenwicke, to Somerset-house, where the Queen then was; and in an out chamber did hear the Queen say she would not take these affronts any longer that had been done unto her, but would revenge the violation of her bed. Now the deponent being present before her Majesty, saw no living soul there, but her Majesty and those fathers, with whom he

went to Somerset-house: and the deponent did hear the Queen say, that she would assist them in the propagation of the Catholic religion; and hath, by Corker, the Benedictine, given several sums of money to pervert his Majesty's subjects; as Mr. Oates doth verily believe several sums of money hath been so used by the jesuits in her Majesty's name, and 5000*l.* hath been paid to the jesuits in order to destroy the person of his Majesty, and subvert religion and government, as appears by several instructions from the Queen or the jesuits, as the jesuits themselves have confessed to Mr. Oates.

This information was given to me upon oath.

H. Coventry.

The account of the following transaction, in the Memoires of King James, is worth mentioning:

"On the 25th of November therefore, he, (Oates) repeated before the council what he had said the night before to his Majesty, that the Queen was privy to the whole design, and none more forward to carry it on than herself; that he had heard her Majesty say, in Somerset house, she was resolved to poison the King for the injuries he had done her; they doubted not but the King's inclination to liberty would favour the project. So they sent one Mrs. Elliot, as from Oates, before hand, to acquaint him with this in-

formation; which when the King seemed to discredit, and urged the impossibility of it, she told him, she thought he would have been glad to have parted with the Queen on any terms. But this, instead of proving a temptation, made no other impression on the King, than to give him a greater horror than ever of those infamous practices; for when my Lord Ossory and Bridgewater were sent with Oates to Somerset-house, to show the place where he pretended to have heard the Queen say those words he accused her of, he directed them first to the guard-room, then to the privy-chamber, out of which, he said, he went up a pair of back-stairs into a great room; but unfortunately for him, there was neither any such stairs thereabout, nor any large room in that story. But this inexhaustible fountain of impudence, as well as invention, was not dejected nor out of countenance at all these disappointments; nor would discover (though earnestly pressed to it) who put him upon this detestable project."—Vol. I. p. 529.

Mr. Oates appeared before his Majesty in council, and being sworn upon the holy Evangelists, saith, that in the month of July last he saw a letter from Sir George Wakeman, to Richard Ashby, alias Thimbleby, advising him for his health sake, being then troubled with the gout, to take a pint of milk every morning, and a pint at night, as also two strokes at the pump

while he continued at the bath; and in the same letter Sir George Wakeman did declare his liking of the proposals of poisoning the King, provided good terms might be had, and added that the Queen would give her assistance in the work. And in the same month of July there came a messenger to have some of the fathers attend at Somerset-house, who were Keines, Harcourt, Bazill, Langworth, and Fenwicke. The messenger was one Sir Richard or Sir Robert, he knows not which, being a man of a middle stature, about forty-four or forty-five years; the men went all into an out-chamber, and he himself, and some whom he remembers not, went into a room without; but being desirous to know what passed within, and the door not being quite shut, he listened, and did hear a woman's voice, though he saw not who it was, to say, she would no longer endure those affronts, but would revenge the violation of her bed, and would assist in taking away of the King's life, and the propagation of the Catholic religion. And at the door he desired one of the fathers that he might see the Queen, and being admitted, he doth, upon his salvation declare, that he saw nobody but the Queen and those fathers with whom he went to Somerset-house. Mr. Oates being afterwards asked if the Queen saw him when he was presented, he said she did, and took as much notice of him as one of her rank usually doth upon such

a one as he was, being then in another habit than at present he be: he thought she gave him a gracious smile: that the Queen, under the notion of charity, hath given Mr. Corker several sums of money to pervert his Majesty's subjects in their religion; and that if Mr. Ireland's papers be again examined, it will appear that there was a distribution of this charity, and some so small as two or three shillings, whereof he himself had some share. Then, as a circumstance to introduce belief that the Queen was concerned in this matter, he said he saw a letter which Mitho had prepared to the general of the Jesuits, wherein mention was made of 5000*l.* given by her Majesty, 4000*l.* at one time, and 1000*l.* at another, which he cannot swear was for this end, but verily believes it was; and being asked how he came to see that letter, he said, that Mitho, the secretary of their order, consulted with him about a Latin phrase, and he desired him to put a word into the dative case, as being better Latin: that as to the question why he concealed this important matter so long, he answered, he had a distrust within himself and his judgment about discovering of it, and owns he intended to have discovered it upon Sir George Wakeman's business at this board, but was willing his Majesty should have the first in private. And further upon this account, and the objection that Pickering was employed to kill the King with a pistol

and several bullets, and that he had been disciplined with twenty strokes for having failed (which was before the consult in April last, as near as he remembers), it appears the business was committed to other hands to be executed: he answered hereunto, that matter had been designed in the year 1760; and he knew her Majesty (let her virtues be what they will) had correspondence with the bishop of Rome and the general of the Jesuits by the hands of the Jesuits here. She was not to act till they judged things to be ripe; and further said, that endeavours were made that the Queen should not be concerned in this business till all other means failed: he further added, to the question of his being so long silent in a matter of that dangerous consequence, he was unwilling to communicate any thing of the Queen to any public court, but only to the King himself in private, she being the wife of his bosom; he says he cannot remember the precise day when these words were spoken, but that it was on a week-day, and not on a Sunday, and a day of some solemnity, just before mass; and as to the place where it was spoken, he says he never was there before nor since; he thinks he should remember the place again if he saw it. Being put in mind that he declared at the bar of the House of Lords, that he had no more to say against any person of quality, he answered, his meaning was that he had no more to say against any of the house where he was, and prays theri

lordships, to remember that he then desired he might not be further pressed to say any more, to the end his evidence might not be suppressed. And being further questioned how it came about that he could not give account of the precise day when these words were spoken, having in other things referred himself to his papers, he declared he had not committed this thing to writing, not daring to trust more with it than his own soul; yet he hopes he may recollect something to the very time, and would examine his papers, but that they were in the custody of Mr. Thomas Howard. Being asked if he knew Bedlowe before, he answered, that likely he had seen him, but not by that name; but that if he had seen him it was in Spain, and as going by the name of Williams, but that he never knew him as concerned in this business. Being further demanded why he omitted so material a thing against Sir George Wakeman, as that dangerous letter written to him by Thimbleby afore-mentioned, as nothing appears of it at the council board against Sir George Wakeman, he answered he was at that time faint and weak, and had been up two nights together, nor could he have said he saw a letter signed George Wakeman in Thimbleby's chamber. And further remembered the lords, that he did declare, when the consult was held by the Benedictines, where Sir George Wakeman was contracted with, that he was sick of the stone and not there. But that he afterwards found the con-

tents of their proceeding in the entry-book, touching which it told he had indeed made mention of such an entry: but at the bar of the House of Commons, but not mentioned at the board, to which he replied, that it was an omission caused by his weakness all that time.

Mr. Oates hearing this information read, doth further declare, that it was upon St. James's day, or a day or two after, that he heard the words before herein mentioned.

NARRATIVE FROM SIR JOHN BERRY, KNIGHT, *late Commander of His Majesty's Ship the Gloucester, with an Account of the Winds and Weather we had from the Fourth to the Sixth day of May,* 1682, *being the day the said Ship was cast away upon the West End of the Lemon.*

THE following narrative was imperfectly given in a small volume, published in 1683, entitled, "Some Historical Memoires of the Duke of York to the year 1682." It is now published from the original, sent by Captain Berry to Lord Hyde. There are two letters, printed in the Appendix to Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain, pp. 68—71, giving an account of some circumstances attending the loss of the vessel. One was written by Sir John Dick, who was on board at the time; the other is in vindication of his father, by the second Earl of Dartmouth,

from a reflection upon him in Burnet's account of this calamitous event. There is also an account of the wreck of the Gloucester, in a letter from Mr. Pepys to Mr. Hewer, in the second volume of the very curious work, lately published by Lord Braybrooke, (Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq. vol. ii. p. 57.)

Mr. Pepys very narrowly escaped being on board of the Gloucester, the Duke pressing him to go on board, but he preferred the accommodation of his own yacht; in which were saved from the wreck, Colonel Legge and Sir Charles Scarborough, the latter almost dead and spent with cold, and struggling in the water.

Thursday, May 4th, 1682.—His Royal Highness with several of his Majesty's yachts, and many of the nobility and gentry, attended his Royal Highness to Margate road, where his Majesty's ships, Gloucester, Happy Return, Ruby, Pearl, and Dartmouth, attended to receive his Royal Highness. At nine o'clock in the morning, his Royal Highness came on board the Gloucester, being saluted by all his Majesty's ships with all dutiful obedience. We lay by, driving off till eleven o'clock, to dispose of his Royal Highness's retinue and goods; then made sail with the aforesaid ships and yachts, the wind at south. We steered away N. N. E.; at noon, the North Foreland bore S. W. ½ W.; at two o'clock in the afternoon, the wind shifted from

the S. to the west, with much rain, and from the west to N.N.W. with thick foggy weather. We lay N.N.E. and N.E. off, and then tacked and made a short board to the N.W. at N.N.E.; being come into fifteen fathom water, tacked again, and stood into twenty fathom, and came to anchor at half an hour past eight o'clock, the Nase land bearing W. by N. nine leagues off.

Friday, 5th.—This morning, by eight o'clock, we weighed and came to sail, the wind at E.N.E.: we made a small trip to the S.E. and at nine o'clock tacked, having twenty-five fathom water, and stood away N. and N. by E.; at half an hour past one o'clock in the afternoon, we made the steeples of Dunnage, bearing west by N. three leagues off: we lay up N. by E. the tide and flood against us, and at eight o'clock in the evening, Lowestoft bore W.N.W. two leagues off, the wind at E. a fresh gale. The yachts being a-head and to windward, bore up to us. His Royal Highness called Capt. Gunman and Capt. Sanders, and asked their opinion, whether this course, without tacking to the southward, would carry us windward of the Newark and the sands without Yarmouth? Captain Gunman and Captain Sanders answered, we could not weather the sands, but must stand off; upon which the pilot, whose name was Captain Ayres, a person esteemed to be one of the best and ablest men of the northward, said, we could weather

the New-wark, and all other sands, and was much dissatisfied that we should distrust his judgment. His Royal Highness said, it would be a secure way to tack, and stand off till ten or twelve o'clock at night, and then we should have room enough to weather all the sands; upon which the pilot (though confident of his skill) agreed, and we tacked and stood away S.E. a windward tide under us. At half an hour past nine o'clock, the pilot being urgent, desired to tack again. His Royal Highness was still of the opinion to stand off longer, and asked his opinion: the pilot answered and said, he would engage his life, that if we tacked presently, we should, without hazard, weather all the sands. Notwithstanding all his arguments, (too long to enumerate) his Royal Highness commanded the pilot to stand a glass longer for more security. At ten o'clock, we tacked and stood close hauled N. by E. and N.N.E. which course weathered the New-wark: the wind very stormy at east, we continued our course.

Sunday, 6th. — All last night we steered N.N.E. till two o'clock this morning, the wind at E.: we then steered away N. and at four o'clock, N.N.W. the pilot, presuming and confident, affirmed that this course would carry the ship out of all danger, and that we were past the Lemon and Oare: but to our great misfortune, it proved otherwise; for at half an hour past five,

o'clock this morning, we run ashore upon the west part of the Lemon, having just before sounded, and had twenty fathom water; she beat along the sand, not sitting fast. Whilst our rudder held, we bore away west, and upon every lift of the sea went off: at last a terrible blow struck off the rudder, and, as I apprehend, struck out a plank nigh the post, which made eight feet water in a moment. I humbly desired his Royal Highness to have his barge hoisted out, to preserve his royal person. His Highness being unwilling to have any boat hoisted out, considering the condition we were in, hoping (as I did) the ship might be saved; but the water increasing, although we employed all our pumps and materials for baling, and no manner of hope left but that the ship must be lost, I did again request his Royal Highness to go away in his boat to the yacht, to which his Royal Highwas pleased to condescend. The barge was hoisted out, and his Highness took as many persons of quality with him in the boat as she could carry. The government of the ship being lost, and every one crying for help, yet amidst all this disorder and confusion, I could not but observe the great duty the poor seamen had for the preservation of his Royal Highness' person: when the barge was hoisted out, and lowered down into the water, not one man so much as proffered to run into her; but in the midst of all their affliction and dying condition, did re-

joice and thank God his Royal Highness was saved. His Highness being got into Captain Gunman's yacht, ordered all the yachts to anchor, sending all their boats; so did the Happy Return, which came also to anchor: the ship beating still on the sand, her head being cast about to the S.W. by W. and the water increasing so high as the gun-deck. However, the lifting of the sea forced her off the sand, and she went into fifteen fathoms water, before we could let go one anchor, which proved the loss of many poor men's lives. We anchored, and brought her up almost head to windward, we still working with our pumps, and baling, but to no purpose: the water increased so fast, that it was three feet above the gun-deck before we endeavoured to save ourselves. She sunk so fast, that before the boats could take off the men (though there was great diligence used) the ship sunk, and several of our men perished with her, myself hardly escaping by a rope over the poop, into Captain Wyborne's boat. All the persons of quality are saved, except those named in the margin*. The pilot was taken up and carried on board Captain Sanders's yacht. Captain Sanders hath orders to secure him till he can be brought to trial for his misdemeanour.

Dated on board the Mary yacht, the 8th of May, 1682, in Leith Road.

---

* Earl of Roxburgh, Lord O'Brian, —— Hopton, Sir Jos. Douglas, Lieut. Hyde, Hollis, the Duke's equerry.

LETTER FROM JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO LORD TREASURER (HYDE.)

Loss of the Gloucester.—Meeting of the Council at Edinburgh.

Edinburgh, May 9, 1682.

I HAD not time yesterday to write to you by the flying packet myself, to have told you of the unfortunate loss of the Gloucester, but charged Churchill to do it; so that I shall say no more of it, but to assure you myself, that I am really troubled for the loss of your brother James. Really he would have made a very good man; for besides other good qualities, he was as unconcerned as any man I ever saw, and all they who got off after me say the same thing. I have now an account of the loss of the ship's company, and find there were about a hundred and ten lost, besides those who belonged to me, and those who came with me; how many they were I do not yet know. I was yesterday at council, when I acquainted them with the choice his Majesty had made of his great officers, and gave those that were present their warrants, which I took out of my strong box when the ship struck, and put them in my pocket*, and so they escaped being wet. Be-

* It must indeed be confessed there was something like a want of feeling in the conduct of James on this occasion, and his anxiety to save his strong box and the papers unwetted, when the lives of so many of his fellow beings were at stake. The tone of

fore I went to council I told Lord Athol what was his Majesty's pleasure, who received it with that submission as became a loyal subject, for he did not appear at all displeased; and I really believe he sees it is better for him not to have been chancellor, so that that affair is very well over; and I have something to propose to his Majesty in his favour, when I come to Windsor, which will cost his Majesty nothing, and be a kindness to him. As for the affair of the disorder which happened in this town before I came, it will, I believe, be settled on Thursday next, at council, for his Majesty's advantage, and the further securing the town from any such accident for the time to come; and by Sunday next I hope to have dispatched all the affairs which require my stay here, so that by Monday I may have all things ready to go on ship board; the rest of the frigates which had lost company, came in this day into Leith Road*. I long to

this letter too, which passes on with so much unconcern to public affairs, is not altogether in the best taste.

* Mr. Pepys, in his account of this calamity, says, "Captain Wyborne, in the Happy Return, was the only frigate near us, and she, indeed, in no less danger than the Gloucester; but, taking a quick notice of the other's mishap, dropped presently her anchor, and is this morning (May 8) with the kitchen yacht, come safe in harbour; and by her we know that very many are lost. I judge about 200 men; but particulars are not yet fully known, only my Lord Roxburgh and Lord Hopton are certainly gone; and one young English lord, O'Brian. Our fortune was, and the rest of the yachts, to be near the Gloucester when she struck;

hear whether any thing has been done in the affair Sir Robert Holmes proposed, though I cannot expect it till I see you.

*** Burnet has reflected with severity and injustice upon the Duke and Colonel Legge on this occasion, saying that the Duke got into a boat, and took care of his dogs, and some unknown persons, who were taken from that earnest care of his, to be his priests; the long boat went off with very few in her, though she might have carried off above eighty more than she did. One hundred and fifty persons perished, some of them men of great quality; but the Duke took no notice of this cruel neglect, which was laid chiefly to Legge's charge. Lord Dartmouth, in a letter referred to in a subsequent note, written in 1723, thus vindicates his father:—

"After the ship had struck, he several times pressed the duke to get into the boat, who refused to do it, telling him that if he were gone, nobody could take care of the ship, which he had hopes might be saved, if she were not abandoned. But my father, finding she was ready to sink, told him if he staid any longer, they

between which and her final sinking, there passed not, I believe, a full hour; the Duke and all about him being in bed, and to show his security, the pilot himself, till waking by her knocks."—*Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 59.

should be obliged to force him out; upon which the Duke ordered a strong box, to be lifted into the boat; which, besides being extremely weighty, took up a good deal of time, as well as room. My father, with some warmth, asked him if there was any thing in it worth a man's life. The Duke answered, that there were things of great consequence, both to the king and himself; that he would hazard his own rather than it should be lost. Before he went off, he inquired for Lord Roxburgh and Lord O'Brian; but the confusion and hurry were so great, that they could not be found. When the Duke, and as many as she could hold, were in the boat, my father stood with his sword drawn to hinder the crowd from oversetting her, which was what, I suppose, the Bishop esteemed a fault. I believe his reflexion upon the duke, for the care of his dogs, to be ill-founded; for I remember a story (that was in every body's mouth at that time) of a struggle that happened for a plank, between Sir Charles Scarborough and the Duke's dog Mumper, which convinces me that the dogs were left to take care of themselves (as he did) if there were any more on board."

The Duke's own account, in his memoirs, is, that the Gloucester, through the unskilfulness of Captain Ayres, the pilot, (who was tried and condemned afterwards,) was lost, and the Duke himself in great danger of being so. The in-

tention of Captain Ayres was, it seems, to follow the Colliers' Road, betwixt the coast and the sand banks; but the commanders being against it, ordered him to go out to sea, thinking to clear them all; but he still pressed to the task, fancying he had time enough to go within the banks; and at last he had leave given him, when the commanders thought themselves far enough out at sea to go beyond them all; but it seems both were deceived, for a little while after the ship struck upon the Lemon [and] Oare in Yarmouth Road, where she stuck for some time; and as soon as she came into deep water, immediately sunk, and at least one hundred persons in her: but his Royal Highness, as soon as they despaired of saving her, got into his shallop, and from thence went on board the yacht; on which occasion, such was the modesty and respect of those who attended him, many whereof were persons of quality, as the Earls of Perth, Middleton, &c. that no one whatever offered to go into it but whom his Highness pleased to call himself, which was only Mr. Churchill, and one or two more; but other boats coming to their rescue, most of the persons of quality, and of his Royal Highness's servants, got off also, and many more might have been saved, had not the timorousness of the boatmen hindered their coming near the ship, when they thought her about to sink, for fear of sinking with her; those, therefore, who were abandoned (though

ready to be swallowed up) gave a great huzza as soon as they saw his Royal Highness in safety.

MEMOIR OF THE POLITICAL CAREER OF HENRY HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON.

PREVIOUS to laying before our readers the following extracts from the DIARY of the Earl of Clarendon, a brief memoir of his early political career, as well as of that of the Earl of Rochester, his brother, may not be without interest, as displaying, in full view, the fluctuations of court favour, and the uncertain tenour of all sublunary grandeur.

Henry Hyde, the eldest son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, appears to have been born in the year 1638: his mother, the second wife of the Chancellor, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Master of Requests to the King. He seems to have displayed, in early youth, a talent for public affairs; and even in 1655, when he was only in his seventeenth year, there is evidence of his assisting his father in his despatches. Bishop Burnet says "he was very early engaged in great secrets; for his father, apprehending of what fatal consequence it would have been to the King's affairs, if his correspondence had been discovered by unfaithful secretaries, engaged him, when very young, to write all his letters to England in cipher, so that he was generally half the day writing in cipher, or deciphering; and

was so 'discreet as well as faithful, that nothing was ever discovered by him.' His father continued to employ him in his most secret correspondence during the five years that preceded the restoration; and innumerable proofs of his industry and talent exist among the vast body of Clarendon papers now deposited in the Bodleian Library.

In the year 1660 he married Theodosia, the daughter of Lord Capel, and in 1667, (when by the creation of his father to the Earldom of Clarendon, he became Lord Cornbury,) in the settlement of Queen Catherine's household, he was appointed Lord Chamberlain to her Majesty. "He was," says Burnet, "much in the Queen's favour; and his father being so violently persecuted on account of her marriage, she thought herself bound to protect him in a particular manner: he was so provoked at the ill usage his father had met with, that he struck violently in with the party that opposed the court." This is confirmed by repeated instances in the debates of the period, where he makes no inconsiderable figure in the list of speakers in opposition to the court: and in the year 1673 alone, Grey has preserved nearly twenty of his speeches.

On the death of his father, in 1674, he became Earl of Clarendon; and in the next session of parliament he continued his opposition in the House of Lords, even proceeding as far as to enter a protest against an address voted to the

King on his speech: it is not therefore a matter of surprise that Charles II. should have entertained a distaste for him, and that he should never mention him but with sharpness and scorn. Indeed Lord Clarendon had brought on himself the vindictive hatred of a profligate court, by going so far as to urge, in one of his speeches, as a reason for removing Buckingham from the King's councils, that *he had murdered the husband* (of Lady Shrewsbury) *and lived in perpetual adultery with that miserable woman.* Dr. Douglas observes, "that whatever scorn the King might express without doors, Mr. Secretary Coventry, the manager of the court party, and the shameless advocates of the infamous cabal, had no reason to express such scorn within doors." The speeches of Lord Clarendon have not the appearance of coming from a man "whose judgment was not much to be depended upon, and who was led by false notions." While they teach us to respect him as an honest man, for daring to oppose supplies till grievances were redressed, though he wore the Key of Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, they, at the same time, are as sensible as they are spirited, and particularly in the debates on Lord Arlington: the reasons he urges for preferring an address to remove that minister from the King, to an impeachment, are not unworthy of one trained up under the great Clarendon, and animated with a considerable share of his abilities.

All this time he continued in the Queen's family, and at length the influence of James, Duke of York, to whom he had manifested a strong attachment on all occasions, brought him into favour at court, and he was made a privy councellor in 1680: he however soon incurred the displeasure of the prevailing party in the House of Commons, who, unable to carry the Exclusion Bill, showed their resentment against those who were supposed to have advised Charles never to consent to it, by voting an address to the King to remove them from his councils.

On the accession of James he was made Lord Privy Seal, and in December of the same year, 1684-5, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The letters which he wrote during his continuance in this important charge, will afford the best evidence of his conduct; and we have, fortunately, not only his public correspondence with the government at home, but his private letters to his brother; in which he unbosoms all his secrets, indulges in complaints against the conduct of the king, and his prime minister, Sunderland, and discloses, without reserve, the whole plan of the progressive attacks made upon the Protestant religion, and the liberty of the subject in Ireland. Lord Clarendon's near affinity to King James, and the high principles of loyalty and submission in which he had been educated, did not prevent him from

representing the impropriety and danger of the courses proposed; but though he remonstrates against violent and open proceedings, and especially against the conduct of Tyrconnel, yet he expresses his readiness to effect the king's purposes in a manner less offensive and alarming, with a degree of pliancy not quite in character with the reputation given him by contemporary historians, of entire attachment to the protestant cause: the fact seems to have been that the condition of his fortunes prevented him from pursuing a more independent course, and from openly expressing what his conscience dictated.

James having found him less flexible to his purposes than he expected, first made Tyrconnel Lieutenant General of the army in Ireland, with power to make changes and regulations in it, independent of the Lord Lieutenant; and at length, upon a pretended plea of maladministration, removed him from his post in January 1686-7, to make room for Lord Tyrconnel; and on the 11th of March following deprived him of his office of Lord Privy Seal, in order to bestow it upon another Catholic, Lord Arundel of Warder: it is to be regretted that we have only a very small portion of the diary of Lord Clarendon for this year. The part he took in the events which quickly followed will be found recorded in the diary of the succeeding years, and we have only to add that, persisting in refusing

to take the oaths to King William, he passed the rest of his life in a private manner in the country, and died on the 22d of October, 1709.

Burnet has said of Lord Clarendon, that he was a friendly, good-natured man; that he was naturally sincere and punctual to tediousness in all that he related: he also mentioned that he kept an exact journal of all that passed. The journal of such a man at such a period, is just the kind of record which is desirable; and these qualifications, added to the opportunities he had, from his situation, of knowing the most secret transactions of the state, cannot fail to give the reader a reasonable expectation of being instructed and entertained by it.

Bishop Douglas has been very solicitous to vindicate the character of Lord Clarendon for talent, against the insinuations of Burnet; but as regards its influence upon his writings, it is not a matter of the importance that he seemed to consider it: indeed his own subsequent judicious observations lead to the same conclusion: "the powers of genius, and the ornaments of composition are necessary to stamp a value on the work of the professed historian; but the letters of a statesman derive their principal utility from the situation of the writer, not from his capacity; from his having been employed in state secrets, however unequal to the trust; in a word, from his opportunities of knowing the determination

of the cabinet, however unqualified to direct and advise them. Whatever portion, therefore, of political sagacity belongs to Lord Clarendon, this publication must be able to support its own claim to attention without borrowing any from his personal character: that he was trusted with the government of Ireland is sufficient to make us desirous of reading an account of his proceedings in that kingdom, in his letters to the ministry at London, as they lay open the whole plan of attacks made by King James on liberty and religion. A diary, for the year of the Revolution, promises both entertainment and instruction, when we know already from history, that the writer of it was of such consequence in the state that he was one of the Protestant Lords summoned by the king, when it was too late, to repair the miscarriages of his Popish counsellors; and that he had spirit enough to take the lead in that memorable assembly.

MEMOIR OF THE POLITICAL CAREER OF LAWRENCE HYDE, EARL OF ROCHESTER.

Lawrence Hyde, Lord Chancellor Clarendon's second son, is represented by Burnet to have had superior talents, which were improved by the careful culture of a good education: his first entrance upon public life was in 1661, when he was chosen one of the members to represent the University of Oxford in parliament.

In October of that year he accompanied Lord Crofts and Sir Charles Berkeley on their mission to congratulate the King of France on the birth of the Dauphin. On his return, he was appointed Master of the Robes to King Charles II., having previously held an honourable office in the household of James, Duke of York, with whom he seems to have been always a great favourite. Upon the impeachment of his noble father by the House of Commons, in 1667, he defended him from the charges brought against him with so much skill, and with such modesty and resolution, as to give a very advantageous opinion of his talent for public business. The reverse in his father's fortunes seems to have had no ill effect upon those of Lawrence Hyde: he was now in high favour at court, and in habits of friendship with most of the distinguished courtiers. In 1676, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to John Sobieski, King of Poland; and some portion of the diary which he kept upon this occasion we have now the pleasure of laying before the reader. The first eighty-five pages, we are informed, are wanting in the MS.; but there is still enough remaining of this interesting document to show the nature of the functions of an ambassador, and to afford a curious picture of the diplomacy of the time. It was in this mission that Mr. Hyde was accompanied by the eminently witty and distinguished

Dr. Robert South, who acted as chaplain and Latin secretary. The good doctor appears sometimes to have lost his temper, and upon one occasion the ambassador attributes his ill humour to his having been left behind without that necessary appendage to comfort—a cook!

Mr. Hyde is said to have mainly contributed to the peace with the Turks which ensued; and returning to Zolkien in Russia with Sobieski, he there took his leave, having instructions to proceed to the Imperial Court at Vienna, to condole with the Emperor Leopold on the death of his wife. The Imperial grief, however, had long passed away, and the Emperor was again married, so that the condoler did not venture upon his functions; but passed privately into Holland, where he was met by a commission, appointing him one of the mediators at the treaty of Nimeguen.

On his return home, he was, at the recommendation of Sir William Temple, sent on a mission to the Prince of Orange; the purport of which was to persuade that prince to negociate a peace for the confederate powers. Of this mission, Mr. Hyde also kept a journal, a fragment of which only has escaped the ravages of time, and is now, for the first time, printed in the appendix of the first volume. It is much to be regretted that more of it has not been preserved. Mr. Hyde's services were soon in constant request, he had

shewn himself an able diplomatist; and though he was not always successful in the object of his missions, Charles was so well satisfied with his conduct, that, in 1679, he made him one of the lords of the treasury; and he soon after, upon the resignation of Lord Essex, became first lord. He had previously obtained a seat in the House of Commons, as member for Wootten Basset, and was at length sworn of the privy council, taking, with Sydney Godolphin and Lord Sunderland, the chief management of the King's affairs.

He was now so well grounded in the King's favour, that, in 1681, he was created Baron of Wootten Basset, and Viscount Hyde of Kenilworth in Warwickshire; and on the death of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, in 1683, he was raised to that title. In 1684, he was made Lord President of the Council; and at the end of that year was nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in room of the Duke of Ormonde: but the death of Charles intervening, James, at his accession, preferred keeping him about his person, and bestowed upon him the staff of Lord Treasurer, at the same time he gave Lord Clarendon the office of Lord Privy Seal.

The correspondence of one who makes such a prominent figure in the history of his times, cannot fail to offer much that is interesting: the letters now published are replete with curious

matter. The correspondence with James, when Duke of York, serves more fully to develope his character and intentions; and that of the Prince of Orange elucidates some disputed historical points; but the reader's attention may be also called to the curious papers in which Lord Rochester has noted the particulars of his conference with King James, when he was pressed to become a convert to the Church of Rome; to his conversation with Barillon upon the same subject, and to the particulars of the discussion between him and the Bishop of Madaura, as establishing fully what were the ultimate designs of that infatuated monarch. He expressly tells Lord Rochester that he was determined to have no man at the head of his affairs that was not of his own opinion in religion; and after all fruitless endeavours to convert the favourite, he is displaced with a pension, and his brother removed from Ireland to make way for the thorough-going Tyrconnel*. It may here be

* It may not be unentertaining just to mention, that Lord Clarendon, the father, has transmitted to posterity an account of the steps by which this strange man rose to that greatness which Lord Clarendon, the son, shows he supported so unworthily. He was one of the five brothers of the name of Talbot, whom the Chancellor found so troublesome in Flanders before the Restoration, by their intrigues in opposition to his administration. Dick Talbot (as he was usually called,) the youngest of these Irish adventurers, recommended himself to the Duke of York, being a very handsome young man, wore good clothes, and was of a clear and ready courage. The Chancellor confirms this

remarked, by the way, that among the additions to the series of Lord Clarendon's papers, there is one well deserving attention, shewing that the Catholic Association of modern times is no novelty, and that even the measure of a rent or subscription was then also instituted to enable them to achieve their purpose with more complete effect.

Though Lord Rochester now ceased to take any very active part in public affairs, he was subsequently sent into Holland to watch over James's interests there. During the interregnum at the Revolution, he concurred with the provisional government in many acts, yet in the convention parliament he maintained strongly the doctrine of hereditary right, and was one of the most strenuous advocates for a regency; but when the vote declaring the throne vacant was carried, he acquiesced in the new settlement, and does not seem to have participated in the correspondence his brother kept up with the exiled king. His previous conduct, however, and

account of Dick Talbot's courage, by two instances,—his having engaged to assassinate Cromwell, and his second attempt in that honourable way against the Duke of Ormonde. Such being the merit of the man, no wonder that he should be raised to the highest honours, and be looked upon as a fit instrument to execute the violent measures of king James in Ireland. Dick Talbot and Lord Tyrconnel are the same person. See the continuation of Lord Clarendon's Life, where the characters of all the five brothers are drawn, p. 362-3-4."—*Bishop Douglas.*

an unconquerable distaste William had conceived for him, stood in the way of his reception at court, and he was under some apprehension that his pension would have been stopped: in this exigence, he was driven to have recourse to the mediation of Bishop Burnet, though they had never been on good terms; and Burnet's son has published some letters which passed at this juncture, in which he expresses his gratitude for the bishop's interference. He also, on another occasion, made use of his interest to obtain his brother's pardon. At length, in 1691-2, Lord Rochester was admitted of the privy council, but the king was not brought to have confidence in him, until his prejudices were removed by Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, who interested himself in Rochester's favour, and through his means, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1700. Among the following papers will be found his correspondence with the Lords Justices of that kingdom, during his absence from the seat of government, and with Mr. Vernon, Secretary of State, during the period of his residence in Ireland, which was but short.

At the accession of Queen Anne, upon being ordered to proceed to his post, he declined doing so, and was in consequence dismissed from all his employments. This threw him into opposition to the court, and he was long considered the head of the high church party: with him ori-

ginated the proposal for bringing over the Princess Sophia, in 1705; the opposition to the Regency bill, and the Union bill, in 1707. But on the change of ministry, in 1710, Harley again used his influence to reconcile the queen to him: he was then made Lord President of the Council, and it is said, that she designed him for the office of Lord Treasurer, when death suddenly removed him, in May 1712.

Lord Rochester married Henrietta, fifth daughter of Richard Earl of Burlington, by whom he had a son, who succeeded to his titles, and five daughters. We have already observed, that Burnet gives him credit for superior talent; he also observes, that though he was a good writer, he was an ungraceful speaker; that "he was thought the smoothest man in the court, and during all the dispute concerning his father, he made his court so dexterously, that no resentments appeared on that head. When he came into business, and rose unto high posts, he grew violent; but was thought an uncorrupt man. He had high notions of government, and thought it must be maintained with great severity." The bishop, though evidently not friendly to him, allows him a reputation for sincerity, and even observes, that "he seemed to have too much heat to be false." The only blemishes he attributes to his character, are, that he was wilful and imperious, and that he drank to excess. In

Mackay's Characters, he is described as "easily wound up to a passion, so that he often lost himself in the debates of the House of Peers: and the opposite party knew so well how to attack him, as to make his great stock of knowledge fail him." From the same authority we learn, that he was "of a middle stature, well shaped, and of a brown complexion."

It may not be improper here to add, the apology offered by Bishop Douglas, for the long continued attachment of the brothers to the monarch who was insiduously attempting to subvert the religion and liberties of their country: "that they continued to act under King James, so long as they did, cannot, perhaps, be vindicated: but they did it *with a purpose of doing as much good as they were able, and of hindering as much evil as they possibly could, in that unfortunate juncture of affairs.*" This was Lord Rochester's own apology, according to Bishop Sprat; and we shall still more incline to be favourable to their characters, when we consider what personal obligations they had to the king, their brother-in-law, and what notions they had imbibed of the guilt of resistance, from having seen the prevalence of rebellion, and felt the mischiefs of anarchy. Had they lived now, in happier times, when the bounds between prince and people are fixed by the Revolution, and under a king, as amiable in his private character, as he is virtuous

in the exercise of the rights vested in the crown by the constitution, those justly exploded principles of unlimited submission, which seem to have influenced the conduct of Lords Clarendon and Rochester, under King James, would have been refined into that due subordination and constitutional attachment to the crown, which are so far from being inconsistent with the liberties of the people, that they cannot be destroyed without introducing all the madness of mob administration, or reviving all the mischiefs of Oliverian despotism.

FROM THE DIARY OF HENRY EARL OF CLARENDON, FOR PART OF THE YEAR 1687; THE YEARS 1688 AND 1689, AND PART OF THE YEAR 1690.

JANUARY 1, *Saturday*. The new year began with very fair weather. It being a state day, I dined in public: my lord mayor and all the aldermen dined with me; and, according to the custom, when the cloth was taken away, they went to post and pair*; and after a very little time

* *Post and pair* was an ancient game of cards, in some points resembling the modern game of *commerce*. Three cards were dealt to each player, and each person *vied* or staked what he pleased upon the goodness of his hand; or he might decline standing. The ace of trumps was the best card, and the holder of a pair royal, i. e. three aces, three kings, three queens, &c. was the winner. The Complete Gamester describes it as a game much played in the west of England, and observes, that the most *daring* players were the most successful; as at our commerce, or speculation.

sitting I went away, and they all went into the cellar.

January 4, Tuesday. I dined at my Lord Chancellor's*, because all the citizens' wives dined with my wife. We had three packets from England of the 23d, 25th, and 28th past. I had one of the 23d from my brother; wherein he tells me all things were settled as to him; and that he believed he should give up the staff after the holidays; that he knew nothing of me but reports. But, alas! I cannot expect to continue here when he is out of office. I received among these letters, the copy of a letter written by Mr. Nangle to the Earl of Tyrconnel from Coventry, being upon his return from England into Ireland†. It is a notable letter, and shews plainly what is designed to be done in this country; though all this while not a word to me from court.

January 5, Wednesday. Lord Chief Justice Keyting came to see me. He told me, as every body had done for a good while together, that

* Sir Charles Porter was at this time lord chancellor.

† Though Lord Rochester was ignorant of what was intended in regard to Lord Clarendon, it appears from Evelyn's Diary, that his recal was publicly known in London on the 17th of December; for, on that day, he thus writes: "Lord Tyrconnel gone to succeed the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men, and to the evident ruine of all the Protestants in that kingdom, as well as of its greate final improvement going on. Much discourse, that all the white staff officers and others should be dismissed for adhering to their religion," &c.

Lord Tyrconnel was to come over, and that I was to be recalled: to which all the answer I made to him, and to all other people, was, "What the King pleased; I was sure I could not be recalled for any fault; and, so long, I should be very well contented. I gave my Lord Chief Justice a copy of Mr. Nangle's letter, and desired his thoughts upon it.

Jan. 8, *Saturday.* In the morning came in two packets from England, of the 30th past and 1st instant. I received a letter of the last date, from my Lord President, acquainting me with the King's pleasure that I was to leave the Government. Whether I have been well used by my Lord President, in this affair, or whether, in truth, I have been well used by him in the whole time of my being here, I leave to all men to judge who shall read my letters to him, or his to me; all which shall, God willing, be carefully preserved. It will by them appear, that he scarce gave any other answers to my letters than the bare acknowledging of them: and though I gave him, almost weekly, large accounts of all transactions, yet he never, in any of his letters, so much as told me the King was pleased, or displeased, with what I had done. It would have been a great satisfaction to have known the King approved of my proceedings; but the next best was to find that he did not blame them. I am not now surprised at my being recalled;

having had so certain informations, though not from the Secretary of State, of my Lord Tyrconnel's being to come into the government, and it being owned by all his relations here. I did expect it; but I confess the manner of my being recalled, to remove out of such a station, at this season of the year, and at a week's warning, looks like a mark of the King's displeasure; which will ever be a mortification to me to lie under. But when I consider, that I can thank God I have done nothing to deserve it; and that I cannot be charged to have done any thing since my being in this government, which I cannot very well justify, my mind will be at ease. Though, I confess, I cannot help often reflecting with myself, what it can be that can have prevailed with the King to use me in this manner, after the many gracious expressions he made to me, and of me to others, since I left England. I can be guilty of no fault but I must know it myself; and, I bless God, my heart does not reproach me with the least failure of duty to the King. I confess I have been very stiff in the matter of reversing the outlawries: because, according to very good opinions, it is against law; and becuase it is plain it will be the greatest blow that can be given to the English Protestant interest; to the prejudice of which, by the grace of God, nothing shall tempt me to contribute in the least. Sometimes I think

it may be possible that the King may have so far altered his measures as to bring Roman Catholics into all employments: it seems to be something that way, by the opinions the judges in England have lately given, as to the King's dispensing power. And considering how powerful the Papists now are in Ireland,—that the army has been this last year new modelled; most of the English Protestants being disbanded, and Papists admitted to freedoms in all corporations; it is very probable the King might now think it seasonable to put Ireland under a Popish governor. If my being a Protestant be the cause of my ill usage, I am so far from being troubled, that I look on it as a great honour to be found worthy to suffer for my religion. I quickly sent for the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Granard, and acquainted them with my letters. I dined in private; in the afternoon I sent for Mr. Solicitor, and told him of the letter and order I had received. I must needs say, all these persons expressed great trouble for my being recalled. This very day I answered my Lord Sunderland's letter, assuring him that I should pay punctual obedience to the King's commands. Mortification is no stranger to me; though I confess I did not expect this, for many reasons: but God's will be done. My journey into Ireland was very expensive; and my stay here was too short to reimburse myself by

some thousands of pounds; and I pray to God to give me constancy and resolution to demean myself so as becomes a man and a Christian, that my friends may have no cause to be ashamed of me.

Jan. 14. In the morning I went to council to receive the report, which I had appointed a committee to prepare, concerning the several examinations which had been taken, relating to plots and rumours. I thought it fit to put an end to all that matter (they being, in truth, but idle reports and shams, raised by the natives against the English) before I left the government. The committee made a very full report, that there was nothing in all those bundles of informations whereon to ground a prosecution against any one: but Mr. Justice being dissatisfied with some things in the report, I recommitted the whole matter, and ordered the committee to meet to-morrow morning. In the afternoon, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, and Mr. Solicitor, were with me to adjust the time, and other things relating to the consecration of the Chapel of the Royal Hospital; which we agreed should be on Wednesday next. In the evening, Sir Charles Meredith took his leave of me; he intending for England with my son.

Jan. 17, *Monday.* In the morning I went to council; where the committee made the same

report they did the last day, concerning the rumours and sham plots, that they could find nothing in the informations whereon to ground a prosecution against any man; and so ended that troublesome affair. I appointed a meeting of the Governors of the Royal Hospital, to be at the Castle, in the afternoon; where I took a view of the state of the house, and appointed a committee to examine the accounts.

Jan. 21, *Friday.* In the morning, Mr. Justice Daly was with me He professed great kindness to me, and to be much troubled that I was to leave the government; but there is no relying on any of them; though I must needs say, he seems the fairest of any of the native Irish who are taken into employment. The Povost of the College was with me in some trouble, having met with a report of a plot being discovered; as if some of the students had a design to murder my Lord Tyrconnel, when he came. He could not trace it to the bottom; but it was said Judge Nugent had taken some examinations upon it. He desired to know if I had any account of it: I told him no, truly; and that I could not but laugh, to see the little arts that are used to draw the poor English of all ranks into plots. However, I advised him to take some discreet person with him, and to go and speak with Judge Nugent in the matter. I dined at the Lord Chancellor's; where dined

likewise Lord Chief Justice Keating, the Lord Chief Baron, and Mr. Solicitor. Mr. Foster, a justice of the peace, brought me an account of the late murder, committed seven miles from Dublin: he left with me copies of the examinations, and of the coroner's letters to him.

Jan. 29, *Saturday.* In the afternoon, we had three packets from England, of the 12th, 20th, and 22d instant. Tom Hales came over with them: he left Lord Tyrconnel at Holyhead, and says he had been there ever since this day se'nnight; that the wind had all that time been very contrary; and that Captain Wright did not think it safe to venture out with the yacht yesterday, when the Dogger came off. I had not a word of news in my letters.

Jan. 31, *Monday.* I went to church, it being the day observed for the anniversary of the murder of King Charles the Martyr. In the afternoon, Judge Daly and Mr. Mangle were with me: the latter took occasion to speak of the reports which were spread about the town, that he was to be attorney-general; which he solemnly protested he knew nothing of, nor did he desire it. I do not believe him in the least; because I am sure he is both a covetous and an ambitious man.

Feb. 6, *Sunday.* This being a festival, in memory of the King's coming to the crown, I endeavoured to solemnize it as well as I could.

how my servants and equipage were gone. I went to church, where Dr. Palesar preached; and the regiment of guards were in arms. Towards the end of the sermon there was a rumour about the church, that the yacht was in the bay; and it proved to be so, for Lord Tyrconnel came to town about two of the clock in the afternoon. I dined at the Archbishop's, where most of the Protestant lords in town likewise dined. In the afternoon I returned to the Castle. About four of the clock Mr. Sheridan came to me, accompanied by Judge Nugent: he said he was sent by my Lord Tyrconnel, to make his excuse that he could not come to me to-day, by reason of his being very weary; but that he would not fail to be with me to-morrow morning. He added that my Lord had commanded him, to the end that no time might be lost, to give me the King's letter; which I took, and holding it in my hand, asking him some ordinary questions of their voyage, &c. he desired me to read the letter; because, possibly, my Lord Tyrconnel might expect some answer. I then read it, and bid him present my humble service to my Lord, and tell him I would take care to despatch the King's commands. He asked me when he should attend me: I told him he need not trouble himself; I should give the necessary orders. The King's letter was to direct me to deliver the sword to Lord Tyrcon-

nel, within a week after his arrival, as my Lord Sunderland had before informed me I was to do.

Feb. 7, Monday. About ten in the morning, Lord Tyrconnel came to the castle. I was in the with-drawing-room when he came up: after the common salutations, I took him into my closet, where I had ordered Sir Paul Rycaut to be present. He brought Sir Alexander Fitton* with him, and presented him to me, only telling me who he was, and that the King had sent him over, without saying for what. We sat down; but nothing more than common discourse of his voyage, and his long stay at Holyhead, passed between us; he said he would see me every day, and so for the present would take his leave; as he did. This morning I signed the warrant for Mr. Solicitor to prepare my Lord Tyrconnel's commission. In the afternoon, the major-general came to me, as he said, from Lord Tyrcon-

* Archbishop King, in his State of the Protestants in Ireland, says, "Neither the Lord Primate Boyle, who had managed that court (the Chancery) about twenty years, nor Sir Charles Porter, who succeeded him, could answer the King's intention: but Sir Alexander Fitton, a person detected of forgery, not only at Westminster and Chester, but likewise fined by the house of lords in parliament, must be brought out of gaol, and set on the highest court of the kingdom, to keep the King's conscience, though he wanted law and natural capacity, as well as honesty and courage, to discharge such a trust; and had no other quality to recommend him, besides his being a converted papist; that is, a renegade to his religion and his country."

nel, to desire the royal regiment of guards might be drawn out to-morrow for him to see, which I presently ordered to be done.

Feb. 8, *Tuesday.* In the morning I visited my Lord Tyrconnel: he lay at Lord Limerick's. He met me upon the stairs, and conducted me into his chamber, where we sat down. I told him I had given orders for his commission, and I intended to give him the sword on Saturday, which would be (according to the King's command) within a week after his arrival. To which he replied, when I thought it proper; and that if I was not ready to remove so soon, I might continue in the castle as long as I pleased: to which I said, I should be ready to go away at the same time; and that I would make what haste I could to wait on the King. He then said, he wondered to find such alarms upon his being to be chief governor. I told him . .

. . . . . .

*** At this interesting period, unfortunately, the Diary for the present year breaks off abruptly in the manuscript: whether Lord Clarendon wrote no more, or omitted the entering of the remainder from his loose papers into the volume, through the hurry in which he left Ireland, is uncertain.

1687-8.

January 1, *Sunday.* In the morning I went to the King's levee, and from thence to St.

James's church. The common report this morning was, that the Queen was quick. I am sure all honest men wish the increase of the royal family. In the afternoon, I waited on the prince and princess, to wish them a good new year.

Jan. 2, Monday. My brother and I dined with Sir Walter St. John*, at Battersea. Lord Drumlaurig and Lord Ranelagh went with us.

Jan. 4, Wednesday. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. In the afternoon a friend came to see me, who told me that yesterday there had been a meeting of several papists, at the Blue Posts in the Haymarket; that some in the company seemed dissatisfied, that Mr. Culliford was made one of the commissioners of the customs; to which Sir Nicholas Bubler replied, that it could not be helped, for there was still a Rochesterian faction in the court, who still sometimes find means of carrying some things. This is very pleasant, when (if I am rightly informed) Sir Nicholas Bubler himself was the occasion of bringing Culliford out of Ireland, and making him a commissioner here. Most certain it is, the King hearkens more to Sir Nicholas Bubler

* Sir Walter St. John was the third baronet of this distinguished family, and grandfather of the celebrated Lord Bolingbroke. He succeeded his nephew Sir John, the second baronet, who died before he came of age. Sir Walter married one of the daughters of Lord Chief Justice St. John: he was eminent for piety and moral virtues: he founded a free-school, at Battersea, for twenty poor boys, and endowed it with funds for the apprenticing some of them.

than to any one, in all things relating to the affairs of the customs.

Jan. 5, *Thursday.* The rumour was very hot about the town, that Lord Halifax had been very lately with the King in private: upon what it was grounded I know not; but it was generally believed. I dined at my brother's: in the afternoon I visited Lord and Lady Burlington, and Lady Ranelagh *.

Jan 21, *Saturday.* I was let blood: in the afternoon I retained Sir W. Williams, the solicitor-general, to appear for me: all the rest of the King's counsel were retained by the Queen Dowager; only Serjeant Holt, with whom I had been, told me he had refused the Queen's fee; that he would advise me privately, but must not appear for me in court, because he was of the King's counsel. In the evening Sir Paul Rycaut was with me: he told me he had been with Lord Halifax, who had told him, that Lord Feversham and he had moved the Queen on my behalf, but without success. This is but what

* This distinguished lady was sister to the Earl of Burlington, and to the celebrated philosopher Robert Boyle, who appointed her one of his executors. She died at an advanced age, in 1691, having lived the longest on the most public scene, and made the greatest figure in all the revolutions of these kingdoms, for above fifty years, of any woman of her age: she is said to have employed her whole time and estate in doing good; to have had a very superior understanding, so that the highest value was set upon her friendship by all the most eminent persons of her time.

I expected; and I suppose Lord Halifax will think he has acquitted himself of his promise to do what service he can.

Jan. 23, Monday. The first day of the Term. I went to Westminster. Sir Francis Winnington moved in the Exchequer, that the *scire facias*, brought against me at the Queen Dowager's suit, might be quashed; upon the motion of Mr. Attorney-general and Sir Robert Sawyer, on behalf of the Queen Dowager, it was put off, and appointed to be argued on Friday next, all things to rest in the meantime.

Jan. 26, Thursday. In the morning I waited on the princess. Mr. Charles Boyle was married to-day. In the afternoon I went to see my counsel for to-morrow: when I came to Mr. Solicitor-general, he told me he was commanded not to be of counsel against the Queen Dowager. Strange prosecution!

Jan. 31, Tuesday. I was at the King's levee, where I heard an account given to his Majesty of a most barbarous murder;—that a dead body was found last night upon a dunghill in Parker's-lane; the head, arms, and legs, being all cut off. When the King was dressed I desired to speak with him: he took me into the inner room: I gave him an account of my affairs with the Queen Dowager, that Mr. Solicitor-general was of my counsel, and had taken several fees of me; that he now told me he was forbid to appear any

more for me. The King said it was not well taken, that any of his counsel should plead against the Queen Dowager, and he would not disoblige her in such a thing as that; but he said, he wondered extremely the Queen would sue me for such a kind of debt, which he thought would not be for her honour, when it came to be laid open in court; that he had told my Lord Feversham his mind upon it, and would speak to the Queen herself, if it came in her way. The King then asked me if I knew the Queen Dowager was going into Portugal? I said, "No, truly, this was the first word I heard of it." His Majesty then said, she had sent to him yesterday, by his own confessor, Father Warner, to acquaint him, that she intended to go into her own country; that she had acquainted her brother with it, and that an ambassador would speedily come for her. The King seemed much dissatisfied that the Queen should send to the King of Portugal, before she had communicated her resolution to himself: he said he deserved to be better treated by her. It must indeed be confessed, that the King has been extremely kind to her, and used her with the same respect as when the late King was living; but he said he would go to her this afternoon; that he had done it yesterday, but that he never used to go abroad on that day, and he bid me not speak of what he had told me till I heard it.

from others. I went from the bed-chamber to my brother's, and as I was going over the privy garden, I met the French ambassador coming from my Lord Sunderland's: he fell to talking with me of the Queen Dowager's going into Portugal, blamed her extremely for it, and spake very slightingly of her; and would have me believe, it was because she was (as he called it) so ungrateful to me. I endeavoured to justify her Majesty in all that he had been saying; and, God knows, I shall always be troubled to hear her disrespectfully spoken of, upon what account soever. In the afternoon I had a meeting with my counsel.

February 10, *Friday*. In the afternoon I went to the temple to see my counsel for to-morrow. Le Père Couplet* supped with me: he is a man of very good conversation. After supper we had tea, which he said was really as good as any he had drank in China: the Chinese

* The Père Couplet, sometimes called "the converted Chinese," was a Jesuit, who had been long a Missionary at China; there is a portrait of him at Windsor, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and esteemed one of his best works; from this picture Faber engraved a Mezzotinto print. In 1693, Couplet again embarked, with the intention of proceeding to join the Missions in China, but died on his passage. He composed several works in the Chinese language, and many in Latin; among which, one of the most curious is "Confucius Sinarum Philosophus, sive Scientia Sinica Latine Exposita:" it contains a Compendium of the Theology and Fabulous History of the Chinese.

who came over with him, and Mr. Fraser, supped likewise with us.

February 20, *Monday*. I dined at Lambeth. The Bishop of Chester* was there, which put the company a little out of humour, nobody caring to talk before him.

March 15, *Thursday*. I had an account that Father Peter Walsh† died to day; that he had been ill four or five days; that he had been reconciled on Tuesday last; but I am told he would not retract any thing he had written. Some of his order seized his books and papers as soon as he was dead.

April 17, *Tuesday*. My wife and I went to Swallowfield‡.

* Doctor Thomas Cartwright.

† "Peter Walsh (says Burnet) was the honestest and learnedst man I ever knew among them; (i. e. the Papists.) He was of Irish extraction, and of the Franciscan order; and was, indeed, in all points of controversy, almost wholly Protestant; but he had senses of his own, by which he excused his adhering to the church of Rome; and maintained, that with these he could continue in the communion of that church without sin: he said he was sure he did some good by staying still on that side; but that he could do none at all if he would come over. He thought no man ought to forsake that religion in which he was born and bred, unless he was clearly convinced that he must certainly be damned if he continued in it. He was an honest and an able man, much practised in intrigues, and knew well the methods of Jesuits and other Missionaries.

‡ Swallowfield is about six miles to the South East of Reading, in Berkshire. Lord Clarendon possessed it in the right of his wife, who was the widow of Sir William Backhouse, whose family had been for some time seated here. It is a place which cannot be

May 5, *Saturday*. In the evening Colonel Fairfax was with me, being just arrived out of Ireland. He told me had got something for his employment, and was turned farmer.

May 12, *Saturday*. I dined at Lambeth; where likewise dined the Bishops of London, Ely, Peterborough, Chester, and St. David's. The two last discomposed the company, nobody caring to speak before them*. Quickly after dinner they went away. Then the archbishop and the rest took into consideration the reading of the declaration in the churches, according to the order of council; and after full deliberation, it was resolved not to do it. Dr. Tennison† was present at all the debate. The resolution was to petition the king in the matter; but first to get as many bishops to town as were within reach; and in order thereunto, that the Bishops of Winchester, Norwich, Gloucester, St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Bristol, and Chichester, should be written to, to come to town.

May 18, *Friday*. I was at the king's levee. ..... In the evening the

visited without interest: the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, after his retirement from public life, resided for some time at this seat of his son; and here was written a great part of the History of the Rebellion.

* See a similar remark, ante, Feb. 20, p. 403.

† Doctor Thomas Tennison, who succeeded Tillotson in the see of Canterbury, having been previously Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, and Bishop of London.

Bishops, six in number, presented a petition to the king, praying that his Majesty would recal his proclamation for reading the proclamation of indulgence in the churches. It was written with the archbishop's own hand, and signed by himself and the other six. The king took them into the room within the bed-chamber; when he had read the petition, he was angry, and said he did not expect such a petition from them. This the Bishop of St. Asaph told me when he came home.

May 19, *Saturday*. In the morning all the judges were sent for to Whitehall: the report was that it was about the Bishops' petition. In the afternoon I had a meeting with my counsel.

June 2, *Saturday*. I am now this day complete fifty years of age, which I have passed in as constant a course of good health as most men. God make me thankful for it.

June 5, *Tuesday*. .... In the evening the Bishops of Ely, and Bath and Wells, were with me. I advised them to consult with the best lawyers, how to behave themselves at the council board; that the time drew near; and that they should not come unprepared to answer any question that might be asked them upon their petition.

June 7, *Thursday*. In the evening the bishops were with me, and told me they had taken advice with the best counsel, and hoped they should

have good success to-morrow. I asked them if they had well considered what to do or say, in case they should be required to find bail for their further appearance, (for such a thing was whispered,) and I found they had not; whereupon I earnestly pressed them to go this very evening, and advise therein with Sir Robert Sawyer, who could best instruct them what power the council board now had.

June 8, *Friday*. In the afternoon the Archbishop and the rest appeared at council; when they were first called in, the petition was shewn them, and they were asked if they owned that petition? The Archbishop answered, that the King very well knew what petition was delivered to him, and that it could not be expected they should accuse themselves: upon which they were ordered to withdraw. After a little debate they were called in, and bid withdraw again twice or thrice. What passed at each time, I cannot yet particularly learn; but at last they were required to enter into recognizances to appear in the Court of King's Bench the first day of next term, which they refused to do, and therefore were committed to the Tower; and the Attorney General was ordered to prefer an information against them.

June 10, *Trinity Sunday*. In the morning I was at St. James's Church, where I observed great whispering, but could not learn what the matter was. As I was going home, the page told

me the Queen was brought to bed of a son. I sent presently to St. James's, and word was brought me it was true that her Majesty was delivered about ten this morning. As soon as I had dined I went to court, and found the King shaving; I kissed his hand and wished him joy. He said the Queen was so quick in her labour, and he had so much company, that he had not time to dress himself till now. He bid me go and see the Prince. I went into the room which had been formerly the Duchess's private bed-chamber, and there my Lady Powis (who was made governess) showed me the Prince; he was asleep in his cradle, and was a very fine child to look upon. I visited the bishops in the Tower, with whom was a vast concourse of people going in and out. In the morning there was a strong rumour that the Prince was dead*. He had been

* All manner of idle stories were circulated: and Burnet has not scrupled to record many of them, which were, as Swift remarks, mere coffee-house gossip. Upon this occasion he relates one which may serve as a sample of the rest: "That night, one Hemings, a very worthy man, an apothecary by trade, who lived in St. Martin's Lane, the very next door to the family of an eminent papist, (Brown, brother to the Viscount Montacute, lived there,) the wall between his parlour and theirs being so thin that he could easily hear any thing that was said with a loud voice; he (Hemings) was reading in his parlour late at night, when he heard one coming into the neighbouring parlour, and say, with a doleful voice, 'The Prince of Wales is dead!' upon which a great many that lived in the house came down stairs very quick. Upon this confusion he could not hear any thing more; but it was plain they were in great consternation. He went with the news the next morning to the

ill in the night, and the King was called up; but upon giving him remedies, God be thanked, he grew better.

June 14, *Thursday*. In the morning I went to see my Lord Chancellor. He discoursed very freely to me concerning the bishops; said he was much troubled at their prosecution, and made many professions of service for them, which he desired me to let them know. He said the King was once resolved to let the business fall, and not to have proceeded thus against them; that he was grieved to find he had changed his mind; that he knew not how it came to pass, but said there was no remedy, some men would hurry the King to his destruction. In the afternoon I went to the Tower and gave the bishops an account of all that my Lord Chancellor had said to me.

June 15, *Friday*. The first day of the term, at the first sitting of the Court of King's Bench, the Attorney General moved for a *habeas corpus*, returnable immediately, to bring the Bishops into court. About half an hour after eleven they came. Both the Hall and Palace-yard were ex-

bishops in the Tower. The Countess of Clarendon came thither soon after and told them she had been at the young Prince's door, but was denied access; she was amazed at it, and asked if they knew her; they said they did, but that the Queen had ordered that no person whatsoever should be suffered to come into him. This gave credit to Hemings's story, and looked as if all was ordered to be kept shut and close till another child was found.'—*Burnett's History*, vol. i. pp. 752-3.

tremely crowded: all the way as they came from the bridge, where they landed, to the very court, the people made a lane for them, and begged their blessings. When they were in court, the information against them was read. The Bishops' counsel offered several pleas, but they were all over-ruled, Judge Powell dissenting from his brethren in every point. At last they pleaded the general issue; and so their trials were appointed to be this day fortnight. The court took their own recognizances to appear then; the Archbishop in 200*l.*, and the rest in 100*l.* each; and so they went home, the people in like manner crowding for their blessings. As I was taking coach in Little Palace-yard, by the House of Lords, I found the Bishop of St. Asaph in the midst of a crowd, the people thinking it a blessing to kiss any of these bishops' hands or garments. I took him into my coach, and carried him home to my house.

June 23, Saturday. I was at the King's levee: I moved his Majesty to do something for poor Captain Plunckett. Lord Tyrconnel had used him very hardly, (though an Irishman,) for no reason that I could learn, but because the poor man spoke gratefully of me. The King assured me he would take care of him. Robert Barclay* dined with me. He told me that he and Penn*

* Robert Barclay and William Penn, the two distinguished quakers of those times.

had reconciled Lord Sunderland and Lord Melfort, which he hoped would be the ruin of Father Peters. Monsieur Zulestein arrived from Holland, from the Prince of Orange, to congratulate the birth of the Prince of Wales.

June 27, Wednesday. I went to Westminster, but my cause was put off till Saturday. In the afternoon I was with my Lord Chancellor: he talked very freely with me, and with great trouble on the Bishops' affair. He seemed very apprehensive that their being brought to a public trial would be of very ill consequence to the king in all his affairs; but he said, it would be found that he had done the part of an honest man. "As for the judges," said he, "they are most of them rogues.

June 29, Friday. The Bishops were brought to their trial, which lasted from nine in the morning till past six in the evening. There were five or six and twenty noblemen all the time in court: when the jury withdrew, the court adjourned till to-morrow, ten o'clock.

June 30, Saturday. Westminster Hall was extremely full again. The jury (Sir Roger Langley, foreman) brought in their verdict "Not Guilty;" upon which there was a most wonderful shout, that one would have thought that the Hall had cracked, insomuch that the Court took notice of it. ..... In the even-

ing, multitudes of bonfires were made for the Bishops being acquitted.

July 5, *Thursday*. In the morning I was with my Lord Chancellor: he told me he found the King a little troubled that the Bishops had been brought to their trial; that he seemed to be in a milder temper than he had been, and he hoped he might be persuaded to take moderate counsels. "Now," says my Lord, "honest men, both Lords and others (though the King had used them hardly) should appear often at Court. I am sure it would do good." He desired I would come sometimes to him, that by me he might have a correspondence with the Archbishop, which it was yet too soon for him to have openly.

July 9, *Monday*. In the afternoon I waited on the Queen the first time I had seen her since she lay in. She was very gracious to me, and asked me why I had not been there before, and why I did not come oftener.

July 10, *Tuesday*. When I came home from prayers in the morning, my wife told me my son was gone away with Mrs. O'Brien, my Lady Catherine's daughter*, which struck me to the

* Lady Catherine Stewart, sister and heir to Charles, Duke of Richmond and Lennox: she was the widow of Henry, Lord Ibrackan, eldest son of the Earl of Thomond) and was now married to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State. He was a

heart. The more I think of it, the more it troubles me. I had been in treaty this last year with my Lady Catherine and Sir Joseph Williamson for this young lady, at my son's desire, for I had no kind of acquaintance with them; but finding she had no portion, without which I can make no settlements, and that her estate does not come to her part till the Duke of Richmond's debts are paid, which are still nearly £14,000, I broke very fairly off. It is the most inconvenient match that could have been for me. A young woman oddly bred, no manner of advantage, and an unavoidable charge. Besides, it is a base thing, and unbecoming a man of honour, to steal a child away from a parent, and what no man would willingly have to be his own case. I thank God I had no hand in it. Oh, Lord! make me able to bear this irrecoverable blow. Good God! that my poor family should be brought into utter misery by him who was the only hopes of raising it! Oh, Lord! my heart is even broke! My brother, whose kindness is never wanting, quickly came to me; but I told him I would not see my son, nor take any notice of the match. He went then to my Lady Catherine, who was full of indignation, as I confess she had reason to be. My wife, who had always been as fond of my son as if he had been her

native of Cumberland, the son of a clergyman, and had previously filled some diplomatic situations abroad.

own, helped him all she could in this match, believing it a convenient and advantageous match for him; but finding I was so much troubled at it, she took a lodging for them in Leicester Fields, whither they came in the evening. Mrs. Garraway and Mr. Keightley had been assisting in the contrivance, and went away with them, thinking, I verily believe, that they had done well in it.

July 17, *Tuesday*. My Lady Catherine and Sir Joseph Williamson came to town. I went to see them: they were pretty well pacified. In the evening Sir Joseph visited my daughter, and said her mother would quickly see her. We went all to the Duchess of Richmond's, to see the fire-works which were made for the birth of the Prince of Wales.

July 18, *Wednesday*. Sir Joseph Williamson came to my daughter, and carried her to her mother: so, God be thanked, that breach is made up. She afterwards visited my wife and me; and in the evening, we went to my Lady Catherine.

July 21, *Saturday*. My wife and I, son, and daughter, dined at Zion. We went thence to Cobham. Sir Joseph met us two miles from the house. We were made very welcome. It is a noble place.*

* Cobham-Hall, in Kent, to which Lady O'Brien became entitled on the death of her brother, Charles, now Duke of Richmond.

August 13, *Monday*. I was at Bulstrode, but none of the parties appeared there, save Mr. Dockmanique. My Lord Chancellor told us, that since the other gentlemen were not there, he must put it off till we met at London, and then he would settle all things to our content. Doctor Hickman, and Mr. Slater, a neighbouring gentleman, dined with my Lord too. When I was going away, my Lord Chancellor would needs carry me as far as Dr. Hickman's living. I went in his calash with him. He talked very freely to me of all affairs, called the judges a thousand fools and knaves; that Chief Justice Wright was a beast. He said, the King and Queen were to dine with him on Thursday next: that he had still great hopes the King would be moderate when the parliament met. When he came to Doctor Hickman's, my Lord was inclined to be merry, saying he had papists and spies among his own servants, and must therefore be cautious at home*.

She vested her interest in this manor, as well as of the rest of her estates, in Sir Joseph Williamson; but the Duke of Richmond dying greatly in debt, Cobham-Hall, and the rest of his estates in the vicinity, were sold to pay his debts, but were purchased by Sir Joseph, who resided here till his death in 1701.

* Lord Chancellor Jeffries, it is well known, gave in to very unbecoming revelry; and some curious anecdotes have been told of him on occasions of this kind. Reresby mentions a "furious debauch," in 1685, at Alderman Duncomb's, when Jeffries, the Lord Treasurer, and others, drank themselves into that height of frenzy, that among friends it was whispered they had stripped

September 24, Monday. I went to the king's levee, and met his Majesty going to the queen's side. He told me, the Dutch were now coming to invade England in good earnest. I presumed to ask, if he really believed it? To which the king replied, with warmth, "Do I see you, my lord?" and then he said, that an express arrived the last night with an account, that 2000 men were already shipped off, and 7000 more were marching to the sea-side. "And now, my lord," said he, "I shall see what the Church of England men will do." I answered, "And your Majesty will see they will behave themselves like honest men, though they have been somewhat severely used of late." I visited my Lord Chancellor, who told me, that on Saturday last the king was resolved to call all the peers together who were in and about the town, to consult with them upon the present state of affairs; that he would set all things upon the foot they were at his coming to the crown; that in order thereto, his Majesty had commanded him to restore all the old honest aldermen of the city who had been turned out; that several of them had been with his lordship yesterday, but he found them unwilling to enter into employment till the king had made some further declaration, of which he intended to give the king an account at noon.

unto their shirts, and that, had not an accident prevented them, they had got upon a sign-post to drink the king's health.

The king went to Hampton Court to see Mac-Gilly-Cudd's regiment, lately come out of Ireland. I dined at Lambeth, and gave the archbishop an account of all these matters. In the afternoon, I waited on the princess. Though I found her alone, she said nothing to me. I told her what had passed between the king and me: she said, very drily, "I know nothing but what the prince tells me he hears the king say."

September 27, Thursday. I waited on the princess: she told me, the king had received another express this morning; that most of the Dutch forces were shipped; that the Prince of Orange himself was to embark as on Monday next; that Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Wiltshire, and Mr. Sidney, were with him. She said, the king seemed much disturbed, and was very melancholy. I took the liberty to say, that it was pity nobody would take this opportunity of speaking freely and honestly to the king; that I humbly thought it very proper for her Royal Highness to say something to him, and to beg him to confer with some of his old friends, who had always served him faithfully. She answered, she never spoke to the king on business. I said, her father could not but take it well to see her Royal Highness so concerned for him: to which she replied, he had no reason to doubt her concern. I said all I could to put her upon speaking to him, telling her it might possibly produce some

good effect, and no ill could come of it; but she would not be prevailed upon; the more I pressed her, the more reserved she was; and said, she must dress herself, it was almost prayer time. As I took my leave, she desired I would see her quickly again. I then went to the Chancellor's: he told me all was nought; some rogues had changed the king's mind, that he would yield in nothing to the bishops; that the Virgin Mary was to do all.

September 28, *Friday*. Several of the bishops were this morning with the king. I was told, he expressed himself very graciously to them; but spake only in general terms, that it was not now seasonable to enter into particular disputes; that they should every day find more and more effects of his Majesty's kindness; that he had given order for restoring the Bishop of London; the archbishop was indisposed, and so could not come over the water; the Bishops of London and Bristol were not yet come to town, though both had been sent for. As the bishops came from the king, several people in the rooms, as they passed, asked them, how things went? the Bishop of Winton (poor man!) answered, "Omnia bene." In the afternoon, there was a chapter of the Order, at which the Garters were given to the Dukes of Ormond and Berwick. The king there told my brother, that he believed

he had satisfied the Bishops. Sir Thomas Clarges supped with me.

Oct. 3, Wednesday. I was told, that most of the old aldermen were last night with the king; that he had declared to them, that he would presently restore the old charter to the city, and put them in the same condition they were when judgment was given against them.

Oct. 17, Wednesday. I dined with Sir Richard Bellings. A proclamation came out for restoring all corporations to their ancient charters.

Oct. 22, Monday. We went into the council chamber, and sat among the lords, and not at the board, as did the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Queen Dowager was there, and I think all the bishops in town, as likewise my lord mayor and aldermen, all the judges, and the king's learned council: the king said, the princess would have been there, but being with child, and having been subject to miscarry, it was not safe for her to go out of the chamber. The king made a short speech to acquaint the lords with the occasion of the meeting, which was, to take several depositions upon oath relating to the birth of the Prince of Wales, all which, with what his Majesty said, are in the council books*.

* The account of what passed upon this occasion, has often been printed under the following title, "The Several Declarations, together with the Several Depositions, made in Council on

I dined at Lambeth in the evening: Sir Thomas Clarges was with me.

Oct. 27, Saturday. The king had an account by an express, that the Dutch fleet had set sail as yesterday was se'nnight; that they were driven back again by ill weather on Sunday; that two ships were disabled, and four hundred horses cast overboard, but that the Prince of Orangé intended to go out again with the first fair wind.

Oct. 31. My cause was again put off till Tuesday next, upon the motion of the queen's counsel: this feeing of counsel to no purpose is very grievous. One Captain Lendham, lately come from Holland, was taken, and sent to Newgate; several of the Prince of Orange's declarations were taken about him. In the afternoon, I waited upon the princess: she was in her closet, but quickly came out to me; she said she was sorry she had disappointed me so often;

Monday, the 22d of October, 1688, concerning the Birth of the Prince of Wales." The Jacobites presented a petition to parliament, in October 1690, for a farther examination into this matter, which may be seen in the Life of J. Kettlewell, 1720, p. 280. The opposite party put forth what is called a full answer to the depositions, &c.; the intrigue thereof detected, the whole design being set forth, with the way and manner of doing, &c. Many well meaning people gave credit to the bold assertions it contained: popular credulity is proverbial, and it was here aided by circumstances. The question has, however, long been set at rest, since the party prejudices of men have subsided, so as to allow them to weigh the evidence.

when I desired to speak with her, and asked me now what I had to say? I told her, that I was extremely surprised and troubled the other day to find her Royal Highness speak so slightingly of the Prince of Wales's affairs, and to suffer her women to make their jests upon it: she replied, surely I could not but hear the common rumours concerning him. I said, that I did hear very strange rumours indeed, as every one must do who lived any thing publicly in the world; but that to me, there seemed no colour for them: the princess then said, she would not say she believed them, but she must needs say, the queen's behaviour during her being with child, was very odd, especially considering the reports that went abroad. "Is it not strange," said she, "that the queen should never (as often as I am with her mornings and evenings) speak to me to feel her belly?" I asked, if the queen had at other times of her being with child bid her do it: she answered, "No; that is true." "Why then, madam," said I, "should you wonder she did not bid you do it this time?" "Because," said she, "of the reports." "Possibly," said I, "she did not mind the reports?" "I am sure," said she, "the king knew of them, for, as he has been sitting with me in my own chamber, he would speak of the idle stories that were given out of the queen's not being with child. Laughing at them, therefore," said she,

"I cannot wonder there was more care taken to satisfy the world." I asked her, if her Royal Highness had upon these occasions said any thing to the king: she answered, no. I replied, that the king might very well think she minded the reports no more than he did, since she said nothing to him, even when he gave her opportunities; that, in my humble opinion, if she had the least dissatisfaction, she ought to have discovered it for the public good, as well for her own as for her sister's sake. She replied, "If she had said any thing to the king, he would have been angry, and then God knows what might have happened." I answered, that if she had no mind to have spoken to the king herself, she had friends who would have endeavoured to serve her, and would have managed it without any prejudice to her; that this was the first time she had said any thing to me, though I had sometimes given her occasion to open her mind, by putting her upon speaking to the king since these alarms of an invasion. I begged her to consider what miseries these suppositions might entail upon the kingdom, even in case God should bless the king with more sons. I, therefore, humbly sought her to consider and do something, that the world might see her Royal Highness was satisfied. To all this she made no answer; but as I went away, she desired I would see her often. Strange!

Nov. 24, Saturday. News by an express, that the king's bleeding at the nose continued; that he intended to leave Sarum to-morrow*; and that the army was ordered to march back.

Nov. 25, Sunday. An express brought word that the Duke of Grafton, Lord Churchill, and Colonel Berkeley, were gone over to the Prince of Orange; that the king lay last night at Andover, and would be at Whitehall to-morrow. In the evening, I went to court; great crowds in the galleries, and consternation in all men's looks.

November 26, Monday. As I was walking in Westminster Hall, on a sudden was a rumour all about that the Princess was gone away, nobody knew whither; that somebody had violently carried her away. I went presently to the Cockpit†. I found my Lady Frecheville, and all the women, in great consternation. All the light I could get was, that last night, after her Royal Highness was in bed, the chamber doors

* In Sir Patrick Hume's Diary of the Prince of Orange's March to London, the king's departure is said to have been on Saturday, 24th,—Monday, 19th November, King James came to Salisbury; —Tuesday, viewing the plains on horseback, to choose a camp, he fell in excessive bleeding at the nose, was four times let blood that week, and parted towards London, Saturday 24.

† Where the Princess was lodged. King James, in his Memoirs, says, "This made a great noise in town; and her nurse and Lady Clarendon went up and down like mad persons, saying the Papists had murdered her; and asking the Queen's people what they had done with her."

locked, and Mrs. Danvers in bed in the outer room, where she used to be when in waiting, she rose again, went down the back stairs, and, accompanied only by Lady Churchill, Mrs. Berkeley, and a maid of Lord Churchill's, went into a coach and six horses which stood ready at the street gate. This was all I could learn*,

* The account given by the companion of her flight (Lady Churchill) is as follows :—"The report was that the Prince of Denmark had left the King, and was gone over to the Princess, into a great flight. She sent for me, told me her distress, and declared, rather than see her father, she would jump off at the window. A little time before, a note had been left with me, to inform me where I might find the Bishop of London (who, in the critical time, absconded), if her Royal Highness should have occasion for a friend. The Princess, on this alarm, immediately sent me to the bishop. I acquainted him with her resolution to leave the court, and to put herself under his care. It was hereupon agreed that, when he had advised with his friends in the city, he should come about midnight, in a hackney-coach, to the neighbourhood of the Cockpit, in order to convey the Princess to some place where she might be private and safe.

"The Princess went to bed at the usual time, to prevent suspicion. I came to her soon after, and, by the back stairs, which went down from her closet, her Royal Highness, my Lady Fitzharding, and I, with one servant, walked to the coach; where we found the Bishop and the Earl of Dorset. They conducted us that night to the Bishop's house in the city, and the next day to my Lord Dorset's, at Copt-Hall. From thence we went to the Earl of Northampton's, and from thence to Nottingham; where the country gathered about the Princess; nor did she think herself safe, till she saw that she was surrounded by the Prince of Orange's friends. The most remarkable thing that happened to the Princess during her stay at this place, was a letter she received from Lord Clarendon. It was full of compliments; and at the same time full of complaints that she had not told him of a

I went up into the gallaries, where I found my Lord Craven giving orders from the Queen to examine the guards, and to inquire into the manner of the Princess's going away. I met Lord Preston; who told me that, on Saturday night, at Andover, after the King was gone to bed, Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, Lord Drumlanrig, and Mr. H. Boyle, went back to the Prince of Orange*. I went to the

thing he liked so well, that he might have had a share in it. How well these complaints, and the earnestness he shewed (in a consultation held at Windsor, before the Prince of Orange came to London) to have King James sent to the Tower, agreed with his conduct afterwards, I shall leave to the world to judge."

There is another account, in Colley Cibber's Apology for his own Life; but it is apparent, from a letter written by Princess Anne to the Prince of Orange, dated the 18th of November, that she knew of the Prince's intentions when he left her to go to the King. The secret of the Duchess of Marlborough's aversion to Lord Rochester, and misrepresentation of his conduct, was the distate her mistress had conceived for him, upon his refusal, when Lord Treasurer, to procure her a settlement of 10,000l. a year from her father.

* They had supped with the King the same evening. Prince George left a letter for James (which may be seen in Kennet's History of England), excusing his own conduct, and blaming the unhappy monarch. This Prince had been accustomed, when he heard of the defection of any of those who had been obliged to the King, to say, "est-il possible?" The only remark James made upon the Prince's flight, was, "Est-il possible? gone too?" In King James's Memoirs, it is said he was more troubled at the unnaturalness of the action, than the want of his service; for that the loss of a good trooper had been of more consequence. But when, on his return to London, he heard that the Princess Anne had fled, under pretence of avoiding his displeasure, he

Duchess of Ormond, who seemed to be much troubled that her lord had thus deserted. She was burning her lord's papers. Just as we were going to dinner, my brother alighted at my door, being come from Sarum. About five in the evening the King came to town. Mr. Skelton was made Lieutenant of the Tower.

Nov. 27, Tuesday. I dined at the Duchess of Ormond's. The King had appointed all the lords spiritual and temporal about the town to attend him in the afternoon; about forty appeared. The meeting was in the room where the King used to dine. The King spoke in the following effect:—That the occasion of this meeting was upon the delivery of a petition to him the day he began his journey to Sarum, which was signed by some lords there present; though he observed there were several who had not signed it, so that he perceived it was not by the general assent of all the peers. That being just then going out of town, he could not give an answer to it. That he had observed, in his journey, the general desire of the countries through which he passed was for a parliament. That he had therefore now called all the lords together who were about the town, to advise with them what was best to be done in the present exigency. After a little silence, I think the

burst into tears, and exclaimed, "God help me, my own children have forsaken me!"

Earl of Oxford spoke first, to this effect:—That he thought it most proper for those lords to speak, in the first place, who had signed the petition. That they who had considered the calling of a parliament, in all probability were most ready to offer their advice. He said, he was spoken to, to join in that petition; but he knew it would not please the King, and therefore he refused it. Then my brother spake in justification of the petition, and for the calling of a parliament, as the only remedy in our present circumstances; whether it would have the desired effect no man could tell, but he thought there was no other means left to compose matters. As I remember, he mentioned the sending to the Prince of Orange. The Lord Chancellor, Godolphin, Falconberg, and others, spake for the calling of a parliament. I spake with great freedom*, laying open most of the late

* King James, in his Memoirs, says, "My Lord Halifax and Nottingham spake with great respect and seeming concern; especially the last. They thought there was now no remedy except it could be had by a treaty with the Prince of Orange. They were sensible (they said) it would prove a bitter draught to his Majesty, who must swallow many disagreeable propositions, and yield to such conditions as would be extremely grievous to him; but my Lord Clarendon flew out into an indiscreet and seditious railing; declaiming against Popery, exaggerating fears and jealousies, and blaming the King's conduct; so that nobody wondered at his going, a day or two after, to meet the Prince of Orange at Salisbury.

What Lord Clarendon is reported to have said on this occasion, is—"Sir, it is a maxim in our law, that the King can do no

miscarriages, and particularly the raising a regiment of Roman Catholics at this very time, under the command of the Earl of Stafford, to be a guard for the King's person, into which all the French tradesmen in town, of that religion, were received, and none were to be admitted but Papists. I pressed this so earnestly, that the King called out and said it was not true; there were no directions for not admitting any but Papists: but I went on saying I had been so informed, &c. My motion was for the calling of a parliament, and that commissioners might be presently appointed to go to the Prince of Orange, in order to a treaty, to make the meeting of parliament practicable. Lord Halifax spoke very flatteringly, that he would not join in the petition because he believed it would displease the King, and he should always be very tender of doing that; besides, he thought the meeting of a parliament at this time very impracticable, though he must own he would never, at any time, advise against the calling of a parliament. That the sending commissioners to the Prince of Orange might do well, if the King

wrong; but his ministers may, and be called to an account for it too. Now in the present juncture of affairs, what would you have us do to appease the nation, since the people have been so provoked by the Papists? As things stand now, what would you have us do for your Majesty's security? When your Majesty was at Salisbury you might have had some remedy; but that the people do now say that the King is run away with his army, we are left defenceless, and must therefore side with the prevailing party."

would make some concessions by way of preliminaries, and would make all things more easy; and that the doing of some things at one time might be interpreted to be prudent, which at another time might be thought too complying. This lord is a strange man,* if we would have

* Sir John Reresby has given the following account of Lord Halifax's conduct at this juncture, from what he asserts to be very good authority:—"Lord Halifax told me he was not at first in the secret of the Prince's expedition, but that, as his Highness was now with us, and upon so good an occasion, he thought he were obliged to stand by and defend him. At this very juncture I was told, by a court lady, that it was much wondered my friend, the Marquis of Halifax, had been so eager for the King's abdicating the government, when he absolutely knew his majesty had never gone if he had not been frightened into it. She assured me his lordship had treated with the King to come again into business, a few weeks before the Prince's intention was certainly known; that she was the very person his lordship sent to the King; that the King actually gave him a meeting at her house; that they agreed upon terms; nay, what is more, that his lordship had treated with some priests for his return to court. That, upon this account, his Majesty particularly depended upon him, when he named him one of the commissioners to go to the Prince; that, after having conferred with his Highness, he sent the King a private letter, intimating an ill design against his person, and that this was the real cause of his Majesty's flight, and the departure of the Queen. That after the King was brought back, Lord Halifax was one of the peers that came and admonished him, on behalf of the Prince, to leave Whitehall for Rochester, or Ham, within the short space of two hours; and that his lordship's reason for conveying this ungrateful message to his Majesty, was, that he was assured the Prince's party had in council resolved to seize on his person and imprison him. That, upon the whole, it must notoriously be known to his lordship that the King had no manner of inclination to withdraw, either the first or the second

petitioned at this time, and in his way, all had been well; the displeasing the King was not then thought of. Lord Nottingham endeavoured to cut a feather, and spoke much in Lord Halifax's sense. Both these lords laid all miscarriages open, though in smoother words than I had done. Several concessions were proposed by way of preliminaries, as a pardon to all that were in any way engaged with the Prince of Orange, or with the lords in the north; that the King should immediately put the Roman Catholics out of employment, military, civil, &c. In conclusion, after a serious and warm debate, the King spake to this effect:—"My lords, I have heard you all; you have spoken with great freedom, and I do not take it ill of any of you. I may tell you I will call a parliament, but for the other things you have proposed, they are of great importance, and you will not wonder if I take one night's time to consider of them." It is to be observed, none of the Popish lords were present at this meeting; which, I have been told, was prevented by my Lord Godolphin, the Lords Middleton and Preston. The two secretaries were present, and sat on each side of the King's chair, at a little distance backwards. The King, in the debate, spake much of the defection of his army, yet seemed to think there

time, and that he was compelled thereto out of a principle of mere self-preservation.

would be many who would be steady to him. He said he looked upon his bleeding at the nose to be a great providence; for if it had not returned upon him on the day he intended to view some of his troops at Warminster, he had great reason to believe that Lord Churchill then designed to give him up to the Prince of Orange*. The King further said that it would appear that the Prince of Orange came for the crown, whatever he pretended; but he would not see himself deposed; that he had read the story of King Richard II.

Nov. 30, Friday. In the morning I was with Lord Halifax. He told me the King had appointed Lord Nottingham, Lord Godolphin, and himself, commissioners to go to the Prince of Orange, in order to a treaty †; and that they

* In his Memoirs, James enters more fully into his suspicions. He mentions Kirke and Trelawney, as well as Churchill; and said he once intended to have secured Churchill and the Duke of Grafton, and to have sent them to Portsmouth; but, upon consideration, he did not think fit to do it. In Macpherson's Extracts from Carte's Papers, there are several traditionary accounts to the same effect, gathered from the evidence of those who were to have assisted in securing the King's person; and some of them go as far as to assert that he was to have been assassinated in case of resistance.

† Notwithstanding James had consented to the mission to William, it appears that he had no hope of a favourable issue to the negotiation; indeed Barrillon says that his motive with complying with that measure, was only to gain time to provide for the placing his wife and son in security. "Le Roi n'a consenté à convoyer des deputés, que pour se donner le temps de pourvoir à

would go as soon as the passports came, which were expected to-day or to-morrow. He pretended not to be pleased with the employment. Before dinner, Sir Henry Capell was with me; I told him now the writs were issued for a parliament, and that a proclamation was coming forth to allow all men to go to their counties. I resolved to go to Sarum, and so to the Prince of Orange; and that I would begin my journey to-morrow. He said he would go with me, and desired me to take him up at Brentford, as I went by. Lord Drogheda and Lord Blessington being with me in the afternoon, I told them of my journey; they both said they would go with me.

Dec. 2, Sunday. We set out from Hartford bridge as soon as it was light. Mr. Pitt stayed behind, pretending his horse was lame. We dined at Sutton, and got to Stockbridge by the time it was dark, where we lay. The way was very bad. About midnight, Mr. Kitson, brother to the woman of the inn at Hartford bridge (who had been an ensign in Ireland in my time) came post into the house where we were. He came up into my chamber, and told me, about two

la sûreté de sa femme et de son fils. . . . . Quand ils seront en sûreté, il prendra la parti de se retirer, ou en Irlande, ou en Ecosse; mais il ne le peut faire sans ruiner d'avantage ses affaires, il demandera une retraite en France." Despatch of the French Ambassador, cited by M. Mazure.—*Histoire de la Revolution*, tom. iii. p. 219.

hours after we were gone from Hartford bridge, Mr. Pitt took post for London, which he thought strange; and not knowing what might happen, he thought fit to come and give us notice of it. Sir Henry Capell was extremely alarmed, and apprehended we might be taken and carried back, and therefore earnestly desired we might hasten to Sarum. I ordered the horses to be made ready with all speed.

Dec. 3, Monday. About three in the morning we took coach, and got to Sarum about seven. We alighted at the George Inn, where we found the Dutch ambassador. He came hither last night. He told us that the Prince of Orange was at Hindon, but knew not how long he designed to stay there, nor which way he moved; that he was going to him himself presently*. We resolved to stay at Sarum to rest our horses. While we were at dinner, Mr. Hevenningham came into the room, and told us

* This is confirmed by Sir Patrick Hume's Diary.—"*Monday, 3d December.* The Prince stayed, and I marched six miles on to W——. That morning, Ambassador Sisters, of Holland, came to the Prince; also an express from the Earl of Heversham, Generall of King James his army, by his order, desiring a safe conduct for some to be sent, which was granted.

"*Tuesday the 4th.* The Prince came to Salisbury, nine miles, where we were quartered. Here many of the first rank came in to the Prince. The Earl of Oxford came in on Tuesday, at Salisbury. Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Drumlanrig, came in at Sherburne.

"*Friday, Nov. 30.*"

the Prince stayed all this day at Hindon; whereupon we went thither. Upon the way, we met Captain H. Bertie, Mr. W. Herbert, and some other gentlemen, who told us the Prince lodged at Berwick, two miles from Hindon; a house of Sir George How's, and now inhabited by the widow of my cousin, E. Hyde, of Hatch*. We got thither about four o'clock: here I met my son: as soon as we alighted we waited on the prince; we found him in the room where he dined; he received us very obligingly, and after asking us some common questions of our journey, he took me into his bed-chamber, where he talked about half an hour with me; he said he was very glad to see me; that my son's coming over to him was a seasonable service, and he would always remember it: he then asked me several questions how the King came to leave Sarum so suddenly? when the commissioners would be with him? and what their business was? I found by this discourse, that the Dutch ambassador had given him pretty perfect accounts of most things: I told him that the business of the commissioners, as far as I understood, was to agree upon ways to make the meeting of parliament safe and easy; that they intended to set

* From the Hydes of Hatch descended Sir Robert Hyde, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, and Sir Frederick Hyde, Serjeant at Law. They were afterwards seated at Heale House in Wilts. See some account of the Family in Sir R. Hoare's Modern Wilts, Hundred of Underditch, p. 143

out as soon as they had their passes. He asked me what was the general opinion, and what I thought of things? I said, that if his Highness pursued his declaration, we might quickly hope to see a happy settlement. He replied, "My declaration shall be punctually observed." He said he had but little acquaintance with Lord Nottingham, but that he did a little wonder the Lords Halifax and Godolphin came to him on this errand. I then asked him when he went from this place? He said he would go to-morrow to Sarum, and stay one day there; the prince then called Sir Henry Capell, and I took my leave. Hearing Dr. Burnet was in the house, I went to his chamber; he had taken physic; he seemed very glad to see me, and when he had inquired a little after all his acquaintance, he presently fell to discourse (after his usual manner) of public affairs. "What," said he, "can be the meaning of the King sending these commissioners?" I told him, to adjust matters for the safe and easy meeting of the parliament. He replied, "How can a parliament meet now the kingdom is in this confusion, all the west being possessed by the prince's forces, and all the north being in arms for him?" I said, if the prince pursued his declaration, and there were no other design than to settle things upon the right foundation, we might quickly hope for a composure; that the King had made a great step towards it in calling

a parliament, and sending commissioners to the prince. The doctor, with his usual warmth, answered, "It is impossible;" and so I left him. In the dining-room I met my Lord Churchill; I told him what the King had told the lords, of his lordship's design to deliver his Majesty to the Prince of Orange, if he had gone to Warminster: he denied it with many protestations, saying that he would never be ungrateful to the King; that he would venture his life in defence of his person; and that he had never left him; but that he saw our religion and country was in danger of being destroyed: he then asked me, when the princess left the cockpit? I told him: he said, he wondered she went not sooner. By this time Sir Henry Capell came from the prince, and it being pretty late, my son carried us to Hindon, where we got a couple of rooms in the inn, set out for himself.

Dec. 7. *Friday.* In the morning I and my company left Sarum: we came to Hungerford about three in the afternoon. The King's commissioners came last night to Ramsbury: the prince appointed them to quarter there, and to be with him at nine o'clock to-morrow morning. The prince came to Hungerford just before it was dark; he had taken Hampsted Marshall in his way, and went in to see the house. Lord Delamere came to Hungerford in the evening: the Earl of Stamford came with him, and, as was

said, 400 horse; but Sir Thomas Fotherley, whom I had desired to observe them, assured me they were not above half that number; that they were very shabby fellows, pitifully mounted, and worse armed. I and my company supped together at my lodging: Sir John Hotham and William Harboard supped with us. They discoursed much against the meeting of the Parliament which was summoned, saying, that by their having been so long out of England, attending upon the Prince of Orange, they could not expect to be chosen, if they had not time to go down into their counties; as if it could not be a good parliament in case those gentlemen were not in it. Mr. Harboard said, he had drawn his sword against the King; that he had no need of his pardon; but they would bring the King to ask pardon of them for the wrongs he had done. In a word, their whole discourse was so seditious, that I was easily confirmed in my opinion, that no good was intended by those who came over with the prince.

Dec. 8, Saturday. In the morning Sir Robert Pye, and some other gentlemen of the county, came in to the prince. About nine o'clock the commissioners came: the Prince of Orange received them in his bedchamber. All the lords and gentlemen upon the place were present by the prince's desire. As soon as the commissioners had delivered their errand by word

of mouth, and their credential, they withdrew into a room appointed for them *.

Dec. 11, *Tuesday.* We breakfasted at Cornbury, and got to Oxford about four in the afternoon. Sir Henry Capel and I took up our quarters at the Bishop of Man's: he was himself in his island; but his wife and family made us welcome. There was a guard by St. Giles's of rusty ruffians, kept by Lord Lovelace's order: they made a great clatter, and had broken down part of Magdalen-bridge. Lord Abingdon came presently to me; he told me the prince lay to-

* "On Saturday the 8th the commissioners came to Hungerford, viz. the Marquis of Halifax, Earl of Nottingham, and Lord Godolphin: the foot-guards were drawn up, and drums beat as they passed. The Prince called several English nobles to him; then Mons. Bentinck, Lord Chamberlain, led the commissioners to the prince. They had desired to treat with him in private, but he refused, without the English lords present." "Within a little while they were led to another room, and the Earls of Oxford and Clarendon, and Mareschal Schomberg were sent by the Prince to hear them; they told that the King had desired to call a parliament, but the Prince's coming with his army had stopped it; but that now finding a great inclination of the people to it, he has resolved to do it; they therefore desired that the Prince would advance with his army no further; that the parliament may meet in London, whither all the peers, even those joined with the Prince, may freely come upon a general indemnity to be given. It was answered, that the Prince's army, being now parted from Salisbury, could not stop sooner than Oxford or London; but if the parliament sit free, the King and all his forces must part as far from London on the one side as the Prince is on the other; that so only the parliament, with which the King only is to treat, and not with the Prince, may do it freely and safely."—*Sir Patrick Hume's Diary.*

night at Abingdon, and would be here to-morrow before noon. As soon as I had refreshed myself I went to Christchurch, where I found the Duke of Ormonde, the Vice-chancellor, and much other company, settling things for the prince's reception.

Dec. 12, Wednesday. In the morning my servant, who lay at the Angel, brought me word that there was news in the town that the King was gone from Whitehall yesterday, at three of the clock in the morning, and that the Queen and the Prince of Wales were gone the day before *. I went immediately to the Duke of Ormond, who lay at All Souls, who confirmed

* It has been mentioned in a former note, that James had only entered into the negociation with William in order to secure his own retreat, and that of his wife and child. Father Peters, who had counselled this measure, took flight a day or two previous to the King; and Barillon, in a letter of the 11th December, mentions that he had taken precautions to have the great seal at his command, that he might take it with him. Upon the departure of Peters, he gave his apartments in the palace to the chancellor (Jeffries). "Son intention en cela, (says Barillon,) est d'avoir auprès de lui le grand sceau; pour l'emporter au besoin. Par les loix d'Angleterre on ne peut rien faire sans le grand sceau; et avec le grand secau, le Roi peut empecher beaucoup des choses que ses ennemis voudroit faire. On croit par ce moyen jéter du trouble et de la division dans le gouvernement, qu'il faudra établir."—*Mazure*, tome iii. p. 220.

On the 21st, the ambassador again writes to the King of France —"Le Roi d'Angleterre est parti cette nuit. Les commissaires arrivèrent quelques heures après. Le Roi (continues Barillon) avoit reçu leur lettre avant que de partir, mais cette lettre ne lui a pas fait changer de resolution, ne se croyant en sûreté ni à Londres ni á l'armée."

the same news by an express come to him this morning, with an account of his mother's death. He told me likewise that the Prince of Orange had sent to him, that by reason of the King's sudden departure he could not come to Oxford, but would lie to-night at Wallingford: the prince sent the same message to my Lord Abingdon. The Prince of Denmark sent to the Duke of Ormond, that he would dine to-day at Oxford, and desired that he and the rest who had accompanied him would stay there for him, among whom was Lord Drumlaurick and Mr. Henry Boyle. I and my company breakfasted with Doctor Levett: we went thence to Wallingford. The prince dined at Scomberg's quarters; he was very cheerful, and could not conceal his satisfaction at the King's being gone.

Dec. 13, *Thursday.* We went to Henley: the prince came hither likewise to-night, and lay at Mr. Whitlock's. . . . . Somebody told the prince how Lord Feversham had disbanded the King's army, and that the soldiers were all running up and down, not knowing what course to take, at which the prince seemed very angry with Lord Feversham, and said, "I am not to be thus dealt with." I told the prince, if he had no commands for me, I would go to-morrow to town: the truth is, I am weary of my company, and long to be at home. The prince said he would go to-morrow to

Windsor, and stay there a day or two: he desired me to be there on Sunday. When I came to my lodgings, which was at the minister's, I got the Bishop of Ely to me, and told him all was nought.

December 14, *Friday.* I and my company went to London; the Lords who came from the rest of the Peers, likewise returned. Before we left Henley we had an account that the King was taken at Feversham, and kept there by the rabble.

December 16, *Sunday.* I went to Windsor, chiefly to carry my brother. Lord Drogheda went in the coach with us: we took up Sir Henry Capell at Brentford. Lord Blessington went with the rest of the lords and gentlemen of Ireland, who carried an address to the Prince. When we came to Windsor, the Prince was gone to church. I went into the bed-chamber, where I found Bentinck. He told me the King had sent my Lord Feversham with a letter to the Prince: he shewed me the letter; the substance of which was, as I remember, that he hoped they should quickly meet, and referred him to what my Lord Feversham should say to him. But he told me the Prince was very angry with my Lord Feversham, and had committed him; that his Highness had answered the King's letter by Monsieur Zulestein*, and

* Barillon's account of Zulestein's mission is as follows:—He was not in time to prevent James's return from Rochester, but

desired his Majesty to stay at Rochester. He asked Bentinck what could be the meaning of committing Lord Feversham? to which he found him at Whitehall, where he was for some time closeted with the King. Having told him that the Prince of Orange could not make his appearance in London without a number of troops sufficient to protect his person, James replied, "He may bring as many as he will; I will have myself even only those he may think necessary: or rather, not being sure of my own troops, I would as lieve have none at all;" and he immediately gave orders to Lord Craven, who commanded the guards, to put St. James's at the disposition of the Prince of Orange, and to prepare quarters for the Dutch troops. At the same time he expressed his surprise and indignation at the arrest of Lord Feversham, which he said was a direct violation of the law of nations.

This same day after supper, the King held a conversation with the French ambassador, which deserves to be here recorded, as it is presented to us by M. Mazure, in his Histoire de la Revolution, tome iii. p. 264. The King said to him, "All England is in arms, and in every town or village unknown or suspected persons are arrested. At Dover a fisherman has taken possession of the castle, and commands like Massaniello did at Naples." Afterwards, speaking of the state of his affairs, he said, "The Prince of Orange would much rather that I had gone away, and will find himself very much embarrassed what form of government to establish. The meeting of parliament cannot be authorized without writs under the great seal, and they have been issued for fifteen counties only; the others are burned: the great seal is missing. The chancellor had placed it in my hands eight days before I went away. They cannot make another without me. All this will create difficulties and incidents, which afford me to make suitable measures." "I see," (adds Barillon,) "that he is still determined to seek the means of saving himself: he had intended it at Rochester: he puts no trust in the acclamations with which he was received yesterday, and the few bonfires which were lighted in the city. He has made new protestations to me, that he will not suffer himself to be engaged in any measures against your Majesty."

made me no answer, but with a shrug: "Alas! my Lord, this proceeding startles me." When the Prince came from church I presented my brother to him: he received him very coldly, as I expected, and said little or nothing to him. I told the Prince several Lords and persons of quality, English belonging to Ireland, were without to wait on him: the Prince went into the outward room to wait on them. They presented an address to him, which I read. The Prince in a grave way said, "my lords and gentlemen, I thank you; I will take care of you:" and so went away.

My brother pressed me to go to the Prince: he had appointed his own coach to be there, and so he went away for New Park. I found the Prince at table: the Duke of Beaufort was there, and much company, but room was made for me. After dinner I went to the dean's, who had invited me to dinner; there I found the Bishop of St. Asaph and Dr. Burnet. We fell into discourse of the King's being stopped at Feversham, and that he would be at Whitehall to-night; upon which Burnet said, it was foolishly done of those who stopped him at Feversham, and that his coming back to Whitehall would very much disturb things. I said I hoped he would be mistaken; that the King had written to the Prince, and invited him to town; but that I wondered why my Lord Feversham, who came in

the errand, was committed*; at which Burnet laughed. The Prince's guards were ordered early in the morning to march to London, and Count Solmes was now commanded to follow them, and to take possession of the posts at Whitehall. The Prince then said, "It must be considered what guard shall attend upon the King at Ham;" and somebody (I cannot call to mind who it was,) said, it would be fit to instruct the officer, that should be appointed to command it, what to do, in case the King should endeavour to make his escape from Ham. This took up some debate; and my Lord Shrewsbury proposed, that nothing might be now resolved in this matter, but that it might be the subject of another consultation; and so it was resolved. The com-

* The pretence was, that he had come without a pass; but as he had commanded the troops, and chagrined William by disbanding them, there may have been a latent motive; or it might not be thought prudent to let him return to his royal master. James told Zulestein "that it was against the law of nations to detain a public minister; that he hoped the Prince of Orange would have so much consideration for him, as not to keep him in restraint any longer. But the prince had no regard to the king's request, and left him prisoner when he came to Sion; nor did he so much as answer his letter, or indeed keep any sort of measures with his majesty afterwards." Echard relates, that the prince made a public visit to the queen-dowager on the last day of the year, and among other questions, asked her pleasantly how she passed her time; and whether she played at Basset. The queen answered, that she had not played at that game since the absence of her chamberlain, who used to keep the bank. The prince took the hint, and told her he would by no means interrupt her diversions, and the next day Lord Feversham was set at liberty.

party then parted. I then went to my lodging, and so took coach for London; where I arrived: by that time it was dark. Several of my friends came to see me. I thought it the most melancholy day I had ever seen in my whole life. I was told the King came in his coach last night through the city; and that very great joy was expressed through all the streets as he passed, ringing of bells, and all sorts of acclamations *. As soon as the King came to Whitehall he called a council, where he made several orders, and I am told where he expressed much dissatisfaction at what the lords had done in his absence.

Dec. 18, *Tuesday.* I stirred not out. I was told the three Lords came to Whitehall last night, after the King was in bed. The English guards being first removed, and the Dutch possessed of their posts, the Lords were quickly admitted to

* This is confirmed in King James's memoirs: "As soon as he arrived there, he was hugely surprised with the unexpected expression of the people's affection to him; it is not to be imagined what acclamations were made, and what joy the people expressed at his Majesty's return; such bonfires, ringing of bells, and all imaginable marks of love and esteem, as made it look more like a day of triumph than humiliation; and this was so universal amongst all ranks of people, that the King, nor none that were with him, had never seen the like before, the same crowds of people and acclamations of joy accompanying him to Whitehall, and even to his bed-chamber door itself." Yet the many headed multitude the next day hailed William with equal triumph.—See the extract from Sir Patrick Hume's Diary for a succeeding year.

Evelyn remarks, "that it being Sunday when he came back, he went to mass, and dined in public, a jesuit saying grace!"

the King, and when they had delivered their message, the King told them he had rather return to Rochester than go to Ham; whereupon the Lords went back to Sion, and brought the King word, by nine this morning, that his Majesty might go to Rochester if he pleased: and about eleven the King took barge, and went down the river, Dutch guards being appointed to attend him*. About four in the afternoon the Prince came to St. James's, where he took up his quarters†. I went to court, but the crowd was so

* A great court lady told Sir John Reresby "that the second time the King went away, he so little designed any such thing, that he knew not which way to set forward; one while he resolved to go northward and throw himself into the hands of Lord Danby; another he had thoughts of going to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of Winchester; and that she herself was sent to these last to know if they would receive and secure him, and that they neither accepted the motion or rejected it."

† Tuesday morning, the King went under the Princes guard to Rochester. About noon the Prince entered Westminster with great acclamations and tokens of joy among the people, and ringing of bells and bonfires at night: he lodged at St. James's. That day a meeting of the lords, spiritual and temporal, declared for the Prince."—*Sir Patrick Hume.*

"It happened to be a very rainy day, (says Burnet,) and yet great numbers went to see him; but after they had stood long in the wet he disappointed them; for he, who neither loves shows nor shoutings, went through the Park; and even this trifle helped to set people's spirits on the edge."

Bevil Higgens draws a pathetic picture of the contrast which the fortunes of James afforded at this juncture; "the King was carried down the river, in a very tempestuous day, not without some danger; and while the poor old King was thus exposed to the elements, and an actual prisoner under a guard of Dutchmen, that

great I could not see the Prince. Lord Mulgrave was at the bed-chamber door, in hopes to get the first admittance. Bentinck accosts him thus:—"Comment! milord, vous avez quitté vôtre bâton." The other replied, "Il est bien temps."

Dec. 19, *Wednesday*. It is not to be imagined what a damp there was upon all sorts of men throughout the town. The treatment the King had met with from the Prince of Orange, and the manner of his being, as it were, driven from Whitehall, with such circumstances, moved compassion even in those who were not fond of him: several of the English army, both officers and soldiers, began to murmur. The King lay last night at Gravesend, and went this morning to Rochester. He took up his quarters at Sir Richard Head's. I was at St. James's, where I presented Lord Preston and Sir John Ernle to the Prince. When the Prince of Orange came from Abingdon, the Prince of Denmark went to Oxford to meet the Princess there; where they refreshed themselves some days, and this evening came to town.

[*Here we are necessarily compelled to close our extracts from this interesting Diary; the contents of which, generally, with the many important offi-*

very moment his daughter, Denmark, with her great favourite (Lady Churchill), both covered with Orange ribbons, in her father's coaches, and attended by his guards, went triumphant to the playhouse."—*Short View of English History*, p. 350.

cial and rare documents which it contains relative to the momentous and ever memorable era to which it refers, will be perused with much satisfaction by every true lover of unembellished historical truth.]

Escape of CHARLES EDWARD STUART, commonly called the YOUNG CHEVALIER, after the Battle of Culloden.

The authentic narrative of the escape of Charles Edward Stuart, commonly called the Young Pretender, though by no means either recent or common, with the additions we are enabled to make, are so remarkable, as well as so strictly in keeping with our "Recollections of Royalty," &c. that we conceive little, if any, apology may be necessary for laying it before our readers:—

The battle of Culloden was fought on the 16th of April, 1746; and the Young Chevalier having his horse shot through the neck with a musket ball, and seeing the rout among his troops universal and irretrievable, was persuaded to provide for his own safety as well as he could. He was soon mounted on a fresh horse, and, accompanied by a few chosen friends*, he re-

* Sir Thomas Sheridan; his two Aid-de-Camps, Sir David Murray and Mr. Alexander Macleod; Captain O'Sullivan, and Captain O'Neilie, two Irish gentlemen, who had the French King's commission; Mr. John Hay, one of his secretaries; with these were Edward Bourk, a servant of Macleod; a servant of Mr. Hay, and one Allan Macdonald.

treated by Tordurrock, a village about nine miles from Inverness, to Aberardar, about three miles farther in MACKINTOSH's country; thence to Faroline, five miles farther in LOVAT's country; and thence to Gortulaig, one mile farther, a house of Mr. FRASER, steward to Lord LOVAT. At this place he found Lord LOVAT himself, who exhorted him most pathetically to keep up his courage, and remember his ancestor ROBERT DE BRUCE, who, after losing eleven battles, by winning the twelfth recovered the kingdom. On the other hand, O'SULLIVAN and O'NEILE took him aside, and begged him to listen to no such insinuations.

This was certainly the best advice, and he followed it; for, about ten at night, he set forward, and reached Invergary about five o'clock the next morning. Invergary was a castle belonging to MACDONALD of Glengary, which was not then burnt, nor was its owner, who afterwards suffered long confinement in Edinburgh Castle, yet taken prisoner; but, the family being absent, it could afford no entertainment. BOURK, however, was fortunate enough to catch a brace of salmon early in the forenoon, which furnished the little company with a meal. After their repast, a consultation was held, and it was thought proper that the adventurer should proceed with only O'SULLIVAN, ALLAN MACDONALD, and BOURK, for a guide: it was farther thought

necessary that he should change cloaths with BOURK, which was accordingly done; and setting out about two o'clock, they reached DONALD CAMERON's, at Glenpean, about nine at night. Being exhausted with fatigue, and not having closed his eyes for more than eight and forty hours, he threw himself upon a bed in his cloaths, and fell asleep; he awaked early in the morning, greatly refreshed, and continued his course on foot, through places that perhaps had never before been trodden, and over mountains which would have been inaccessible to all who were not in equal danger, and at length arrived at the Glen of Morar. After a short respite, he proceeded to Boradale in Arisaig, a country of Clanranald's, where he rested several days, giving and getting intelligence. At this place he was again joined by Capt. O'NEILLE, who acquainted him that there was not the least hope of re-assembling his men, and that he had nothing left but to get out of the country. With this view, he determined to move towards the western isles, hoping there to find a ship to carry him abroad, more easily than on the Continent.

At a place called Gualtergil, in the isle of Sky, there lived an old man, one DONALD MACLEOD, who was a good pilot, and thought to be trusty; this man therefore was sent for, and the adventurer committing himself to him, he engaged to conduct him through the isles to a place of

safety. Accordingly, an eight-oared barge was procured, and, on the 26th of April, in the dusk of the evening, the Chief, with O'Neille, O'Sullivan, Allan Macdonald, Bourk, who officiated as boatman, and the old pilot, embarked at Lochnannaugh in Boredale, the very place where he first landed in Scotland.

By the time they had put off from shore it was become quite dark; and in a short time they were overtaken by a violent storm of wind and rain: their boat had no covering, and they had neither light nor compass on board, so that they drove all night they knew not whither, the sea every moment breaking over them, and the boat being in equal danger of sinking and oversetting; it happened, however, that when the day broke, the storm subsided, and they discovered, with great joy, a promontory, called Rossinish, in the east part of Benbicula, a small island belonging to Clanranald, and lying between North and South Vist. Here they soon landed in safety, and with all possible expedition made a fire, the little crew being half perished with cold.

In the meantime, the Duke of Cumberland supposing, either from conjecture or intelligence, that the fugitive had repaired to the western isles, sent Gen. Campbell in pursuit of him, who went immediately to St. Kilda, where he might probably have found him, if it had

not been for the storm; so that what appeared to be their danger was their security. The General soon found that there was nobody at St. Kilda but the inhabitants, who had no other commerce in the world than the payment of their rent once a year in Solan goose feathers, and who did not know that such a being as CAMPBELL sought existed in the world.

While this was doing, the adventurer lay weather-bound at Benbicula; but, after two days and two nights, he and his attendants set sail again, on the 29th, for Stornway, the chief port of Lewis, which is the northernmost of the Western Isles; it lies about fourteen leagues north of Benbicula, and belongs to Seafort. Soon after they put to sea, they were overtaken by another storm, which forced them, the next morning, into Scalpay, or Glass, an island belonging to the Laird of MACLEOD, and, passing for shipwrecked merchants, were hospitably entertained by DONALD CAMPBELL, the farmer of the island.

On the 1st of May, a boat was procured, and MACLEOD, the old pilot, dispatched to Stornway, to freight a vessel for the Orkneys. In two days he sent notice that the vessel was ready, and the Chief immediately put to sea, and on the 4th landed at Loch Sheffort; from whence, with O'SULLIVAN, O'NEILLE, and BOURK the guide, ALLAN MACDONALD, taking his leave for South

Vist, they proceeded on foot for Stornway. Having travelled, or rather wandered, through the hills all night, they arrived, on the 5th, at noon, wet and weary, at the point of Arinish, about half a mile S. E. of Stornway. Here Macleod, their pilot, was sent for from Stornway, who brought them some refreshments, and then conducted them to Lady Kildun's, a Mackenzie, at Arinish, to wait till all should be ready for an embarkation. But the next morning, upon Macleod's return to Stornway, he found, to his inexpressible confusion and surprise, all the people up in arms, and an embargo laid upon all shipping. His servant, it seems, had got drunk in his absence, and discovered for whom the ship had been hired. The whole project being therefore totally ruined, the unhappy fugitive went hastily from Lady Kildun's, without knowing what course to take. It was at first proposed to sail for the Orkneys, in the boat they had; but this the crew, now reduced to two, did not dare to attempt, and it was then resolved that they should steer southward, along the coast, in hopes of succeeding better elsewhere.

They were, however, soon driven upon a desert island, called Evirn, or Iffurt; it lies about twelve miles from Stornway, and is not more than half a mile over each way. They found, however, some fishermen upon it, who, taking the wanderers for a press-gang, ran away, and

took to their boat with great precipitation, leaving all their fish behind them. Finding, by this means, a good dinner where they least expected it, the Chief proposed to leave money in its place; but being told that this piece of honesty might raise a dangerous suspicion, he was persuaded to take his meal at free cost.

In this island, the weather being very tempestuous, they subsisted some days upon some fish which they found curing; and some shell-fish which, at low water, they picked up on the beach. This was bad board, but they had worse lodging; for, upon the whole island, there was no trace of human dwelling, except one wretched hovel, of which the walls only were standing; within these walls, therefore, they lay down at night upon the bare ground, and spread a sail over them by way of canopy.

In the morning of the 10th, the weather being more favourable, they embarked for the Harris, and touched at the hospitable farmer's at Scalpay, when they offered money in vain for a better boat.

As no time was to be lost, they put to sea again in their own; but it happened (whether by inattention, the situation of the coast, or the haziness of the weather) they were surprised by an English man-of-war, who immediately gave them chase; they rowed away with all their might, and the vessel continued to gain upon

them, during a chase of three leagues, so that she was once within two musket shot. The adventurer encouraged his men by the promise of a reward if they escaped, but declared at the same time that he would not be taken alive; they therefore redoubled their efforts, and the wind suddenly dying away, the man of war was becalmed, and the skiff was soon out of sight. Having thus escaped once more, when it was but just possible to escape, they got in among the rocks at the point of Roudil, an island in the Harries belonging to MACLEOD, and keeping close along the shore, at length landed upon the island of Loch Sibert, not far from the promontory in Benbicula, where they had been forced on shore by the storm that overtook them soon after their first embarkation at Loch-Nanuaugh.

It being low water when they came on shore, the Chief assisted the boatmen to fill a bag with partans, or sea crabs, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of MACLEOD, their pilot, insisted upon carrying it as his share of the baggage.

Having wandered about two miles in land, without seeing the least appearance of a house, they at last lighted on a little hovel, the entrance of which was so low, that the adventurer was forced to creep into it on his hands and knees; BOURK, their guide, endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience, by sinking the threshold, which, however, made but a very little difference. In

this hiding place he continued several days, and CLANRANALD, the Lord of Benbicula, and his lady, hearing where he was, came to see him, and promised him all the service in their power.

By their advice, he retired sixteen miles farther up the country, near the mountain of Corrodale in South-Vist; where he arrived, under the conduct of RANALD MACDONALD, on the sixteenth.

MACLEOD, their pilot, had been sent off the day before to the continent, with letters to LOCHIEL and MURRAY, to procure three articles of great importance; intelligence, money, and brandy. After an absence of eighteen days, he returned, with some intelligence, and two anchors of brandy, but no money; MURRAY, whom he found with LOCHIEL, at the head of LOCH ARGAIG, declaring that he could spare none, having only 60 Louis-d'ors for himself. MACLEOD was glad to find his master in a better dwelling than he had left him, though it was no better than two cow-hides, supported by four moveable pillars of wood.

Having continued here about a month, during which time he endeavoured to amuse himself by hunting, fowling, and fishing, exercises which, if they did not much suspend his anxiety, greatly contributed to the subsistence of his company. But hearing that some militia were landed in pursuit of him, at Eriska, a little island between

Barra and South-Vist, he found it necessary to shift the scene. On the 14th of June, therefore, with O'NEILLE, O'SULLIVAN, BOURK the guide, and MACLEOD the pilot, he put once more to sea, and landed at Ovia, or Fovaya, a small island between South-Vist and Benbicula.

Here he was hospitably entertained four days by RANALD MACDONALD, who happened to be upon the island grazing his cattle.

On the 18th, he set out for Rossingish, the promontory, where he had landed after his first embarkation, but perceiving that boats, with militia on board, were continually cruising round it, he embarked, in order to return to Glen Corodale, in South-Vist, and after being forced out of his way by a storm, and obliged to take shelter from the winds and waves, in the cleft of a rock, he at last arrived at Celliestiella, in South-Vist, and kept moving, to and again, between that place and Loch Boisdale, according to the motions and appearances of his various enemies.

While he was thus shifting his ground, and pressed on different sides, he received intelligence that Capt. CAROLINE SCOT was landed at Kilbride, within two miles of him. Upon this, he immediately dismissed all his associates, except O'NEILLE, with whom he repaired to the top of a mountain, where they passed the night. In the morning he learnt that Gen. CAMPBELL was at Bernera, a small island between North-

Vist and the Harries. His distress and danger were now very great; he was hemmed in between the forces that were on both the landsides of him, and it was impossible to escape by sea, for MACLEOD, the pilot, being deserted by the boatmen, on his dismission, had been obliged to sink it. In this dilemma, O'NEILLE thought of applying to Miss FLORA MACDONALD, whom he knew to be then at Milton, her brother's house in South-Vist, whither she had lately come from the Isle of Sky, on a visit. He accordingly went to Milton, leaving his friend (who did not dare to quit his hiding-place) behind; and telling the lady his situation, urged her to go to him. To this, at length, convinced of the necessity, she consented, taking with her only one MACKECHAN, as a servant.

Miss FLORA being conducted by O'NEILLE to the forlorn fugitive, it was agreed that she should procure him a female dress, and, in that disguise, carry him out of the country as her maid servant.

In prosecution of this plan, she set out, on the 21st of June, for CLANRANALD's, where she hoped to procure such apparel as would be necessary for the execution of it; but having no passports, she, and her servant MACKECHAN, were made prisoners by a party of the militia.

The lady, desiring to see their officer, was told he was absent, and would not be with them

till the next morning. This was an unfortunate delay, but patience was the only remedy. In the morning the officer arrived, and Miss MACDONALD was agreeably surprised to find that it was HUGH MACDONALD of Armadale, her father-in-law. Of him she soon procured not only her discharge, but the passports that would be necessary in the prosecution of her scheme. One for herself, one of MACKECHAN, and one for BETTY BURK, the name to be assumed by the adventurer. She also prevailed upon him to give her a letter for her mother, recommending BETTY as an excellent spinner, knowing that her mother was in great want of such a person.

MACDONALD, accordingly, wrote the following letter to his wife:—

"I have sent your daughter from this country, lest she should be frighted by the troops lying here. She has got with her one BETTY BURK, an Irish girl, who, as she tells me, is a good spinner. If her spinning pleases you, you may keep her till she spins all your lint, or, if you have any wool to spin, you may employ her. I have sent MACKECHAN along with your daughter, and BETTY BURK to take care of them.

"I am your dutiful husband,

"HUGH MACDONALD."

Thus Miss FLORA'S having been stopped by the militia, proved a very fortunate accident; and, having obtained all she desired, she proceeded

to CLANRANALD'S, where she communicated her design to the lady, whom she found ready to do all in her power to promote it. Several days were spent in preparations, and in receiving and returning messages, by the trusty O'NEILLE.

On the 27th of June, all things being ready, a boat was procured, and Miss FLORA MACDONALD, Lady CLANRANALD, and honest MACKECHAN, were conducted by O'NEILLE to his friend's hiding-place, being about eight miles distant; he received him with an impatience and joy suitable to the occasion, and they congratulated themselves upon the prospect of being soon out of danger; but, while supper was preparing, a servant arrived, out of breath, with intelligence that an advanced party of the CAMPBELLS, under Capt. FERGUSON, were within two miles of them.

This, at once, put an end to their repast, and they all hurried to the boat, in which they escaped to a farther point, where they passed the night without farther alarm.

But the next morning, the 28th, another servant came, in great haste, to Lady CLANRANALD, and informed her that Capt. FERGUSON was then at her house, and had passed the night in her bed. This made it absolutely necessary for her to return, in order to prevent enquiries where she was. When she arrived, FERGUSON questioned her very

strictly where she had been, but she gave him such answers as left him wholly in the dark.

As soon as Lady CLANRANALD was gone, Miss FLORA told her ward that no time was to be lost; he therefore put on his female attire, and they repaired to the water side, where a boat lay ready. O'NEILLE earnestly desired to accompany them, but the lady's prudence got the better of his importunity. BETTY BOURK then, Miss FLORA, and MACKECHAN, being come to the water side, it was thought advisable that they should not embark till it was night. They therefore made themselves a little fire, on a piece of the rock, as well to warm as to dry themselves; but they had scarcely got round it, before the approach of four wherries, full of armed men, obliged them to extinguish it in all haste, and hide themselves, by squatting down in the heath, till the enemy was gone by.

Having escaped this danger, they embarked, about eight o'clock in the evening, under a serene sky; but the night proved tempestuous, and drove them out of their course, so that in the morning, when the wind abated, the boatmen, having no compass, knew not how to steer; at last, however, they discovered the Point of Waternish, on the west corner of the Isle of Sky, and attempted to land; but, upon approaching the shore, they found the place possessed by a

body of forces, and saw three boats, or yawls, upon the strand. They bore away, therefore, with all speed, and, though fired at to bring to, escaped pursuit.

On Sunday, the 29th, in the forenoon, they landed at Kilbridge in Totternish, about 12 miles north from Waternish; they went on shore just at the foot of the garden belonging to a seat of Sir ALEXANDER MACDONNEL, called Monggestot, and Miss FLORA leaving BETTY BOURK in the boat, went up with her servant to the house. Sir ALEXANDER was absent, and she found his lady, and a military officer, who was in quest of her charge. The officer asked her many questions, which she evaded as well as she could, and, at last, found an opportunity to acquaint Lady MACDONALD with the adventurer's situation. Her ladyship was somewhat at a loss how to act in so critical a juncture, but having, by great accident, Mr. MACDONALD of Kingsborrow, a relation of Sir ALEXANDER, and his factor, with her in the house, she consulted him, and they agreed to send immediately for a friend, Mr. DONALD ROY MACDONALD, who was at that time surgeon in the neighbourhood, under cure of a wound which he had received at Culloden, in his foot.

When ROY MACDONALD came, it was agreed that MACDONALD should conduct the wanderer that night to Port Rey, by way of Kingsborrow,

and put him under the protection of the old Laird of Rasay; in consequence of this resolution, Roy Macdonald was dispatched, to give the Lord of Rasay notice; and Mackechan was sent to their charge, who was lurking near the boat on the shore, to acquaint him with the scheme that had been concerted for his preservation, and to direct him to the back of a certain hill, about a mile distant, where he was to wait for his conductor.

These steps being taken, and the boat and boatmen discharged, Macdonald found his ward at the place appointed, and after he had taken some refreshment which Macdonald brought him, on the top of a rock, they set forward.

In their walk they were joined by some country people who were coming from Kirk; the awkward appearance of poor Betty Bourk seemed strangely to excite their curiosity; and they asked so many questions, that Macdonald was very desirous to get rid of them: this, however, was no easy matter, till at last he said, "O sirs, cannot you let alone talking of worldly affairs on the Sabbath, and have patience till another day?" The simple and honest-hearted peasants were struck with the reproof, and immediately retired.

The travellers were soon after overtaken by Miss Flora and her servant, on horseback, who had also been joined by some acquaintances on the road. One of the strangers could not forbear

making observations upon the long strides and masculine demeanor of the great tawdry woman that was walking with MACDONALD; and Miss FLORA, being under great apprehensions for the effects of farther travelling together, urged her company to mend their pace, upon pretence that they would be benighted; this artifice succeeded, and the riders soon left the two travellers on foot out of sight.

They arrived at Kingsborrow, MACDONALD's seat, about eleven at night, having walked seven miles of their journey in constant rain; and Miss MACDONALD, having given her company the slip, arrived nearly at the same time by a way farther about.

The wife of MACDONALD, called Lady KINGSBORROW, who was going to bed, immediately dressed herself again, and ordered a supper. BETTY BOURK eat heartily, smoked a pipe, and went to bed.

When Lady KINGSBORROW was alone with Miss FLORA, and had heard BETTY BURK's adventures, she expressed great regret at finding that the boatmen had been dismissed; and observed, very justly, that they ought to have been detained at least till the Fugitive had got farther from his pursuers. As it was thought probable that these boatmen might discover the secret of his disguise, he was advised next morning to lay it by: he readily consented; but as it was necessary for the

servants, who took him for a woman, to see him depart in his woman's dress, a suit of man's apparel was carried to the top of a hill in a neighbouring wood, whither he repaired to put it on.

The female dress was concealed in a bush, and afterwards, upon the alarm of a search, burnt. BETTY having now again changed her sex, proceeded with MACKECHAN, and MACDONALD'S cow boy, about eleven years old, named MAC QUEN, who was to be guide to Portsey, distant seven long Scotch miles, where he arrived safe, but very wet.

It was fortunate for him that he performed this journey without detection; yet it would have been more fortunate if he had continued hidden where he parted with his faithful friend O'NEILLE; for O'NEILLE, repairing to South Vest, met with O'SULLIVAN there, and two days after a French cutter, with 120 armed men, arrived to carry off the Adventurer to France. O'SULLIVAN immediately went on board, but O'NEILLE, with a noble and generous friendship, preferring the interest of him, whom he considered as his Prince, to his own, went immediately in quest of him. After some search, he learnt that he had left the place two days before; and in the meantime, the cutter being discovered and pursued, took the benefit of a fair wind to sail for France. Poor O'NEILLE, being thus left behind, was soon after taken prisoner, and confined in Edinburgh

Castle, till he was released on the cartel as a French officer.

At Portsey, the adventurer met with Miss FLORA and ROY MACDONALD, who had been dispatched to apprise the old Laird of Rasay of his guest. Rasay is an island at a little distance from Portsey; and though the laird was absent, a boat had been procured to carry the adventurer thither; and JOHN and MURDOCH MACLEOD of Rasey's eldest and third sons, and one MALCOLM MACLEOD, who had been in the rebellion, were come to Portsey to attend him. Here then he took leave of his friend ROY MACDONALD, who could not conveniently travel, as the wound in his foot was not cured; and of Miss FLORA MACDONALD, whose sex would not permit her to accompany him farther without suspicion, and early on the 1st of July arrived at Glam in Rasay.

This place, however, they found in a condition very different from what they expected; for a party of the King's troops had burnt all the houses, to the number of several hundred, so that the wanderer had no better asylum than a miserable hut, in which he lay upon the bare ground, with only a whisp of heath for his pillow; nor had he any other provision than such as one of the gentlemen, who could appear without danger, fetched him from time to time in the corner of his plaid.

After continuing here two days, he sailed, on the 3d of July, for Trotternish, in Sky, in the same small boat, which could not contain more than seven persons: he met with a storm, but he diverted the crew from their intention of putting back, by singing them an Highland song; and about eleven at night they landed at a place in Sky, called Nicholson's Great Rock; the precipice was very steep, yet they made shift to clamber up; and after wandering about some time, at length took up their abode in a byre, or cowhouse.

At seven o'clock the next morning, July 4th, he set out with only MALCOLM MACLEOD, upon a new progress, as it was dangerous to continue long in a place, though he had yet no prospect of escaping to another country. It was now agreed that he should travel as MACLEOD'S servant; and, the better to support the character, he carried the baggage, which consisted of two shirts, one pair of stockings, one pair of brogues, a bottle of brandy, some mouldy scraps of bread and cheese, and a three pint stone bottle of water.

In this manner they marched, till they came near Stath, in MACKINNON'S country. Here a new circumstance of danger arose; for MACKINNON'S men having been out in the adventurer's service, there was the greater risk of his being known. As a farther disguise, therefore, having ex-

changed his waistcoat for that of his supposed master, which was not so fine, he took off his wig, and putting it into his pocket, tied a dirty handkerchief about his head, and pulled his bonnet over it.

This was no sooner done, than it appeared to have been done in vain; for meeting three of MACKINNON's men, they instantly knew their late master, and burst into tears.

This mark of their affection prevented apprehensions of treachery; and the travellers, pursuing their way through the worst roads in Scotland, after a stretch of four and twenty Highland miles, arrived at the house of JOHN MACKINNON, MACLEOD's brother-in-law. The adventurer was in a miserable condition, having slipped up to the middle in a bog; he therefore stood greatly in need of refreshment. MACKINNON not being at home, he was introduced to his wife, MACLEOD's sister, as one LEWIS CREW, his servant; and after he had been well washed and fed, he lay down to sleep.

MACLEOD, in the meantime, went in quest of MACKINNON, whom he soon found; and telling him whom he had got for a guest, dispatched him to him to hire a boat for the continent. MACKINNON applied to the old laird of Mackinnon, who undertook to bring his boat immediately.

The boat soon after arrived, with the laird and his lady, who brought what wine and pro-

visions they could furnish. They all dined together in a cave; and it was thought proper that no person should proceed with the wanderer but the old laird, and JOHN MACKINNON, MACLEOD's brother-in-law: these three, therefore, went on board the boat, manned with four rowers, in the evening of the same 4th of July, having made this progress, slept, dined, and procured a boat, in little more than thirteen hours.

They landed safely about four o'clock the next morning, after a tempestuous voyage, on the south side of Loch Nevis, near Little Malloch, where they lay three nights in the open fields. On the morning of the fourth day, the old laird and one of the boatmen went in search of a cave, that might afford them better lodging; and in the meantime the adventurer, with JOHN MACKINNON, and the three other boatmen, took the boat, and rowed up Loch Nevis, along the coast, upon the same errand; but upon doubling the point, they were surprised and alarmed by the appearance of another boat, with five of the Highland militia on board, whom they knew by the red crosses in their bonnets. The militia called to them to come up, but this was only a signal for them to stand away with all the speed they could make: the militia immediately pursued them; but the three rowers exerted themselves with such strength and dexterity, that they out-went them, and by turning another point,

got out of sight: they thought it safest, however, to go on shore; and the adventurer, with JOHN MACKINNON, and one of the boatmen, being safely landed, they ran to the top of a hill, where they saw the boat that had pursued them rowing back again. On this hill the poor hunted fugitive slept three hours, and then re-embarking, crossed the Loch to a little island, about a mile from Scotus's house; from thence soon after they again passed the Loch, and landed at Malloch, where they met again with the old laird and the boatman that had been with him; and having refreshed themselves, they set out for MACDONALD's of Morar, which was distant about eight miles.

They had not gone far before they discovered some people at a distance, who were coming towards the road; upon this the adventurer, with the assistance of JOHN MACKINNON, took off his plaid, and folding it up, laid it upon his shoulders, with a knapsack upon it; and then tying a handkerchief about his head, walked behind his associates as a servant: in this disguise he passed unquestioned, and coming up to a shealing or cowhouse, they were refreshed with a draught of milk by ARCHIBALD MACDONALD, grandson to MACDONALD of Scotus; they then pursued their journey, and at another shealing procured a guide to Morar. When they came thither, they found MACDONALD in a bothy, or hut,

his house having been burnt: he received his guests as well as his situation would permit, and having conducted them to a cave, they slept ten hours. In the meantime, he went in quest of young CLANRANALD; but not finding him, it was resolved that the adventurer should set forward for BORODALE's of Glen Biasdale, with only JOHN MACKINNON and a boy, a son of MACDONALD'S, their host, for a guide. At Glen Biasdale they arrived before day, but found their friend's house burnt, and himself at a hut hard by. To this gentleman JOHN resigned his charge, saying, "I have done my duty, do you do yours."

To this hut GLENALADALE, a MACDONALD of CLANRANALD'S family, was sent for, who arrived about the 15th of June, and brought intelligence of Lochiel and others of the party. The adventurer proposed to go to Lochabar, where Lochiel was supposed to be; but as all the passes were closely guarded, this was deemed impracticable. Upon more particular inquiry, they found that the king's troops formed one entire line from Inverness to Fort Augustus, and from Fort Augustus to Fort William; and another from the head of Loch Arkaig cross all the avenues to Lochabar. The adventurer, therefore, determined to continue some time at Glen Biasdale; but in a few days he was alarmed by an account, that some intelligence having been obtained of his retreat, General CAMPBELL was arrived with

400 men on one side of him, and Captain CAROLINE SCOT with 500 on the other; and that they were forming a circle round him at about two miles distant.

In this situation he was advised to attempt an escape to the braes of Glenmoriston immediately, and to sculk there, and in LOVAT's country, till the passes should be opened; but as he was utterly unacquainted with the country, DONALD CAMERON, of Glenpean, was sent for to be his guide. CAMERON returned with the messenger, and conducted his charge, accompanied by GLENALADALE, in safety through the guards that were in the pass, though they were obliged to creep upon all fours, passing so close to the tents, that they heard the soldiers talking to each other, and could see them walking between them and the fires.

At a little distance from these tents, they were obliged to pass over a mountain, and a small rivulet that issued from the precipice, and, in gliding downwards spread over its side, rendered the steep and pathless rout which they took to descend it extremely slippery, it being a mixture of grass and heath. The night was now shut in, and the guide going foremost, his charge came next, and GLENALADALE crept along at some distance behind. In this situation it happened that the adventurer's foot slipped, and rolling down the declivity, he would inevitably

have been dashed to pieces, if CAMERON, who was a little before him, had not catched hold of his arm with one hand, and with the other laid fast hold of the heath. In this situation, however, he found it impossible to continue long, for he that fell not being able to recover his legs, and he that held him being unable long to sustain his weight, he would soon have been obliged either to quit his hold of the heath, and fall with him, or let him fall by himself. GLENALADALE was still behind, and knew nothing of what had happened; and CAMERON feared, that if he called out, his voice might be heard by some who were in search after him. In this dilemma, however, he at last resolved to call, as their only chance; and GLENALADALE, alarmed by the cry, ran to their assistance, just in time to preserve them: he laid hold of the adventurer's other arm, and with great difficulty drew him up, and set him upon his feet.

The dangers before him, however, were scarce inferior to those he had escaped; he had no means of getting off by sea, and on the land-side he was hemmed in by a military line, consisting of 27 little camps, which were called the Chain; and this line, therefore, it was necessary for him to pass, as the only expedient to avoid being starved to death in his hiding-place, or falling into the hands of those that sought him.

They set out on this perilous attempt after

sun-set, and the night happened to be remarkably dark: when they came near the Chain, which, notwithstanding the darkness, they could, as they had been long in it, discover at some distance, it was wisely proposed by DONALD CAMERON to pass it alone, and return again; "for," said he, "if I pass it in safety, you may venture to follow me the second time; and if I am taken, you may for the present escape." CAMERON accordingly passed the Chain alone, and returned; and his friend then safely passed it with him; but it was then necessary to walk a considerable way parallel to it, at a small distance, there being no other way to the place they were bound for. As it happened, however, they passed undiscovered, and about three o'clock in the morning of July the 21st, they came to a place called Corriscorridill, near the head of Loch-Uirn, where, choosing a fastness, they took such refreshment as could be had, which was only a slice of cheese covered with oatmeal, and a draught of water from the brook.

In this hold they stayed the whole day, and at eight o'clock in the evening, CAMERON, knowing the way no farther, crept out with GLENALADALE, to see if any body could be found who might be trusted as a guide the rest of the way. At this time the sun was not quite set; and they had gone but a very little way from their hiding place, when they discovered it to be within can-

non-shot of two small camps that made part of the Chain, and saw some soldiers driving a few sheep together for slaughter: upon this discovery they threw themselves flat on the ground, and in that posture crept back to warn their friend of his danger; and they all three set out on a different course. CAMERON soon after left him, and he pursued his course towards Glenmoriston, attended only by GLENALADALE.

It happened, as they were making their way through the most unfrequented parts of the hills and moors, GLENALADALE suddenly missed his purse: this was a dreadful stroke, for it contained forty guineas, which was their whole stock. After some consultation, it was determined that he should venture back to seek it, but that he should go alone, and that his friend should rest himself on an adjacent hill till his return.

The adventurer, therefore, sat down alone to wait the event, but he had not sat long before he was alarmed by a party of soldiers, whom he saw advancing at a distance: he immediately stooped down, and concealed himself as well as he could, yet not so but that he might have been seen by the soldiers, if they had looked wistfully that way, for he saw them very plainly pass by, and take the very route that he and his guide would have taken, if the loss of the purse had not stopped them. When they were gone, it was some alleviation of that misfortune to reflect

that it had prevented a greater. In this dreary solitude, forlorn and desolate, his situation was endeared by the danger that he had escaped, and his mind was diverted from present evils by the apprehension of future. In a short time, however, GLENALADALE returned, and by great good fortune had found his purse. They immediately continued their rout together, but were again obliged to change its direction.

By these accidents, the length and fatigue of their journey were greatly increased; however, they reached Glen-moriston on the 24th, but were almost famished, having been eight and forty hours without food. It happened that at this place GLENALADALE found eight men who were fugitives from the rebel army, and who, the moment they saw their commander, knew him, and wept. By these sharers of his fortune he was conducted to a natural cave, called Coir-agoth, in the brae of Glen-moriston, where they refreshed him with the best provisions they had, and made him up a bed with fern and tops of heath. After his repast, he lay down, and soon fell asleep, not needing the murmurs of a fine transparent stream that glided through the cave by his bed side to lull him to repose. In this romantic habitation he continued three days, and then, being sufficiently refreshed, they removed two miles farther, to a place called Coirskreasch,

where they took up their abode in a natural grotto, not less romantic than that they had left. They mounted guard regularly every day, placed centry posts at the head and foot of the glen, and had a foraging party of two, to fetch in provisions in their own cautious way: it is greatly to the honour of these poor fellows, that though neither of them had a shilling in the world, yet they were proof against a reward of £30,000, which they knew they might obtain by betraying their trust.

With these men and his friend GLENALADALE, the adventurer continued between the braes of Glen-moriston and Glen-strathferrar, till the guards were removed, and the passes opened. It was then generally believed that he was killed, a person having been killed who was taken for him; and the guards after that remitted their vigilance.

On the 14th of August he went with his new retinue to the seat of LOCHIEL, at Achnasnal, on the side of Loch Arkaig, two miles from Achnacarie, in Lochabar. They brought no provisions with them, expecting to be better provided in that country; but, to their unspeakable disappointment and distress, they found the seat burnt, and the cattle driven away. Here then they remained some time, looking upon each other with a dejection and despair which kept

them silent, and which indeed no words could express.

At last, one of them happened to see a single hart, at which he took aim, and fortunately shot. On this, without bread or salt, they made an eager and hasty meal, as soon as it was possible to get it ready.

From this place one of the company went in search of LOCHIEL, at the very time when LOCHIEL had sent in search of the adventurer. LOCHIEL's messenger found him in a hut, built on purpose for his use, between Achnasnal and Loch Arkaig: he was without shoe or stocking, had a long beard, a dirty shirt, an old black kelt coat, a plaid and philibeg, with a pistol and dirk by his side; but cheerful, says the writer of this narrative, and in good health.

When he heard that LOCHIEL was safe, he thrice gave solemn thanks to God, and proposed going immediately to him; but understanding that there was a rumour of his having passed Creyarock with LOCHIEL and thirty men, they rightly judged that it might occasion a search in the country they were to pass through, and therefore resolved to stay sometime longer where they were; and GLENALADALE was dispatched to look out for ships on the west coast; and the GLENMORISON men, whose service was no longer wanted, were dismissed.

In this place he was joined by the sons of

CAMERON of CLUNS, Mr. JOHN CAMERON, an itinerant preacher; Capt. MACRAW, of GLENGARY's regiment, and a few others; with this company he continued moving about, between three different huts, till about the 28th of August.

As they were one day in the hut, which CAMERON of CLUNS had built for his family, after his house had been burnt, one of the children gave an alarm, that a party of the King's troops were in sight. The Adventurer was then asleep, it being about 8 o'clock in the morning, and the rest were thrown into great consternation. They waked him, however, and apprized him of the danger, upon which he called for his gun, assembled his few friends, examined their pieces; and having encouraged them, by a short exhortation, to sell their lives as dear as they could, he marched with them to a neighbouring hill, which commanded a prospect of Glenkingie, but no enemy was to be seen. Two of the party were then dispatched to reconnoitre more closely, and it was resolved to go that night to the top of Mallantagart.

When the scouts had got to the strath of Cluns, the women told them that the party which had been seen consisted of 200 men of LOUDON's regiment, under the command of Captain GRANT of Knockando, in Strath Spey; that they had carried off ten milch cows, which CAMERON of Cluns had bought after the loss of his own; that

they had found out one of the huts in which the adventurer had been hidden, and that they were gone to fetch BARRISDAL's cattle to the camp.

Upon receiving this intelligence, the company and their chief removed from the Braes of Glenkengie to those of Athnacario, wading through the water of Arkey up to mid thigh.

While they were at this place, the messenger who had been dispatched to LOCHIEL, returned, and brought it as his opinion, that the Adventurer would be more safe among the hills between the Braes of Badenoch and Athol, where he was skulking himself, than in his present situation, and advised him to go thither immediately. This advice was very pleasing, and the Adventurer putting it in execution without delay, the two friends met to their unspeakable satisfaction, soon after.

About the twelfth of September, Mr. CAMERON was sent southward to hire a ship to carry them off from the East coast. A ship was accordingly provided, and a messenger dispatched to give proper notice. But before his arrival, the two friends, who had been watching in the meantime on the west coast, received intelligence that two French ships waited to carry the adventurer off at Mordart.

He therefore sent round to all his friends that were within reach, acquainting them with

the opportunity, and set out himself for Mordart the same night.

He arrived on the 19th of September, 1746, and met several of his friends who arrived in time, regretting those who had not the same good fortune.

On the twentieth, having seen all the friends that were with him on board, he went on board himself; the vessel was called the Bellona, a Nantz privateer of Saint Maloes, mounting thirty-two carriage and twelve swivel guns, and carrying 340 men; and was brought thither by Capt. HARROW of DILLON'S regiment, who had gone over to France for that purpose.

As soon as the Adventurer was on board, the vessel set sail, and on the 29th of the same month, after a pleasant voyage, landed him and his friend safely at Roscou, about three leagues west of Morlaix, having narrowly escaped Admiral LESTOCK'S squadron, which was then on the coast of Bretagne.

The Bellona was taken the second of February following, by three men-of-war, the Eagle, the Edinburgh, and the Nottingham.

Prince Charles Lewis Casimir Stewart died there 31st of January, at half past nine o'clock: his brother, the Cardinal of York, ordered his body to be conveyed to Frascati, and was to go

himself the next day to assist at high mass, and perform the last duties at his funeral. The particulars of his will were not then known, as he had written it at Florence, and deposited it in the archives of that city; they had dispatched a courier for it, who was not returned at the writing of this letter (Feb. 1, 1788.)

Prince Charles, since the death of his father in 1765, assumed the title of king of England. He was commonly known on the continent by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, and in England by that of the Young Pretender. He was just 67 years and two months old, on the 31st of January last, the day of his death. He was born on the 30th of November, 1720.

He was son to James Francis, Prince of Wales, son to James II. who was recognized by many courts of Europe as king of England immediately after the death of his father: as such, he received kingly honours, had his palace and his guards, and enjoyed the privilege allowed by the Pope to Catholic kings, of bestowing a certain number of cardinals' hats. But his son, Prince Charles, who lately died, did not enjoy those honours: he was indeed called Prince of Wales during the life of his father, but after that event, he would no longer bear that title, and the Catholic courts would not style him king; so that his situation was more agreeable before his father's death than it has ever been since.

His mother was the greatest fortune in Europe: she was the Princess Maria Clementina Sobieski, grand daughter of the famous John Sobieski, king of Poland, who beat the Turks near Vienna, and made them raise the siege of that capital; and thus saved christendom from destruction. She had a million sterling to her fortune, a great part of which was lost in the fruitless attempt made by her son, in 1745, to place his father on the throne of England. She had two sons by her husband; Charles, who lately died, and Henry Benedict, who by his father was created Duke of York; and who, having been promoted to the purple, has been generally known by the name of Cardinal York.

The elder son married, some years ago, a princess of Stolberg, in Germany; but by her, who is still alive, he has no issue. He has left, however, a natural daughter, whom, by his pretended royal power, he lately created Duchess of Albany, and to whom he has bequeathed all the property he had in the French funds, which was very considerable.

To his brother, the Cardinal, he left his empty pretensions to the crown of England.

Anecdote of the Rebellion.

We feel reluctant to close these pages, much more the subject now before us, without intro-

ducing the following interesting piece of historical information, coming from the authority it does, namely, from the Preface to the "Chronicles of the Canongate," recently published, where the "Great Unknown" not only throws off his mask, and enters into a general development of the *dramatis personæ* which have long and unweariedly occupied public attention, but also from whence and from whom he gathered much of his romantic materials. In this place Sir Walter observes:

"I may here also notice, that the sort of exchange of gallantry, which is represented as taking place betwixt the Baron of Bradwardine and Colonel Talbot is a literal fact. The real circumstances of the anecdote, alike honourable to Whig and Tory, are these:—

"Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle,—a name which I cannot write without the warmest recollections of gratitude to the friend of my childhood, who first introduced me to the Highlands, their traditions, and their manners,—had been engaged actively in the troubles of 1745. As he charged at the battle of Preston with his clan, the Stewarts of Appine, he saw an officer of the opposite army standing alone by a battery of four cannon, of which he discharged three on the advancing Highlanders, and then drew his sword. Invernahyle rushed on him, and required him to surrender. 'Never to rebels!' was the un-

daunted reply, accompanied with a longe, which the Highlander received on his target; but instead of using his sword in cutting down his now defenceless antagonist, he employed it in parrying the blow of a Lochabar axe, aimed at the officer by the miller, one of his own followers, a grim-looking old Highlander, whom I remember to have seen. Thus overpowered, Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Whiteford, a gentleman of rank and consequence, as well as a brave officer, gave up his sword, and with it his purse and watch, which Invernahyle accepted, to save them from his followers. After the affair was over, Mr. Stewart sought out his prisoner, and they were introduced to each other, by the celebrated John Roy Stewart, who acquainted Colonel Whiteford with the quality of his captor, and made him aware of the necessity of receiving back his property, which he was inclined to leave in the hands into which it had fallen. So great became the confidence established betwixt them, that Invernahyle obtained from the Chevalier his freedom upon parole; and soon afterwards having been sent back to the Highlands to raise men, he visited Colonel Whiteford at his own house, and spent two happy days with him and his Whig friends, without thinking, on either side, of the civil war which was then raging.

"When the battle of Culloden put an end to the hopes of Charles Edward, Invernahyle, wound-

ed and unable to move, was borne from the field by the faithful zeal of his retainers. But as he had been a distinguished Jacobite, his family and property were exposed to the system of vindictive destruction, too generally carried into execution through the country of the insurgents. It was now Colonel Whiteford's turn to exert himself, and he wearied all the authorities, civil and military, with his solicitations for pardon to the saver of his life, or at least for a protection for his wife and family. His applications were for a long time unsuccessful: 'I was found with the mark of the Beast upon me in every list,' was Invernahyle's expression. At length Colonel Whiteford applied to the Duke of Cumberland, and urged his suit with every argument which he could think of. Being still repulsed, he took his commission from his bosom, and, having said something of his own and his family's services to the house of Hanover, begged to resign his situation in their service, since he could not be permitted to show his gratitude to the person to whom he owed his life. The Duke, struck with his earnestness, desired him to take up his commission, and granted the protection required for the family of Invernahyle.

"The Chieftain himself lay concealed in a cave near his own house, before which a small body of regular soldiers was encamped. He could hear their muster-roll called every morn-

ing, and their drums beat to quarters at night, and not a change of the sentinels escaped him. As it was suspected that he was lurking somewhere on the property, his family were closely watched, and compelled to use the utmost precaution in supplying him with food. One of his daughters, a child of eight or ten years old, was employed as the agent least likely to be suspected. She was an instance among others, that a time of danger and difficulty creates a premature sharpness of intellect. She made herself acquainted among the soldiers, till she became so familiar with them, that her motions escaped their notice; and her practice was, to stroll away into the neighbourhood of the cave, and leave what slender supply of food she carried for that purpose under some remarkable stone, or the root of some tree, where her father might find it as he crept by night from his lurking-place. Times became milder, and my excellent friend was relieved from proscription by the Act of Indemnity. Such is the interesting story which I have rather injured than improved, by the manner in which it is told in Waverley.

"This incident, with several other circumstances illustrating the Tales in question, was communicated by me to my late lamented friend, William Erskine (a Scottish judge, by the title of Lord Kinedder), who afterwards reviewed, with far too much partiality, the Tales of My

Landlord, for the Quarterly Review of January 1817. In the same article are contained other illustrations of the Novels, with which I supplied my accomplished friend, who took the trouble to write the review. The reader who is desirous of such information, will find the original of Meg Merilies, and I believe of one or two other personages of the same cast of character, in the article referred to."

The following inscription, in Latin, Gaelic, and English, is on a monument raised in the Vale Glenfinnyn, at the head of Lochshiel, to commemorate the last open efforts of the Stuart race, for the recovery of a crown they had forfeited by innumerable breaches of the laws, and whose aggressions on life and property being suffered, till

"Non-resistance could no further go,"

they were excluded from the throne of the people, by the aristocracy and commonality of England, in parliament assembled.

The monument was raised by Alexander Macdonald, Esq., who is no other way remarkable than for a chivalrous devotion to the family of Stuart. As evidence of the spirit that dictated such a memorial, and of the proper feeling which permits that spirit to be expressed, in spite of its hostility to the principles that deposited and

continued the diadem of the commonwealth in the custody of the house of Hanover, the inscription on the monument is placed in this column. It stands in English in the following words:

On the spot where
PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD
First raised his Standard,
On the 19th day of August, MDCCXLV,
When he made the daring and romantic attempt
To recover a Throne lost by the imprudence of his Ancestors,
This Column was erected by
ALEXANDER MACDONALD, Esq., of Glenaladale,
To commemorate the generous zeal,
The undaunted bravery, and the inviolable fidelity,
Of his forefathers, and the rest of those
Who fought and bled in that
Arduous and unfortunate enterprise.
This Pillar is now,
Alas!
Also become the Monument
Of its amiable and accomplished Founder,
Who,
Before it was finished,
Died in Edinburgh on the 4th day of January,
MDCCCXV.

The "right line" of the Stuart race terminated in the late Cardinal York. He was the second son of "the Pretender," and was born at Rome on the 26th of March, 1725; where he was baptized by the name of Henry Benedict Maria Clemens: he died there in 1807, in the 83d year of his age. In 1745 he went to France to head an army of fifteen thousand men, assembled at Dunkirk for the invasion of England. The battle

of Culloden settled "the arduous and unfortunate enterprise," which the "amiable and accomplished founder" of the monument commemorates, and not a single transport left Dunkirk roads. As soon as Henry Benedict heard of the affair at Culloden, he returned to Rome, entered into priest's orders, and in 1747 was made a cardinal by Pope Benedict XIV. It was taunted by a former pope upon James II. that he "lost his kingdom for a mass;" and it is certain that Henry Benedict was better qualified to take a red-hat and pull on and off red stockings, than to attempt the conquest of a free Protestant nation.

After the expulsion of Pope Pius VI. from "the chair of St. Peter," by the French, he fled from his splendid residences at Rome and Frascati to Venice, infirm in health, distressed in circumstances, and at the age of seventy-five. He subsisted for a while on the produce of some silver plate, which he had saved from the ruin of his property. By the friendly interference of Sir John Cox Hippisley, the cardinal's situation was made known to his late Majesty, and Lord Minto had orders to remit him a present of 2000*l.*, which he received in February 1800, with an intimation that he might draw for the same amount in the July following; and Sir J. C. Hippisley communicated to him, that an annuity of 4000*l.* would be at his service, so long as his circumstances might require it. This liberality

was received and acknowledged by the cardinal in terms of gratitude, and made a considerable impression on the reigning pope and his court. These facts are extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine, (vols. 74 and 77,) which also observes, that " from the time he devoted himself to ecclesiastical functions he seemed to have laid aside all worldly views, till his father's death in 1788, when he had medals struck, bearing on their face his head, with 'HENRICUS NONUS ANGLIÆ REX;' on the reverse, a city, with 'GRATIA DEI, SED NON VOLUNTATE HOMINUM'." If we are not misinformed, one of these medals is in the possession of our Most Gracious Sovereign King George the Fourth, whom God preserve for the good of his loyal and affectionate people.

THE END.

W. WILSON, PRINTER, 57, SKINNER-STREET, LONDON.

SUBSCRIBERS.

ANGLESEY, His Excellency the Most Noble the Marquess of, K.G. G.C.B. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Atkins, John, Esq. M.P. and Alderman, Walbrook.

Alston, Colonel, Devonshire-Street, Portland-Place.

BATH AND WELLS, the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of, Langham-Place.

Birnie, Sir Richard, Knight, Chief Magistrate of Police, Bow-Street.

Browne, Peter, Esq. His Majesty's Secretary of Legation at the Court of Denmark.

Bueno, J. C. Esq. Amsterdam.

CLARENCE, His Royal Highness the Duke of, Lord High Admiral of England.

Cole, Captain Sir Christopher, R.N. K.C.B. M.P.

Craven, the Honourable Miss, Chester-Street, Grosvenor-Place.

Carter, William, Esq. East India House.

Cook, Francis, Esq. East India Warehouse, Bishopsgate-Street.

Copeland, William, Esq. 8, Gray's-Inn-Square.

Collins, James, Esq. East India House.

Dundas, the Right Honourable Lord, Hertford-Street —2 *copies.*

Doyle, General Sir John, Bart. G.C.B. Somerset-Street, Portman-Square.

Dart, Joseph, Esq. Secretary to the Honourable East India Company.

Drawbridge, Flavius K. Esq. Arundel Street, Strand.

Dunbar, Nathaniel, Esq. Middle Temple—2 *copies.*

Edmonstone, the Honourable Lady, Hampton, Middlesex.

Eldon, the Right Honourable the Earl of, Hamilton-Place—2 *copies.*

Ely, the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of, Dover-Street.

Ferrers, the Right Honourable the Earl of, Harley-Street.

Fitzwilliam, the Right Honourable the Earl of, Grosvenor-Square.

Forsyth, J. S. Esq. Surgeon, St. John-Street Road.

Franklin, John, Esq., Fitzroy-Street, Fitzroy-Square.

Gloucester, His Royal Highness the Duke of.

Grenville, the Right Honourable Thomas, Cleveland-Square.

Garnett, Mrs., Otley, Yorkshire.

Gibbs, Captain Frederick Forman, Limehouse.

Gilkes, Mr. Peter, Regent-Street.

Glover, William, Esq. Middle Temple.

Greenhough, James, Esq. Camberwell.

Greenwood, Charles, Esq. Audley-Square.

Hall, Henry, Esq. Cursitor-Street.

Harvey, Edmund, Esq. East India House.

Hawkins, Henry, Esq. Hackney-Road.

Hooper, J. W. Esq. East India House.

Horsley, Mrs. Limehouse.

Horsley, Miss, ditto.

Hughes, Mr. Thomas, Hackney Road.

James, Miss, Harley-Street.

Jones, Captain, Arklow, Ireland.

Jones, Watkin Thomas, Esq. ditto.

Kerrison, Major-General Sir Edward, Bart. C.B. M.P. Great Stanhope-Street.

Knott, Robert, Esq. Margaret-Street, Cavendish-Square.

Leinster, His Grace the Duke of.

London, the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of.

Lyndhurst, the Right Honourable Lord, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

Lethbridge, Sir Thomas Buckler, Bart. M.P. Whitehall-Place.

Leach, the Right Honourable Sir John, Knight, Master of the Rolls.

Laming, Mrs. Albion-Place, Margate—2 *copies*.

Laming, Captain James, Apollo-Buildings, Walworth.

Levy, Mr. John, Oxford-Street.

Mansel, the Reverend James Temple, A.M. Bagshot.

Mansel, George Barclay, Esq. Essex-Court, Temple.

Melvill, James Cosmo, Esq. Auditor to the Honourable East India Company.

Middleton, George Hugh, Esq. East India House.

Nepean, the Dowager Lady, Henrietta-Street, Cavendish-Square.

Nichols, Miss, Hackney-Road.

Park, the Honourable Sir James Allan, Knight, one of His Majesty's Judges of the Court of Common Pleas.

Parry, Mr. John, Ludgate-Hill.

Prince, John, Esq. East India House.

Randell, George, H. Esq. St. Helen's Place.

Rixon, Mr. J. S. Jewry-Street, Aldgate—2 *copies.*

Robertson, Divie, Esq. Bedford-Square.

Robertson, Andrew, Esq. ditto.

Rowland, Miss, Ruabon, N. Wales.

Sussex, His Royal Highness the Duke of—2 *copies.*

Spencer, the Right Honourable the Earl, St. James's Square.

Stowell, the Right Honourable Lord, Grafton-Street.

Salway, Joseph, Esq. Sloane-Street.

Shepheard, Henry, Esq. Board of Control.

Tenterden, the Right Honourable Lord, Lord Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench, Russell-Square.

Tynte, Charles K. K. Esq. M. P. Hill-Street, Berkeley-Square—2 *copies.*

Taylor, Lieutenant-General Sir Herbert, G. C. H. Cadogan-Place.

Turner, Peter Bruce, Esq. Basing-Lane, Cheapside.

Williams-Wynn, Lady, Upper Brook Street.

Williams-Wynn, the Right Honourable Charles Watkin, M. P. Whitehall-Place—5 *copies*.

Williams-Wynn, his Excellency the Right Honourable Henry Watkin, his Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of Denmark—5 *copies*.

Weir, Archibald, Esq. Cooper's Hall, Basinghall-Street.

Wells, Joseph, Esq. Hamilton-Place, New Road—2 *copies*.

Winchester, Henry, Esq. Buckingham-Street, Strand.

00037568

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016